

THE



QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. 130.

PUBLISHED IN

JANUARY & APRIL, 1871.

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-THREE

THOUSAND EIGHTY-SEVEN

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1871.

AP 4

Q 2

v. 130

STATE OF OHIO
VINCENNES

LONDON:

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and Sons, Duke Street, Stamford Street,
and Charing Cross.

CONTENTS

OF

No. 259.

ART.	Page
I.—1. Report of the Commission appointed to consider the Defences of the United Kingdom. Presented to Parliament. 1860.	
2. Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Construction, Condition, and Cost, of the Fortifications erected under 30 and 31 Vict., and Previous Statutes. Presented to Parliament. 1869.	
3. Our Iron-Clad Ships; their Qualities, Performance, and Cost. By E. J. Reed, Chief Constructor of the Navy. 1869	1
II.—1. A short Treatise on the Game of Whist, containing the Laws of the Game, and also some Rules whereby a Beginner may, with due attention to them, attain to the Playing it well. With Calculations and Cases. By a Gentleman [Edmond Hoyle]. Bath printed, and London reprinted. For W. Webster, near St. Paul's. 1743.	
2. The Principles of Whist stated and explained, and its Practice illustrated on an Original System, by means of hands played completely through. By Cavendish. London, 1862.	
3. A Treatise on Short Whist. By James Clay, M.P. London, 1864.	
4. The Theory of the Modern Scientific Game of Whist. By William Pole, F.R.S., Mus. Doc. Oxon. London, 1865	43
III.—1. Les Discours de M. le Comte de Bismarck avec Sommaires et Notes. Vol. I. Berlin (n. d.).	
2. Das Buch vom Grafen Bismarck. Von George Hesekiel. In drei Abtheilungen, reich illustrirt von namhaften Künstlern. Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1869.	
3. Deutschland am Neujahr 1870. Vom Verfasser der	

a

5663

ART.	Page
Rundschauen. (Ascribed to Von Gerlach.) Berlin, 1870.	
4. Krieg und Friede. Zwei Briefe an Ernst Renan, nebst dessen Antwort auf den ersten. Von David Friedrich Strauss. Leipzig, 1870.	
5. Die bundesstaatliche Einigung Süd- und Nord-Deutschlands unter Preussens Führung als nothwendiges Ergebniss des gegenwärtigen Krieges, und ihre Bedeutung für das Europäische Gleichgewicht. Berlin, 1870.	
6. Unsere Grenzen. Von Wolfgang Menzel. Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1868. And other Works - - -	71
IV.—1. Financial Statement of the Right Hon. James Wilson. Calcutta, 1860.	
2. Financial Statement of the Right Hon. S. Laing. Calcutta, 1861.	
3. Financial Statements of the Hon. Sir. C. Trevelyan. Calcutta, 1863-4-5.	
4. Financial Statement of the Right Hon. W. N. Massey. Calcutta, 1868.	
5. Financial Statements of the Hon. Sir. R. Temple. Calcutta, 1869 and 1870.	
6. Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India. Presented to Parliament. 1856 to 1870 -	93
V.—The 'Times,' 'Standard,' and 'Daily News' Newspapers. October, 1870, to January, 1871 - - -	122
VI.—The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Queen Victoria. By J. Roderick O'Flanagan, M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law, Author of 'Recollections of the Irish Bar,' the 'Bar Life of O'Connell,' &c. In two volumes. London, 1870 -	164
VI.—1. Chansons Nationales et Populaires de France. Dumersan et Noel Ségur. Paris, 1866.	
2. Le Chansonnier Patriote. Paris, An. I. de la République - - - - -	204
VIII.—1. Liber Niger, sive Consuedinariu Ecclesiae B. V. M. Lincolniensis.	
2. Novum Registrum, A.D. 1450.	
3. Laudum Willielmi Alnwyke.	
4. Report of Commission on Cathedral Establishments -	225
IX.—The War Correspondence of the 'Daily News,' 1870. Edited with Notes and Comments. London, 1871 -	256

CONTENTS

OF

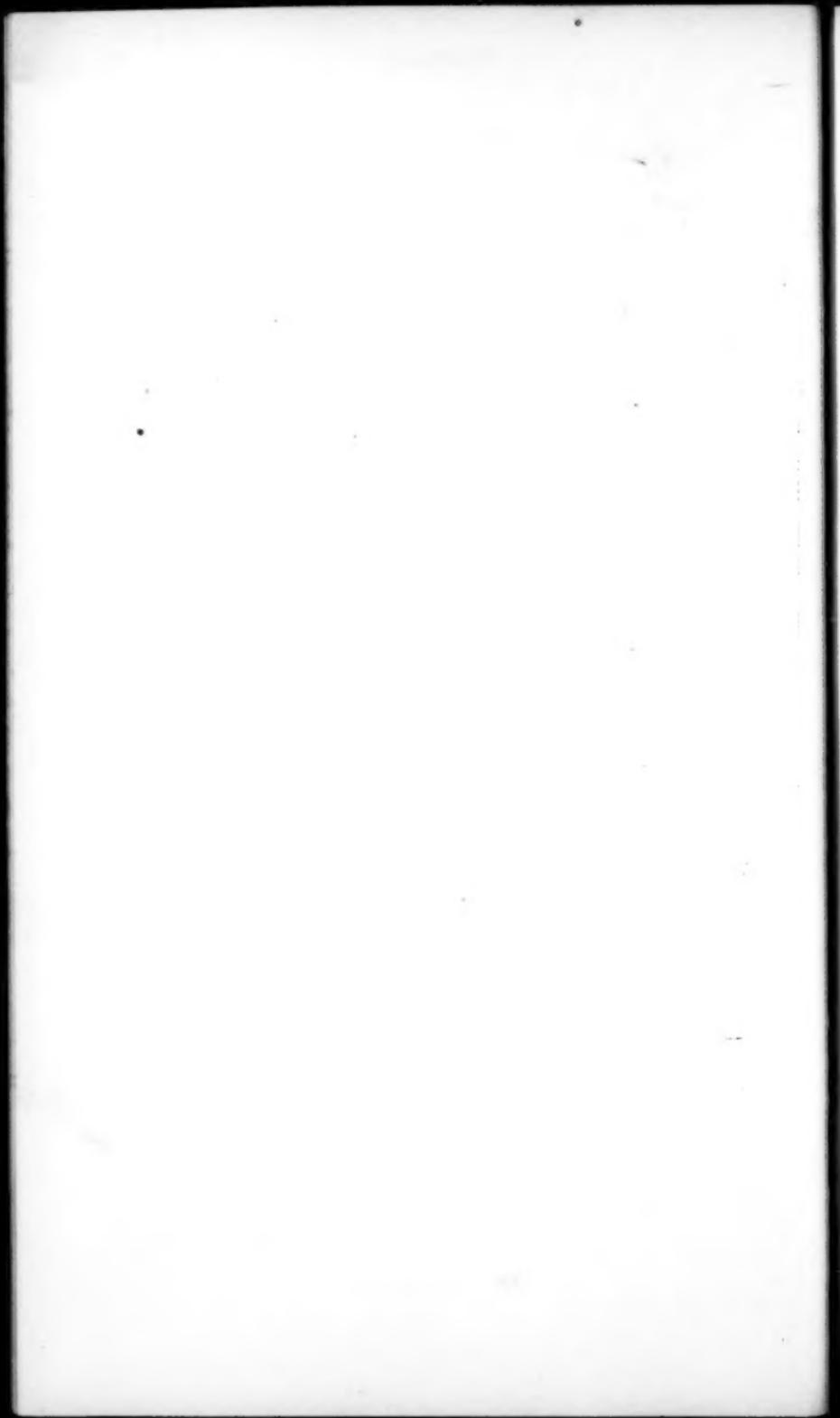
No. 260.

ART.	Page
I.—A Life of Anthony Ashley, First Earl of Shaftesbury, 1621-1683. By W. D. Christie, Formerly Her Majesty's Minister to the Argentine Confederation and to Brazil. 2 vols. London and New York, 1871	287
II.—The Handwriting of Junius Professionally Investigated. By Mr. Charles Chabot, Expert. With Preface and Collateral Evidence. By the Hon. Edward Twisleton. London. 4to. 1871	328
III.—1. La France devant l'Europe. Par Jules Michelet. Seconde Edition. Florence Lyon et Bordeaux, 1871.	
2. La Révolution. Par Edgar Quinet. Cinquième Edition, Revue et augmentée de la Critique de Révolution. 2 vols. Paris, 1868.	
3. La Guerre de 1870. L'Esprit Parisien Produit du Régime Impérial. Par Emile Leclercq. Troisième Edition. Bruxelles, 1870.	
4. The Holy Roman Empire. By James Bryce, D.C.L., Fellow of Oriel College, and Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford. Third Edition, Revised. London, 1871.	
5. Deutschland und die Kaiseridee. Eine historisch-politische Untersuchung. Von Dr. Octavius Clason. Bonn, 1870.	
6. Das neue Deutsche Reich auf dem Grunde Germanischer Natur und Geschichte. Von Dr. H. Veta. Leipzig und Heidelberg, 1871.	
7. Preussens Deutsche Politik, 1785, 1806, 1849, 1866. Von Adolf Schmidt, ord. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Jena. Umgearbeitete bis auf die Gegenwart fortgeführte dritte Auflage. Leipzig, 1867.	

ART.		Page
	8. Zur Französischen Grenzregulirung. Deutsche Denkschriften aus den Verhandlungen des zweiten Pariser Friedens. Berlin, 1870.	
	9. Die Reden des Grafen von Bismarck-Schönhausen. Erste zweite und dritte Sammlungen, 1862-70. Berlin, 1870	351
IV.—	1. Calendars of State Papers, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London, 1856-1870.	
	2. Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages. London, 1858-1870.	
	3. Libraries and Founders of Libraries. By Edward Edwards. London, 1865	373
V.—	1. An Act for the Support of Her Majesty's Household and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1 Vict., c. 2. 1837.	
	2. A Return of all Pensions granted and charged upon the Civil List, in accordance with the Act 1 Vict., c. 2, with the grounds upon which such Pensions have been granted, &c. (Moved by Mr. Stirling.) Published by Order of the House of Commons, 1861.	
	3. List of all Pensions granted between the 20th of June, 1861, and the 20th of June, 1862, and charged upon the Civil List.	
	4. Similar Lists annually to the 20th of June, 1870	407
VI.—	St. Paul and Protestantism; with an Introduction on Puritanism and the Church of England. By Matthew Arnold, M.A., LL.D., formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College. London, 1870	432
VII.—	1. Recueil de Documents sur les Exactions, Vols, et Cruautés des Armées Prussiennes en France. Publié au Profit de la Société Internationale de Secours aux Blessés. Première Partie. Bordeaux, 1871. 8vo.	
	2. Meddelelser om Preussernes og Østerrigernes Færd i Slesvig. Copenhagen, 1869. 8vo.	
	3. The 'Dagbladet,' 1871, No. 25. (Translated in the 'Standard,' February 10th, 1871)	462
VIII.—	1. Das Geburtsjahr Christi; geschichtlich-chronologische Untersuchungen von A. W. Zumpt. Leipzig, 1869.	
	2. Fasti Sacri, or a Key to the Chronology of the New Testament. By Thomas Lewin, Esq., of Trinity College, Oxford, M.A., F.S.A. London, 1865	497

ART.

	Page
IX.—1. The Satires, Epistles, and Art of Poetry of Horace. Translated into English verse by John Conington, M.A., (late) Corpus Professor of Latin in the Uni- versity of Oxford. London, 1870.	513
2. The Œdes, Epodes, and Satires of Horace. Trans- lated into English verse by Theodore Martin. Edin- burgh and London, 1870	513
X.—1. Nipon o Dai Itsu Ran, ou Annales des Empereurs du Japon. Traduites par M. Isaac Titsingh, avec un Aperçu de l'Histoire mythologique du Japon par M. J. Klaproth. Paris, 1834.	
2. Nippon : Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern. Von Ph. Fr. von Siebold. Elberfeld, 1851.	
3. Bibliographie japonaise ou Catalogue des Ouvrages Relatifs au Japon qui ont été publiés depuis le XV ^e . Siècle jusqu'à nos Jours. Par M. Léon Pagès. Paris, 1859.	
4. The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier, taken from his own Correspondence, with a Sketch of the General Results of Roman Catholic Missions among the Heathen. By Henry Venn, B.D., Pre- bendary of St. Paul's. London, 1862.	
5. Japan : being a Sketch of the History, Government, and Officers of the Empire. By Walter Dickson. Edinburgh, 1869	534
XI.—1. The Army Regulation Bill. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, 16th February, 1871.	
2. Letters on Military Organisation. By Lord Eleho, M.P. London, 1871.	
3. The Military Forces of Great Britain. By Major- General Sir L. Simmons, K.C.B. London, 1871.	
4. The Army of Great Britain; what it is and what it might be. By Sir William Hamilton, Bart. London, 1871.	
5. On the Prussian Infantry, 1869. Translated from the German by Colonel Henry Aimé Ouvry, C.B. London, 1870	556



THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Report of the Commission appointed to consider the Defences of the United Kingdom. Presented to Parliament.* 1860.
2. *Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Construction, Condition, and Cost, of the Fortifications erected under 30 and 31 Vict., and previous Statutes. Presented to Parliament.* 1869.
3. *Our Iron-Clad Ships; their Qualities, Performance, and Cost.* By E. J. Reed, Chief Constructor of the Navy. 1869.

SO late as Midsummer last, no nation of Europe was more prosperous than France, and none so proud of her assumed headship over all her neighbours. While whatever faults may be alleged against the late Empire, it cannot, at least, be doubted that it raised the material prosperity of the country to a pitch unsurpassed in any period of her existence, and with a rapidity unequalled during any period of her history. The immense extension of railroads, and of internal means of communication, had opened up districts hitherto practically inaccessible to the markets of the world, and led to a diffusion of wealth and an improvement in agriculture which are almost incredible, considering the shortness of the time in which they were developed. Her cities had been beautified and almost rebuilt, her harbours enlarged, and her manufactures and commerce extended far beyond what the most sanguine would have dared to anticipate twenty years ago.

Besides all this, the immense military prestige which France had acquired from the wars of the first Napoleon was fairly sustained in the Crimean and Italian campaigns, and few doubted that she was still justified in considering herself the first military power of the Continent, and able to dictate to the rest of Europe. If the rulers of Germany believed in or knew of the superiority they have since evinced, they alone were aware of a fact which even their own countrymen scarcely dared to hope for, and the rest of Europe hardly suspected; while, certainly,

no Frenchman ever dreamed of such a thing as even remotely possible. The fighting in the Danish campaign had not impressed the bystanders strongly in favour of the Prussian military system, and though the world was startled by her astounding success at Sadowa, opinions were divided as to whether it was owing more to her own prowess or to the blunders or weakness of her adversary. Yet when Germany rose in July last to repel a threatened invasion of her soil, the most famous marshals of France were out-generalled in every move. Her armies were hopelessly beaten in every encounter, and the unparalleled disaster at Sedan, and the capitulation of Metz, consigned practically the whole of her regular armies to captivity. Since these events, the invaders have made themselves masters of nearly a third of her provinces, have marched triumphantly to the gates of the capital, and now hold it in an iron grasp, from which there seems little or no chance of escape.

The great social 'débâcle' which followed the abdication of the Emperor was, perhaps, even more dreadful to contemplate than the military disasters. The only Government in France was a Government of despair, in the hands of self-elected men, to whom no nation would deliberately confide its destinies. The great cities were practically governed by mobs, who, if not in actual possession of the power, would, it was felt, certainly be so directly the dread of the invader was removed; and nowhere, either in the cities or in the provinces, does there even now seem to be a nucleus of strength out of which a stable Government can be developed when peace is concluded, and the country is again left with power to control its own destinies. It is, perhaps, not too much to assert that History affords no such example of a great and long-established nation so unexpectedly and so suddenly hurled, at the period of its greatest prosperity, into such an abyss of helplessness and ruin.

In the presence of such stupendous events as these, it is no wonder that Englishmen ask each other whether such a catastrophe may not happen to us as that which has befallen our nearest neighbour. Are we living in a fool's paradise? or are we prepared to resist any invasion that may be attempted on our shores? Would society with us fall as suddenly and completely to pieces, if we were invaded, as it has done in France? The last question is more easily answered than the first, and as it hardly comes within the scope of this article, it may as well be dismissed at once. We are a self-governing people, and at present with well recognised gradations of society, and our social organisation would most probably bear any strain that is likely to be applied to it. But our commercial system is as unstable

as a house of cards, and would crumble to dust if touched by the spear of an invader. Even without this, if our naval supremacy were gone, and our ports blockaded for any length of time, the consequences would be frightful to contemplate. If our factories were deprived of their supplies of cotton and of wool, and of the thousand and one articles which the Continent and our colonies supply for their support, if our trade with India and the East were intercepted, and we were cut off, even for a short time, from intercourse by sea with the rest of the world, multitudes of men would be thrown out of employ, and they, with the still greater multitudes dependent on them and their earnings, would be left to perish from want and starvation. As a rule, the wage classes have no capital and no reserves to meet such a crisis, and the capital accumulated in the hands of their employers, against which they are waging an internecine war, is far from being sufficient to tide over so immense a cessation of employment as an invasion or blockade would give rise to. Even if we came victorious out of a death grapple on or around these shores, it would take years, long years, to replace the capital lost in the struggle; and, if beaten, it is difficult to conceive any combination of circumstances which would enable us to hope that our children now in the cradle might live to see England again as prosperous as she now is, and occupying the same important position among the great nations of the earth.

That these sentiments are shared more or less distinctly by thoughtful men in this country, is evident from the excited discussions which took place in Parliament at the end of the Session, before the paramount interest of the grouse had diverted the attention of our Legislature from national objects, and is even more evident from the tone of the press since that time. It is almost impossible to take up any review, magazine, or newspaper, without finding in it some article either criticising the actions of the War Office or Admiralty, or offering some suggestion for the reorganisation of our military or naval forces, or some wail of despondency over our helpless condition.

Under these circumstances it can hardly be deemed out of place or uncalled for, if we attempt to describe, without entering into details, the exact position of our means of defence, and try to estimate as nearly as possible their value as compared with the power of attack possessed by any foreign nation, or by any combination of foreign nations likely to be brought against us.

The defect most generally apparent in those estimates of our defensive means, which have hitherto appeared, has arisen from

their authors regarding the question too exclusively from a naval or from a military point of view. It may turn out that we ought to rely wholly on our insular position for our protection, or it may be that we cannot consider ourselves safe unless we have land forces equal to cope with any that an enemy may be able to throw on our shores; but it is at least clear that no reasoning will carry conviction which does not take into account both sides of the question, and fairly estimate the value of both modes of defence, either separately or collectively. At the same time, there is no greater danger than would arise from any half-measures applied to both of these branches, or from fancying that if the navy is nearly sufficient for our defence, and the army is also nearly sufficient, that therefore we are safe. In the case of a Continental nation, with an enemy having a common boundary, the problem is much easier. It is only necessary to count the number of men each party can put into the field in a given time, and to estimate the relative value of their equipments, and the strength of their fortresses or positions. It is a simple sum of arithmetic, and the only uncertain quantity in the proposition is the relative *morale* of the troops, including in this category the skill of the commanders. In like manner, if we had a regular army more than half the strength required by itself to defend our shores, and had a militia or force of volunteers which by themselves were likewise more than half the strength sufficient, the two together would be all we could require. But a fleet which is nearly but not quite sufficient for the task, and land forces which are similarly situated, are very far, when taken together, from being a sufficient defence: for the evident reason that they cannot act together, but must be taken in succession. If our fleet is overmatched and unable to keep the seas, the army cannot assist it: it is only when this happens that the defensive army comes into play, and then it is only because the fleet is unable to afford the army any assistance in keeping the enemy from landing on our shores. The problem of national defence thus divides itself into two separate and distinct propositions, which it is indispensable should be examined separately in order that their value may be correctly estimated. Of the two the naval is the first to be examined and the most important, as in our insular position we have a natural means of defence possessed by no other nation.

In order to estimate how far our navy is equal to the defence of our shores, it is necessary to compare it with that of some other nation, and for this purpose it is only that of France which possesses the requisite elements for a comparison. Avowedly, the French navy was designed and built for the purpose of holding

holding that of England in check, and, if necessary, disputing with her the empire of the seas. It is also certain that there have been periods during the last ten years when France could have put a larger number of ironclad vessels in the Channel than we could have opposed to them, and that had a war between the two nations then broken out, our navy might have been overmatched. At the present moment, however, it probably may be assumed that our ironclad navy is at least equal to that of France, or of any other Power taken singly. This, of course, has been, and will be disputed, and, if we look merely to the number of vessels and the number of guns they mount, our superiority is not so evident as it should be; but, looking at the calibre and character of our artillery, and the thickness and quality of the armour of our ships, it seems fair to admit that our navy is equal to theirs. To put the proposition as clearly as possible: if all the English ironclad fleet were in commission, and mustered in the harbours of Portsmouth and Plymouth, and that of France in Cherbourg and Brest, and they were to meet in the Channel for a fair fight, we probably should have no reason to fear the result. If, however, the French could bribe Spain, for instance, by an offer of assisting her to recover Gibraltar or by any other means, to join their fleet with her seven ironclads, it might go hard with us and our fleet be overpowered.

Even apart from such a contingency as this, is it wise to trust our national existence to a mere equality in so untried a field as a fight between ironclad ships at sea? We have actually no experience of this class of warfare, for the fight at Lissa was such a bungling affair, and the navies engaged of so mixed a class, that it is impossible to draw any satisfactory conclusion from such a battle. We do not yet know whether the concentrated broadside of a two-decker like the 'Solferino' may not be more destructive than the side-piercing fire of the guns of such ships as the 'Hercules' and 'Monarch.' Far more important, however, than this, is our want of experience as to the effect which ramming may have on the result of future naval battles. If the experience of Lissa is of any value, it is all-important; and the fleet that first sees several of its ships sent to the bottom in this summary manner may be seized with a panic and expose itself to a disastrous defeat. It may be argued that this is quite as likely to happen to the attacking party as to ourselves: this may be true, but the result would be widely different. If we defeated the French or any attacking navy, we should merely have secured our first line of defence, and prevented the nation which possessed that fleet from doing us further injury. If we, on the other hand, were defeated, our principal line is forced;

Channel

Channel is bridged over, and our enemy, whoever he may be, may at leisure land his forces, under the protection of his fleet, on any part of our shores he may select. Victory with us is merely parrying a blow, without enabling us to follow it up so as vitally to injure our enemy. Defeat to us is destruction of our most important defence, and exposes our most vital parts to the attacks of the enemy.

Whatever opinion may be formed of the relative merits of the fighting qualities of the two fleets, there is one point on which the French at the present moment possess an uncontested superiority over us. The accommodation for repairing and refitting ships in their dockyards has long been completed, and is more extensive than any which we now possess; and with, perhaps, the exception of Cherbourg, all her naval arsenals and stations are so fortified as to be free from any danger of attack. At the same time it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that a fleet which can rely on the indispensable adjunct of sufficient and well fortified dockyards and arsenals is, *ceteris paribus*, nearly twice as strong as one which has no such secure base of operations. We have been at infinite pains to fix the armour-plates securely to the sides of the vessels; but it is one of the unsolved questions of this novel mode of warfare how a damaged plate is to be removed and its place supplied by a new one, or, in fact, how, after even a successful action, an iron-plated fleet is to be refitted and in what time it would again be fit to go to sea. With wooden vessels, using only solid shot in action, the problem was easy and simple in the extreme. A damaged plank is easily repaired or refitted, but a pierced or cracked armour-plate can only be replaced in dock with the most elaborate mechanical appliances, and after every action this must be done to some, probably to a greater extent than is now anticipated.

The Naval authorities seem to have been for some time aware of our deficiencies in these respects, inasmuch as long ago they commenced very important extensions at Chatham. Owing, however, to the necessity of doing the work cheaply, convict labour was principally employed, and the work has consequently been years in hand. From a hint in Col. Clarke's last Report, it seems just to have been discovered that the foundation for the locks to give access to the new basins will certainly be much more difficult than was anticipated. There is, in fact, no knowing when they may be completed, though one of the basins, it is stated, may be ready before long. If the Admiralty could afford to engage the services of some professional engineers who had experience in such works, this difficulty might be got over; but in the hands of a military officer to whom the work is necessarily new and unfamiliar,

unfamiliar, it is impossible to calculate what the locks may cost and when they will be finished.

In like manner most extensive additions are being made to Portsmouth Dockyard, and as no engineering difficulties are expected there, the works may be complete as anticipated in September, 1873.* Meanwhile, however, we have sold Deptford and Woolwich Dockyards, which, though not suited for the accommodation of the larger class of iron-clads used as ocean cruizers, are admirably adapted for gun-boats and the smaller fry of the fleet, which are at least as important for national defence as their more unwieldly sisters. So far, therefore, from our Dockyards being extended to meet the growing wants of the navy, it is probably true that now and for some time to come we are worse off in this respect than we have been for many years past.

The defences of our Dockyards against an attack by sea are, however, in even a more backward and unsatisfactory state than these extensions, and with less excuse, inasmuch as they were commenced earlier, and, with proper energy, might have been completed long ago.

When the results of the Crimean War had forced on the minds even of the Peace Party that the millenium had not yet arrived, certain works were commenced for the protection of our Naval establishments, but on so small a scale, that in 1859 a Royal Commission was established to investigate the whole subject. After a most exhaustive inquiry they reported in the following year that ten millions (10,350,000*l.*) were required for new works and to complete those already ordered and in progress, and one million ought in addition to be expended in floating defences to supplement those erected in the sea and on the coasts. Moderate as this sum† must now appear, considering the objects to be attained, it was deemed too large to ask a British Parliament to grant, and it was consequently, in deference to the wishes of some members of the Cabinet, reduced at two successive stages, first to 8,720,000*l.*, and afterwards to 6,180,000*l.* by the omission of whole groups of works and the reduction in extent of others;‡ and at last, in spite of very strenuous opposition, Government got leave to raise this last amount by terminable annuities. In 1862 the sum was increased to 6,860,000*l.*, and in 1867 to 6,995,000*l.* As even this increase failed to meet the growing requirements of

* Col. Clarke's Memoranda explanatory of Vote 11, presented to Parliament 18th March, 1870.

† The single fortress of New Georgisk (Modlin) has cost Russia 100,000,000 Fls., or as nearly as may be the same amount.

‡ See Col. Jervois's Report, presented to Parliament February 20, 1867.

the

the case, a new Commission was issued, on Sir J. Pakington's requisition, of military and naval officers, and one civilian, none of whom, however, had been members of the previous Commission. After a long investigation, they reported most favourably of the works executed under the loan, and ended in recommending a total expenditure of 7,951,437*l.* as indispensably necessary to complete the works. This sum was, however, again reduced, by the omission of some works, to 7,460,000*l.*, and the unexpended balance (1,510,000*l.*) being voted by the Act of 1869, the loan was closed. Each time the vote was brought forward in fear and trembling, and had it not been that the money was voted in a lump at first and authorised to be raised as a loan, there is no doubt that the works would have been abandoned long ago. Indeed, so strong was the opposition in 1862, that, to avoid a defeat, Lord Palmerston was obliged to promise that the sea defences should not be proceeded with till Parliament had again an opportunity of reconsidering the question. The consequence of this was that the contracts entered into for the foundations of the forts at Spithead and elsewhere had to be abandoned, the plant removed and the staging left to rot; thus causing not only a delay of fifteen months, but considerable additional expense when the works were resumed in the following year.

The opposition to the vote in this instance came from a clique of naval men, of whom the most prominent was the late Captain Cowper Coles. They had persuaded themselves that every shilling spent on the forts was an abstraction from the moneys that ought to be devoted to naval purposes. They argued that the defence of the Dockyards ought to be entrusted solely to the Navy, and consequently if there were no forts there must be more ships built, and more sailors employed, and the money which the engineers were spending for the good of soldiers would be devoted to the increase of that service, which, rightly enough, they considered the mainstay of our defence. It was in vain to point out to them that secure Dockyards and arsenals were as indispensable parts of a fleet as steam-engines or sails—that defence by ships was infinitely more expensive and more uncertain than defence by forts, and that to condemn the British Navy to be chained to the Channel for the purpose of defending its own stores, was assigning to it a far more ignoble rôle than it had hitherto performed, and amounted virtually to our resigning the empire of the seas to any Navy which had no such domestic cares, and could rove where it pleased. Had the Opposition directed their attacks against the land defences of the Dockyards there would have been more excuse for their action, and the injury caused would have been very much less; for the landworks could

be

be erected much more easily and quickly, and besides the probability of their coming into play was comparatively remote. It is a serious operation for an enemy to throw even a small body of troops on shore, with guns and means to bombard or burn a dock-yard; while, on the other hand, no operation is more likely than that on the outbreak of war a dash should be made at our Dockyards. According to modern practice, it is probable that the declaration of war will not reach London till the squadron destined for this purpose is mustered at Cherbourg or Brest, and lying with its steam up and ready to start, and it is as likely the time will be chosen when our fleet is absent on a cruise, or at all events when a very inferior force is available for defence. Under such circumstances, until the forts in the sea are completed and armed, there is nothing to prevent a hostile fleet taking up a position at Spithead, and throwing shells and combustibles into the town and dockyard till the whole are reduced to ashes. Forty-eight hours should suffice for this, and having accomplished it, the attacking fleet may return home probably without the loss of a man or the starting of an armour-plate. In like manner, when the war broke out in July last, there was not a gun mounted on either shore of the Thames capable of piercing an armour-plate, and any single protected vessel might have steamed up to Woolwich and laid it in ruins, and returned uninjured. When the works now erecting below Gravesend are completed and armed, the state of affairs will be different; but it is impossible to guess how long a time may elapse before they are ready. Meanwhile the approach to the Capital by sea is left to the protection of the old rattle-trap of a fort at Tilbury, which is pretty much in the same state as it was at the end of the last war. This was felt to be so essentially the case, that some years ago a sum of 50,000*l.* was put into the estimates to be applied to fitting Tilbury and the battery opposite for the reception of a few guns of a modern pattern; but the attitude of the Parliamentary opposition to this extravagance was so terrible, that the Minister's heart failed him, and he did not then dare to press it, though subsequently sums were smuggled through Parliament sufficient to put a few embrasures in a position to receive the modern class of artillery. Notwithstanding this, nothing can well be more painfully inadequate for their purpose than the present state of the Thames defences.

If we are flattering ourselves with the idea that we are safe, because the French fleet have been able to accomplish so little in the North Sea and the Baltic since July last, it would be well to study carefully the different circumstances of the two cases before coming to the conclusion that this experience may apply to us also. From the Helder northwards, the shores of Germany and

Denmark

Denmark are covered long, low, shelving sand-banks, extending a considerable distance seaward. At all times the navigation among them is difficult, even with the assistance of skilful local pilots; and by raising the buoys and putting out the lights it has become impracticable even with them. Under these circumstances, the approach to Jahde, where the Prussian fleet lies, became impracticable to the French fleet; and though it might possibly have bombarded some of the commercial ports in the Baltic, to which access was not so difficult, as it had no troops to land, no object would have been gained by such an operation at all adequate to the risk or to compensate for the indignation such an act would have excited. It is true, no doubt, that the mouth of the Thames might, to some extent, be protected by the same means; but if we withdrew the Nore light, and raised the buoys we should debar all ingress and egress from Chatham and Sheerness, and so deprive ourselves of the use of the only naval establishments we possess in the North Seas; while above Sheerness the navigation of the Thames is easy to any one familiar with the river, with or without buoys. On the other hand, the argument in no way applies to such harbours as Portsmouth, Portland, Plymouth, and Milford Haven. In all these the water is so deep, the course so straight, and the landmarks so unmistakable, that no captain would hesitate to run his vessel in, at high water, without any other pilotage than his own crew ought easily to afford. These places must, therefore, for their defence depend on their active means of offence, and on that only; and their defences being in the backward state they now are in, is consequently a source not only of weakness to the fleet, but of danger to the country.

While Parliament has been grudgingly doling out the funds considered necessary in 1860 to put our Dockyards in a decent state of defence, science has been marching onwards with gigantic strides. When the first Commission issued its report, the largest gun in the service was the 68-pounder smooth bore of 95 cwt.; and when the 'Warrior' was built her armament was intended to consist of these now antiquated pieces, and her armour and that of the French ships of the same period was only intended to resist such shot. Since then the thickness of our armour-plating has increased from $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches with $\frac{1}{2}$ backing, to the 12-inch plates and $1\frac{1}{2}$ -inch backing of the 'Thunderer' and her sister ships; and the guns have been enlarged from 68-pounder smooth bores, to 12-inch 25 ton rifle-guns, throwing 600 lb. shot with a charge of 70 lbs. of powder, instead of the 16 lbs. of the 'Warrior's' original armament.

To meet this enormous increase of power and resistance on the part

part of ships, necessitated a corresponding increase in the strength of the structure of the forts and the character of their armament. As it was hopeless, however, to expect any great augmentation of the grant from Parliament, the difficulty was met first by the abandonment of the central arsenal, for the purchase of a site for which 150,000*l.* had appeared in the Estimates for several years. Then the eastern defences of Chatham dropped out, and one work after another was either abandoned or so modified as to lead to some saving. The number of guns to be mounted on the sea defences was reduced from 1200 to about 800, and other economies were from time to time effected, frequently, it is feared, at the expense of efficiency, to meet this growing difficulty.*

Although the indifference of the public and the disfavour with which the scheme for fortifying the dockyards has always been regarded by Parliament are, no doubt, the principal causes of the delay which has taken place, still the Engineers are not free from blame in this matter. Naturally they have been most anxious that the works should be as perfect as possible, and there is no doubt that had they been completed three or four years ago, as they might have been, they would have been less perfect than they will be three or four years hence, when it is hoped they may be completed. But in war, as in other affairs, it is often wiser to avail ourselves of the best practicable rather than to wait in the endeavour to obtain the best possible. At all events, when all the plans and estimates were settled and sanctioned in July, 1869, and the last moneys 'cheerfully'—as the Act expresses it—voted, there was no longer any excuse for delay. Contracts ought immediately to have been entered into for all the remaining works, and if they had been pushed forward with vigour during the last eighteen months, our position might have been very different in this respect from what it is now. No doubt, since Parliament rose, shields have been ordered and some may be ready, and guns have been mounted in various directions with or without shields, as the case may be. But many of the most important works—such as those at Spithead, in the Thames, and at Portland and elsewhere—are in too backward a state to admit of their receiving any armament for a long time to come. If we are allowed a few years more of peace and leisure, the time wasted on experimenting may not be considered as

* It is impossible to state these numbers with anything like precision. So many changes have taken place during the last ten years in the form and number of the works at first proposed, that a correct comparison in this respect between the old scheme and the present one is nearly impossible. This reduction in the number of guns was, however, a natural and proper saving, and might probably be carried even further, for the increased power of the guns proposed to be mounted in the forts more than compensated for the diminished number.

misspent,

misspent, nor the time lost in the continued changes of plan which these experiments led to. But should we become involved in war with any maritime Power during that period, the delay may lead to disasters of incalculable magnitude ; while even now our well-known unprotected state invites attack, and may draw us into a war which, had we been known to be prepared, no one would have ventured upon.

While we have thus been experimenting, hesitating, and economising, our shrewder cousins across the Atlantic have gone to work in a very different spirit. No sooner did they perceive, during their great civil war, that their flank was exposed to attack by a foreign fleet that might take the part of the Southerners in the quarrel, than they set to work to defend their harbours by the erection of great casemated batteries, supported by others of a more temporary nature. Since peace was restored these works have been vigorously pursued, and are now so complete that not only Boston and New York may be considered as unassailable, but every creek and harbour on their eastern seaboard is so defended as to be free from any danger of attack from without. It is true the works so erected are open to criticism, and there is little doubt but that, if a squadron armed with the heavy artillery our ships carry, were allowed a forenoon's quiet practice on them, they might be rendered untenable. They are armed, however, by 15- and 20-inch Columbiads, throwing solid shot of 500 and 1000 lbs. weight, and in such numbers as must certainly ensure the infliction of an enormous amount of damage on any squadron that came within their range. Even if the forts did not sink or destroy the ships of the attacking squadron, the injuries received must be such that the fleet must go somewhere to refit. For this purpose we have a floating-dock in Bermuda, and some indifferent and ill-protected accommodation at Halifax, but utterly inadequate for such a purpose. The French have nothing, and no other navy possesses any means of refitting their fleet on that side of the Atlantic ; while the prospect of recrossing the ocean to repair damages after such an encounter, is one which the boldest sailor would hardly like to contemplate. Although therefore it must be admitted that the American forts are not so perfect as ours, and that their 20-inch smooth bores may be inferior to our 12-inch 25-ton guns, still the difference between the two cases is this, their forts are built and armed, and are efficient and sufficient for the purposes for which they were erected ; ours are, and for a long time to come will be, only in progress, and the guns to be mounted on them are not yet forged. The Americans, consequently, do not require to keep any fleet in commission for defensive purposes, and what navy they have afloat

afloat they can send roaming over the world, feeling that it is not wanted at home. They keep up no standing army, except for purposes of police or for their Indian wars, and there is no talk among them of militia or volunteers for defensive purposes. Not only, therefore, do the Americans feel all the pride of strength and security, but the saving they are able to make in their naval and military estimates is ten times the interest of the outlay on their fortifications.

In one other respect the Americans have set us an example we should have done well to follow. After the civil war they sold or dismantled all the less efficient vessels of their navy which had been built in haste to meet the emergency of the moment, but they retained a sufficient number of their small monitors and gunboats to act as auxiliary floating defences to the forts. So strongly was this want felt by our Commission of 1859-60, that they recommended an immediate outlay of one million for this purpose. The money was never voted, but the Minister assured Parliament that the amount would be placed at the disposal of the Admiralty, and that they would see to the work being carried out. Nothing, however, was done till some two years ago, when the firm of Armstrong and Co. built at Newcastle a gunboat of a novel description, called the 'Staunch,' to carry a single 12-ton gun. She was purchased by the Government for 6450*l.*, and, armed complete and ready for sea, is estimated to cost some 8000*l.* After a year's delay, a sister boat was built, and since then, it is understood, eight or ten more are ordered. The Admiralty have thus at last ventured to incur a liability for 80,000*l.* to 100,000*l.* out of a million placed at their disposal ten years ago. If, however, the expenditure of a million were deemed expedient for the purpose at that time, it is infinitely more so now, inasmuch as during the interval a whole system of defence by torpedoes has been invented, and, by the introduction of electricity, brought to a wonderful degree of perfection. Torpedoes, however, are of very little use unless protected by the guns of some fort sufficiently powerful to keep a blockading squadron at some distance, and so prevent its boats from fishing them up, or destroying the connecting wires; and even then, without the additional aid of gunboats or armed steam-launches, or some of the smaller fry of the navy, it would be almost impossible to protect these submarine mines efficiently, especially at night. With forts and auxiliary floating-defences, torpedoes might be so arranged as to ensure our harbours against hostile entrance. All this is perfectly well known to the authorities; both at the War Office and the Admiralty every part of the problem has been thought over, and designs are ready for everything, and some half measures adopted; but no Minister has hitherto dared to tell

Parliament

Parliament the whole truth, and ask for money requisite to carry out a complete scheme at once. By spreading the outlay over a great many years, the Government expects to avoid the certain opposition that would be caused by an immediate demand, and hopes—in these times—that no one will be so unreasonable as to attack us till we are quite ready to receive them!

An American Congress is not generally considered, on this side of the Atlantic, as a model of deliberative assemblies; but, in their exuberant patriotism, they possess at least one virtue in which the British Parliament is lamentably deficient. Nothing so astonished the Western World as the apparently reckless manner in which Congress, during the civil war, authorised loans of millions and hundreds of millions of dollars, almost without even asking for what purposes they were wanted, and never caring to inquire how they were to be repaid. Then, and since that time, the Executive have only to send a message to Congress to say that fifty or one hundred millions of dollars are wanted to put the harbours of the coast in a proper state of defence, or for any other purpose which touches the safety and honour of the country, than they are granted almost without a dissentient vote. The British Parliament, on the other hand, claims as its proudest distinction the title of careful guardian of the national purse, and prides itself more on being the protector of the taxpayer than being the defender of the national interests and honour. Every member, in fact, feels and knows that if he can go to his constituents and boast that he has been instrumental in knocking a million or two off the Navy and Army Estimates, his return is secure. If, on the other hand, he is simple enough to confess that in his conscience he believed an increase was indispensable, he must hand over his seat to some more economical candidate.

While this difference exists in the temper of our National Assembly as compared with that of the United States, or of France, or of other nations, we need not be surprised that America sets herself up as her own judge in the case of the Alabama claims, or Russia in that of the Treaty of Paris—and that every nation accuses us of imaginary breaches of neutrality or other crimes. They know our parsimony, and our consequent unpreparedness, and feel that they may safely take advantage of it. The truth of the matter seems to be, we have so long been accustomed to consider the Channel as a complete and sufficient protection against invasion, that it is impossible to bring the national mind to believe that it can be violated. What has lasted and answered for eight centuries may, they argue, be trusted for a good many more, while people of the greatest influence bid us rely on the 'streak of silver sea,' and denounce as alarmists all who try to arouse their countrymen

countrymen to a sense of their danger.* We are continually told that we have done hitherto without fortifications or a defensive flotilla, and cannot therefore want them now. With very many people a numerous army and a strong fleet seem only a temptation for Government to meddle in foreign politics, and involve the nation in additional—and it may prove expensive entanglements. It is in vain to point out to these people that England is only a small part of the British Empire, that India and our colonies are integral parts of the aggregate bearing that name, and that our commerce is as essential to the subsistence of our people, as our farms and our mines. Our fleet has, in fact, other duties to perform besides protecting our shores, and unless they are made sufficiently secure to bear, at least, its temporary absence, we are in infinite danger of a catastrophe. Malta and Gibraltar, for instance, are not so fortified or so armed as to resist an attack of a powerful ironclad squadron, if left to their own resources, and Parliament has steadily refused the sums requisite for putting them in a state of sufficient defence. With the assistance of the fleet they are safe; but defences that require such nursing are sources of weakness rather than of strength, and may lead to a division of naval resources which may be fatal. In attempting to relieve Malta, a squadron detached for that purpose may be outnumbered and overpowered as MacMahon was at Wörth, and the victorious fleets combined may be more than a match for what remains to us. The fact is, and no one probably doubts it, that powerful as our present fleet is, we have no such reserve of ironclad vessels as would enable us to supply the place of those we might be deprived of by a reverse at sea, and no sufficient means of repairing or refitting those that escaped, in anything like the time requisite to place us in a position of safety. It must also be borne in mind that ironclad vessels cannot be extemporised. Two years are probably the least time in which one of the first class can be built and ready for commission, and even those of the second class require at least twelve months to complete. As wars are now conducted, it will consequently be too late to think of much increase, if any, after the struggle has commenced.

Under these circumstances no one can feel surprise that men are anxiously inquiring what our means of resistance are if an

* The poor Pope fondly fancied that, having weathered the storms of eighteen centuries, the sanctity of his office would suffice to render his temporal power and possessions inviolate. He has been rudely awakened from his dreams, much as we may be, if we trust to similar illusions.

enemy should force our first line of defence by gaining the requisite ascendancy in the Channel. If, for instance, the French or any other equal or nearly equal fleet could be equipped and fitted for sea, more rapidly than ours, or were able to select some time when our fleet was absent and engaged elsewhere, few will doubt that they might, in the present incomplete and unfortified state of our dockyards, convert a temporary ascendancy into a permanent disaster. When the recommendations of the Commission of 1860 are fully carried out—if they ever are—this would not be the case, and the fleet would probably have leisure to resume the superiority, which is assumed as the first condition of the problem, that it now possesses. But in the event of the fleet being overpowered or destroyed, the Channel, instead of being a defence, is practically a means for facilitating the invasion of the country. It is easier to transport men and materials by sea than by rail, it is easier to conceal the knowledge of the point intended to be attacked, and the first blow can consequently be delivered far more suddenly and effectively by sea than by land. But to do this the enemy must feel sure of his naval superiority at sea. Abstractedly it is not true—though so frequently asserted—that steam has bridged the Channel. It would of course be so, if the enemy employed steam and we were debarred from its use, but the power of concentrating rapidly our means of defence is an advantage equal to that afforded to the attacking party. It may of course be that a larger force could by its means be despatched from Cherbourg, Brest, Antwerp, or Jahde, and more rapidly thrown on our shores by steamers than could be done by Napoleon I.'s flat-bottomed boats from Boulogne and Calais. But in both instances, though the bridge may be formed, a superior fleet will inevitably break it down, and till the attacking party feel sure that they can prevent this being done, the attempt will not be made. In other words, the invasion of this country will not take place till the enemy has such a superiority at sea as will enable him to bring over and land his troops and stores, and allow him time to advance into the country and fight such a decisive battle as may enable him to obtain possession of the capital. During the last great war we had that superiority, and, if we had had the men, could at any time after the battle of Trafalgar have landed an army on any part of the French coast we chose, and have maintained its communications with its base for any time that was required. If the conditions as to the command at sea were reversed, it is evident any other power might do the same by us. If, however, the invader is cut off from his base before he has time to effect the main object of the campaign, his army, however powerful at first, would

would almost certainly be worn out by degrees, and, unless we were more pusillanimous than it is hoped we are, must eventually be compelled to surrender as prisoners of war.

In order to understand such a problem as the invasion of England, of which no actual experience exists, it is necessary to assume some hypothetical data which shall represent the facts of the case as nearly as possible. Any one may make such additions or deductions from these assumptions as in his judgment may be required, but it is necessary to state them in order to be intelligible. Let us assume therefore that for some reason or other Prussia had agreed to accept the now famous Benedetti Secret Treaty. No one understood better than the Emperor Napoleon, that the invasion of Belgium meant war with England, and we by our declarations in Parliament at the close of the last session accepted that interpretation. This being so the 300,000 men who in July last were available for the invasion of Germany, were equally so for a British Belgic war.

No one probably would be so absurd as to suppose that in the event of this course being determined upon, the French would quietly have marched their army to Brussels and set themselves down to besiege Antwerp, allowing the English at their leisure to fit out their fleet, recruit their army, and to succour the Belgians at their own time, and in the manner most convenient to themselves. When a nation resolves on going to war with two allied powers, one of whom is comparatively weak, the other relatively much stronger, it would be madness to waste time, and to a certain extent the resources of the army, in first settling with the smaller power, especially when as in this instance the smaller could afford no succour to the larger, and then only to attack the protecting power when it has had leisure to collect its forces and prepare for the struggle. A much more likely plan of campaign would have been to settle accounts with England first, and then Belgium might have been conquered without difficulty. We may assume that the course of proceeding would have been somewhat as follows. The French fleet would have been secretly mustered and fully equipped and ready to issue from its rendezvous simultaneously with the declaration of war reaching London or Paris, and if it had caught our fleet scattered or unprepared, it might have defeated it in detail and dispersed it, and having bombarded our unprotected dockyards, have blockaded our ports and remained masters of the channel. This being done we must either have been content to sign an ignominious peace and abandon our ally, or have been prepared to stand the result of an invasion. If this took place, it would probably be in some such manner as this. So soon as

the possession of the channel was secured, 100,000 or some such body of men would be thrown on shore at some predetermined spot, with their artillery, ammunition, and three days' provisions, but not necessarily with a single horse or any of the impediments of war. Their first business would be to seize the strategical points in the neighbourhood of their landing place, and entrench themselves, dragging their field-guns into position to protect the camp. This done the transports would be free to go and come, bringing additional men, stores, horses, &c., till the army was in a position to move out say 150,000 strong and 600 guns, all fully equipped for war, and leaving say 50,000 to guard the camp and protect their base. In the middle of July last it might have taken France ten days or a fortnight to accomplish this, but if uninterrupted—which is one of the conditions of the problem—she certainly could have done it in that time—and have had an additional 100,000 men in reserve to follow up the first success if wanted ; and there are other nations of Europe who could supply more men if they had the same facilities of transport.

The question is, what force could we oppose to such an army. Taking the most favourable view of the case, we could, by draining Ireland and scraping together every available man, put 50,000 men—infantry and cavalry—into the field, with 200 guns all fully equipped. It is no use going into the details of their organisation or equipment. They may be good or they might be better. This, at least, may be taken for granted, that at home, and for defensive purposes, they are at least equal, or more than equal, to any body of troops of equal numbers that can be brought against them. Whatever may be said about its shortcoming, it is an excellent army ; but it possesses one radical defect for our purposes—it is too small. To make it really effective, it ought to be increased to three times its present extent, or say 150,000 or 200,000 available men. Even, however, if by any conceivable system of enlistment we could raise such a number of men, the expense would be such as to put the idea quite out of the question. Dividing the Army estimates by the number of men borne in the books, a British soldier costs the nation 100*l.* per annum ;* and though if the army were doubled or trebled, the average cost might be reduced, such an increase as we are talking of would entail an annual expenditure of eight to ten millions beyond our present estimates. To propose such an increase for such a purpose would be simply ridiculous for this if for no other reason, that a much smaller addition to our Navy estimates would in a few years give us a fleet that would

* A French soldier, calculating in a similar manner, costs 40*l.* per annum, while a Prussian one costs only 30*l.*

enable us to defy all the navies of the world, and, with proper vigilance, ought to render our shores perfectly safe against invasion.

At the same time there is no doubt but that a good deal might be done to increase our regular forces without additional expense, if military men could be brought to look at it, for the nonce, as a merely defensive force. A battery of artillery of 6 guns, for instance, requires for its complete war equipment 259 officers and men, and 272 horses, or 46 men and 48 horses per gun. For distant foreign service all this may be necessary; but at home, among friends, and for merely defensive purposes, the 200 fully equipped guns we are now supposed to possess might easily be made into 300 by any officer of genius, not swaddled in the red tape of routine. In like manner with the infantry, certain reserves and temporary transfers from the militia might be so arranged as to swell the force considerably, but never, it is feared, to such an extent as to render the regular forces of the kingdom equal to repelling such an invasion as above described.

In addition, however, to our regular forces, we have the militia, 80,000 to 100,000 strong on paper; they, however, are only partially drilled, partially officered, and hardly equipped at all. They have neither kits, nor tents, nor commissariat, nor ambulance; and worse than all, no field artillery—none, in fact, of the requisites which convert a crowd of men, armed with muskets, into that most complicated organisation, a modern army. If embodied for six months, if we had tents, or huts, or barracks to put them into, they might be rendered efficient, and their artillery branch may even now safely be intrusted with garrison duties in well fortified posts. Beyond this, however, they can scarcely be considered as more than the raw material of an excellent army, but utterly inefficient if called upon within a fortnight to take their place in line-of-battle or to go through the duties of a regular campaign.

The difference between trained and partially trained soldiers was never more forcibly illustrated than in the present campaign in France. The early victories of the Germans, while fighting with the French regular army, were probably as much owing to the strategic skill of the head-quarter staff, as to the fighting qualities of the troops. Had MacMahon not been hopelessly outnumbered at Wörth and Sedan, the result might have been very different, and at Spicheren and Gravelotte the Prussians were able to bring up such overwhelming reserves as to make resistance almost impossible. On the other hand, in the campaign of the Loire, the raw levies of the French have in almost

every battle outnumbered the Prussians as two to one, and have fought most gallantly, never allowing that they were beaten, though pressed back day after day ; yet hardly in a single fight can they claim a victory. Our case is perhaps not exactly parallel, as in the event of our militia being called upon to defend their country, they would probably have a greater number of regular soldiers with, or among them, to give them support. But even this would be of little use so long as they remain two distinct and separate forces. To be of any use in this respect, the militia must come to be considered as the *réserve* of the regular army. It must be called out more frequently and at regular intervals, drilled and accustomed to work with regiments of the line, and above all its officers must, besides being more numerous, be placed on the same footing as officers of the regular army, and be accustomed to live and serve with them as forming parts of one great force. It is the marvellous homogeneity of the whole hierarchy of Prussian officers, from the chief of the staff to the youngest ensign, which has given their army such unity that its acts are like those of a single organised being. Till a similar community exists among the officers of all parts of our army, not only unity of action, but of command, is impossible ; but it is not easy to see how it is to be obtained in our case. This time, however, it is not so much a question of expense as of caste, and of the traditions of the services ; and it will require a strong and steady hand to conquer these. But it is the military problem of the day. Properly officered and properly organised, the militia, with the yeomanry cavalry, might, from their being so much more numerous, be made as important as the regular army for purposes of national defence, and at infinitely less cost. At all events, if this cannot be done, it is difficult to know where we are to look.

There are still, however, the Volunteers who form a third element in our defensive strength—as numerous on paper as the other two put together—and in the event of an invasion there seems to be no reason to doubt but that one-half of them would leave their homes and undertake to fight for the defence of their country. At present, however, they can only be considered as a body of gallant men armed with muskets. They have less of the organisation of an army than even the militia. Many regiments no doubt know a good deal of drill, but none know discipline ; and their equipments for the field literally do not exist, nor could they be supplied without considerable delay. Their skill as marksmen would no doubt be of great importance when deployed as skirmishers ; but it requires the strongest nerves and the coolest head to enable any

any one to avail himself of this proficiency in time of battle, and in the hurry-skurry of a fight. The same skill would render them still more formidable as *Francs-tireurs* in a second stage of the war, if we were eventually driven to such a mode of warfare. No nation, however, would probably resort to guerilla warfare, with all its concomitant horrors, so long as it could hope to maintain independence by fair fighting. It may be, however, that even this may be forced upon us, and then the individual skill and pluck of our volunteers may be of the utmost service. But as neither the regular army nor the militia afford sufficient numbers to make up our line of battle on entering a campaign, it is necessary, in the first instance at least, to consider the volunteers as forming an indispensable part of our regular fighting power. The worst defect of the force is, however, that it has no artillery capable of accompanying it into the field, and without some new organisation it is difficult to see how that is to be supplied ; but to send a force armed only with muskets, which are not effective beyond 750 yards, against an enemy possessing artillery which is effective at twice that range, is simply to expose it to be butchered. It has been suggested, however, that the Volunteers might be supplied with 6 and 9-pounder Armstrong guns, with light carriages and limbers, such as are supplied to men-of-war, and, when landed, are dragged about with facility by ropes by the marines and sailors. The Gatling gun, too, throwing $\frac{1}{2}$ -lb. balls, is effective at 1500 yards, and, for field purposes at least, is superior to the mitrailleuse. The latter is merely mechanical infantry, firing the same class of ball, at the same range. What seems wanted here is something more powerful and of longer range, half-way, in fact, between the rifle and the more-powerful regular horse-artillery gun. If twenty men were told off and drilled as a detachment to each of these guns, or Gatlings, they would be amply sufficient to drag it and its ammunition about a field of battle and to keep up with any manœuvres of the infantry to which they were attached. They could not, of course, be expected to drag it along the road on a march, but in this country horses could be found in every town or village or farm-house good enough for that purpose. As in no instance would the horses go into battle, neither they nor their drivers would require any training. But, supposing every Volunteer battalion of say 1000 men had 800 armed with rifles and 200 told off to the service of ten such guns, a body of 50,000 men so equipped and accompanied by 500 such guns would be very difficult to push from any position that they took up, and would inflict very serious losses on any force of equal strength that ventured to attack them.

If

If some such organisation as this, having wholly reference to defence, were seriously set about, and it was known that we could put 200,000 men, even if only one-third of them were regular soldiers, and with 1000 guns of different sorts, in position in front of London in a fortnight—which would imply very considerable reserves—most nations would think seriously before they attempted the invasion. The Volunteer movement had a wonderfully steadyng effect on the French colonels who demanded to be led to London after the Orsini affair, and since that time our military spirit has not been spoken of so slightingly as before. This, however, was the spontaneous uprising of the people, unaided at the time and unencouraged by either the Government or Parliament; and unless Government will boldly take it up, and do what is requisite to amalgamate all these discordant elements into a whole, its component parts while separate must always remain comparatively useless and ineffective.

Such an organisation of our defensive forces as we have attempted to describe, or something equivalent to it, is probably as much as even the most sanguine anticipate to realise from our efforts in this direction during the next few years. Even when accomplished, it must be borne in mind that the defensive army would be composed, though of excellent, still of very heterogeneous materials, and the different parts of it would never have had any opportunity of working in the field much less of fighting together before. After six weeks' campaigning the machine might get perfectly into working order, but in a first action two-thirds of the force would be still practically civilians who had never manœuvred in front of an enemy or heard a shot fired in earnest. It is no slur either on their individual courage or coolness, if it is hinted that under such circumstances mistakes might occur which there might be no time to remedy, and even panic seize some detachments, which might result in disaster. But even if nothing of the sort occurred, it would at best be staking the existence of the nation on the result of a single general action fought in front of the capital.

In the event of its being defeated there would be nothing left but for the defending army to retreat on the capital; and no one, it is presumed, would for one moment maintain that, as at present circumstanced, London either could or should be defended. It is situated in a hollow surrounded by heights, the possession of any one of which would expose whole districts to the artillery fire of the enemy; and the houses, especially on the outskirts of the town, are of the flimsiest and most combustible character, so as to render street fighting almost impossible. If any of the suburbs could be so defended as to allow the defeated army time

to

to pass through with a chance of reforming on the north, it is as much as could possibly be done, and more, probably, than it would be wise to attempt.

If, however, we are the self-governing and patriotic people we suppose ourselves to be, the fall of the capital ought not to entail the surrender of the nation. The government of the country could as well be carried on at Oxford or at Manchester, and each county is a self-governing community which could easily organise itself for defence, and would do so were it not that, by a strange fatality, we have managed to accumulate the whole of our war material and military stores in the capital. Woolwich is our only arsenal where guns or gun-carriages can be manufactured, and where ammunition can be prepared either for artillery or rifles. Enfield is the only place where small arms can be made, and Waltham our only powder mill; and all these places fall with the capital, while the Tower is our only storehouse for small arms and many of the minor munitions of war. If all these fall into the hands of the invader, the army in the field would be entirely dependent on the resources of private firms for the supply of arms and ammunition. As, however, the whole policy of the Government of late years has been to discourage private enterprise and to take the whole manufacturing departments into their own hands, no plant or machinery exists in the country sufficient to meet such an emergency without time for preparation, and unless it is met, the continuance of the struggle is hopeless.

If the recommendation of the Commission of 1859-60, for the establishment of a central arsenal at Cannock Chase, had been carried into effect, the case would now have been widely different. The project at the time was warmly espoused by the late Lord Palmerston and adopted by the Cabinet of the day, and 150,000/- were year after year placed in the Estimates for the purchase of the site. No Minister, however, ever had the courage to ask the House of Commons to vote the money, and at last, as mentioned above, it was withdrawn in order that the growing expense of our sea defences might be met, in part at least, without any considerable increase of the money authorised to be raised by loan.

Had the site been purchased at the time, the small arms factory might have been established at Cannock instead of at Enfield, and the additions to the gun factories could have been erected there as cheaply as at Woolwich, and, with the addition of a small laboratory, the nucleus of a central arsenal might have been got together not only without additional expense (except the purchase of the land), but probably with considerable ultimate economy to the Government. At least, as all the private firms of ironmasters find it not only more convenient but cheaper to establish

establish their works in the immediate proximity of the districts where the coal and minerals are found upon which they depend, it is clear that Government would be equally benefited by the change of locality, and by the unlimited supply of skilled labour in the iron trades which these districts afford.

The reason why these recommendations have not been carried out are, however, understood to be much more departmental than economical, and are a part of our system of government which it will be very difficult to get over. It is an immense convenience to the authorities at the War Office and the Admiralty to have the manufacturing establishments so close to their offices. Either the officials can run down, or can summon their subordinates to attend at any hour, and so keep the management and control of the whole in an intelligible form. This is especially felt during the session of Parliament. No school-boy dreads more going up to the head master with an imperfectly prepared lesson than a Civilian Minister trembles at the idea of answering in the House of Commons an inquiry, on a military or naval question, the bearing of which he naturally only imperfectly understands. So soon as a question is put on the paper it is telegraphed to Woolwich or Enfield, and the proper officer summoned to attend on the next day, with the data requisite for an answer. All this could not be done, or, at all events, would be done with much more difficulty, from Cannock Chase than from Woolwich, and Ministers naturally shrink from a change which would expose them to the necessity of answering questions from their own personal knowledge, or would deprive them of the continual coaching of the heads of the manufacturing departments.

If London were or could be fortified, the conditions of the problem would be reversed. There would be no difficulty in finding any number of men that might be required to man the ramparts, and this is just the duty for which citizen or civilian forces are best adapted. In earlier times, and especially during the middle ages, fortifications were used almost solely to enable untrained citizens to defend themselves against regular soldiers, though in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from causes too complex to enter on here, both the attack and defence of forts fell into the hands of the military. At the present day, when we are talking of armed nations as contradistinguished from regular armies, it seems likely that fortification will revert to its original use. The fact is, no manœuvre of war is so easily or so quickly learnt, either by an educated man or a skilled mechanic, as the art of loading and pointing a gun through an embrasure, while the manœuvring of field artillery is probably the most difficult, and requires longer and severer training than any other form of drill.

The

The defence of forts, too, has another advantage in favour of improvised soldiers, that no sudden panic or fit of insubordination, which all undisciplined troops are liable to, can be taken advantage of by the enemy. If terror seizes a garrison in consequence of some explosion or other unexpected event, and every man rushes from the ramparts and hides himself in the casemates, the besieging force may wonder why the fire of the fort has suddenly ceased; but there may be fifty reasons for this besides the true one, and the fit is over long before it is known to the enemy. In the open field the very reverse would be the case, and those sudden impulses are what is most to be dreaded with raw troops, where these mistakes may be fatal.

As in most military matters, the First Napoleon appreciated this distinction with wonderful clearness. 'But how,' he says, 'is it possible to fortify places having a circuit of 12,000 to 15,000 toises? Such a place would require 80 to 100 fronts, a garrison of 50,000 to 60,000 soldiers, and from 800 to 1000 pieces of artillery on the ramparts. But 60,000 soldiers are an army; would it not be better to employ them in the field? This objection is continually urged against the fortification of large cities; but it is false, as it takes no account of the distinction between a man and a soldier. It would of course require 50,000 or 60,000 men to defend a great capital, but not 50,000 or 60,000 soldiers. When misfortunes and great calamities fall on a nation it may find itself without soldiers, but never without men sufficient for its internal defence. 50,000 men of whom 2000 to 3000 are artillerymen, are sufficient to defend a capital, and to prevent the entry of 300,000 to 400,000 men; while these 50,000 men in the open country, if they are not disciplined soldiers and commanded by experienced officers, would be thrown into disorder and ridden over by a charge of 3000 cavalry.'

We need not point out how truly prophetic all this is of the state of affairs in Paris at the present moment, though it is strange to observe how enormously the scale of warlike operations has increased since even his day. Instead of 300,000 or 400,000 attacking a capital, practically a million of Germans are engaged in that and the indispensable subsidiary arrangements, and half a million, at least, are engaged in defending it, either behind the walls or in the field—the latter, however, most of them only raw recruits or untried levies. Had the regular army of France been able to make good its retreat to Paris, its siege might have proved a task even beyond the strength of Germany. Had her capital not been fortified, France would have been at the mercy of the

* 'Commentaires de Napoleon I.', vol. i. p. 107.

German armies after the fall of Sedan. As it is she has had time to make a heroic effort to beat back the invader, and whatever the result may be, its effect on the ultimate position of the country, after peace is made, cannot fail to be most beneficial to France. Had we been allowed such an opportunity, either it is that we have totally miscalculated the patriotism or power of organisation which we have assumed we possess, or we should have freed the country from any army that we can at present see would be likely to be landed on our shores.

But can London be fortified? Eleven years ago an attempt was made in this Journal* to take stock of the various propositions that had then been put before the public in answer to this question, and none of them appeared to be satisfactory. In 1804 the problem might have been solvable owing to the comparatively restricted space then occupied by the capital and the lesser range of incendiary projectiles. In 1859 a circle of forts, 30 miles in extent, was deemed necessary, and since that time not only has the population increased immensely, but the area covered by inhabited houses has extended in a far greater ratio. The tendency of the population, both rich and poor, has been to get out of town as far as possible, and the railroads have afforded facilities for this in a manner quite unprecedented. Thirty miles were then thought sufficient for the extent of the circle of forts; now 40 or 45 would at least be required. It would be necessary to run a line of defences, tolerably thickly strewn, from Kingston-on-Thames, so as to cover the water-works, to beyond Woolwich, a distance of 22 miles, and though it might suffice to establish camps in some of the more important strategical points on the north, not less than 45 or 50 works would be required, and to garrison them efficiently not less than 150,000 to 200,000 men would suffice. If the army were unable to maintain itself in the field, there ought to be no difficulty on the score of men; the real difficulty is the expense. To purchase the quantity of land for the erection of the works so near the metropolis, and clearance-rights over a zone sufficiently extensive to prevent buildings and obstructions growing up around them, would require a very large sum of money. The victualling, too, of London is another question that would require very careful consideration before it was ever determined to fortify it. Not only is it the largest city in the world, but it draws its supplies from a larger area, both by sea and by land, than any other city. It must also be borne in mind that we have no such control over the butchers and bakers and other tradesmen in London as is possessed by

* 'Quarterly Review,' July, 1859.

the municipal authorities in Paris, for instance, and other Continental cities ; and, with our institutions, such an interference with free trade would be warmly resisted. It would consequently be almost impossible to establish such a control over our stores of provisions as to make them suffice for anything like the same proportionate time as could be done in most Continental cities, where all trades are, more or less, subjected to the control of the police. The supply of fuel, too, would be an enormous difficulty if the railways to the north were cut, and the navigation of the Thames stopped. On the other hand, however, it would be more difficult, owing to its extent, effectually to blockade London than any other city. Its circumference would be at least 45 miles, as compared with the 35 of the circuit of the forts of Paris, and 200,000 men certainly could not do it and keep up the necessary communication with the coast, nor probably 300,000. If an armed nation were poured into our island, as Germany has been into France, the struggle might be hopeless, and even the fortification of London insufficient to save us ; but the question is certainly worth inquiring into, for such a fortification would be a shield over the heart of England that might render her invulnerable. No one can contemplate the enormous advantages the fortifications of Paris have given to the French in their present struggle without feeling how important such auxiliaries might be to us if in a similar situation. If Paris had not been fortified, as we have already said, nothing could have saved France from being overrun, while, whatever may be the result, these fortifications have given her a chance. On the other hand, had the Prussians suspected that Paris could or would have held out so long, they would have concluded a peace after Sedan. Neither they, however, nor indeed any of the leading men of the day quite appreciate the part which fortification may be made to play in future wars. On the one hand, the stupid pedantry of the military engineers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and on the other the brilliant strategy of the First Napoleon in our day, brought the art into disrepute. Its prestige was partly restored by the siege of Sebastopol. Had Bazaine not thrown himself with his whole army into Metz, it would neither have been bombarded nor taken to the present day, for it alone, of all the fortresses of France which have hitherto been taken, was provided with detached forts, the use of which is the most important discovery made in modern times in the art of fortification. Paris, too, is provided with them, though imperfectly, and to them and her rifled cannon she owes her power of resistance and her immunity from bombardment. Had she possessed only her *enceinte* without the advanced forts, or had the Prussian batteries been consequently

consequently able to get within range of the town, it probably would have been in ruins long ago. Still it is a question, and a very grave one, and one that was warmly debated when the fortification of Paris was determined upon, and more recently when it was proposed to fortify Antwerp, whether great and populous cities ought to be fortified at all and their inhabitants exposed to the horrors of a siege. In the case of Antwerp it was contended that a fortified camp, '*à cheval*', on the river above the town, would be a stronger strategical position than a fortified city, containing a vast civil population and a number of very combustible buildings and stores. But against this it was argued that a merely military position must be kept stored and provisioned during peace, and that even with the utmost care stores and provisions will spoil, and their constant renewal involves enormous expense. Should this not be carefully attended to, there arises the danger to an army, when forced back into such a fortress, of finding that its commissariat has acted as such bodies have generally done in similar circumstances, and it has only insufficient or rotten stores with which to stand a siege. On the other hand, in such a town as Antwerp there are always large supplies of grain and groceries of all kinds and stores of provisions and forage kept continually renewed by the agency of commercial enterprise, without the expense of a penny to government, besides houses and furniture and fifty other requisites, all of which are at the disposal of a national army defending the town. Though it is true that the civil population must also be fed, it is easier to get rid of a considerable number of the non-effectives than suddenly to import provisions, while the able-bodied population may all be turned to use in the event of a siege. If towns were merely to be enclosed by ramparts, however strong, as was the case with all the fortified places of the last century, these arguments would not stand examination for a moment; but it seems to be otherwise where the detached forts suffice to keep the besieger beyond bombarding range. At Antwerp, for instance, they have been placed so far in advance of the *enceinte*, that so long as the besiegers are kept well in front of them, the town is quite safe, and no engineer officer has yet explained how it is possible to sap up to a fort or line of forts, defended by modern artillery, with 50,000 or 100,000 men lying behind them ready to sally on the besiegers. The Prussians did not dare to attempt it at Metz, nor have they yet done so at Paris. Strasburg and the towns they did bombard were all fortified, *à la Vauban*, and without detached defences. With scarcely an exception, all the modern strategical fortresses of Western Europe enclose important towns, while Russia alone seems to have adopted the other view of the case. Sebastopol

was

was practically only a military town, and Modlin is absolutely so. Its inner keep is a bomb-proof barrack, capable of giving shelter to from 20,000 to 25,000 men, and there is abundance of space within its outer enceinte for the encampment of 70,000 or 80,000 more, but not necessarily for one single civilian. Those at present there are only so on sufferance. In this country Portsmouth and Plymouth are so fortified that their advanced works are at such a distance as to protect the dockyards and the towns in which they are situated from any damage from bombardment, even with the present improved rifled ordnance. Up to the present time, however, no siege of any place fortified on the modern system has occurred since the introduction of rifled siege guns, and it is in consequence difficult to predicate whether the invention will prove advantageous to the defence or to the attack. There is no doubt but that walls can be breached and parapets destroyed at greater distances than before, but it is on the other hand difficult to foresee how parapets of loose earth can be thrown up, and embrasures maintained in the face of such guns. One advantage for the defence seems clear, which is that the fire of the forts can cover a much larger area than before, and command wider channels at sea than has hitherto been deemed possible, so that, on the whole, it is probable that the improvements in artillery are in favour of the defence—but this can only be proved by experience, which has not yet been obtained.

Unless London can be so fortified as to render it safe from this dreadful means of attack, it is utterly useless to moot the question. It could not and should not be for one moment entertained. It may not be possible to protect such a town from the danger of being bombarded, but there is so much *prima facie* evidence that it could be done, that, at all events, it is well worth while inquiring into ; this, however, cannot be accomplished by any individual. The evidence of surveyors and experts is necessary as to the value of the land to be acquired ; that of engineers as to the site and extent of the forts, and also of military men of experience as to the advisability of the project. All this could only be elicited by a Royal Commission, but whether or not it is worth while instituting one for such a purpose Government must decide. The public, at all events, would probably think that they have a right to be informed on a question so closely bearing on the national safety.

Assuming for the nonce that the plan of fortifying London by a circle of detached forts is found to be either impracticable or inexpedient, there is another form of the problem which is free from many of the objections which may be urged against that proposal ; but one which may still be deemed sufficient.

Portsmouth

Portsmouth is fortified so as to form a great entrenched camp, and may be made stronger than it now is, by a few additional works. Chatham would have been fortified had not the ill-timed parsimony of the Cabinet induced them to reject the recommendations of the Commission of 1860, but it might still be done at no great expense. Between these two places there is Aldershot, which from an open encampment, might easily be converted into a strongly fortified post, capable on an emergency of sheltering from 20,000 to 30,000 men. Here the land belongs to the Government, and there are no civilian inhabitants to compensate, while the erection of the necessary works ought not to be expensive. The situation of Aldershot is, however, too far to the westward to have much direct influence on an army advancing from the south coast on London, and it would consequently be necessary to have as large and as important a fortified place at or near Reigate, if this line is to be taken up for the defence of the capital. Here, however, comes in a difficulty which it may be difficult to surmount. Of late years Reigate has grown into an important and extensive town—every knoll or point of vantage, where a Dugald Dalgetty would like to erect a sconce, is occupied by a villa, and the valleys between are filled with streets of houses. To purchase all these would be very expensive, and to fortify the place, in spite of these, would expose the camp to all the inconveniences of joint civil and military occupation, which is so inconvenient both in peace and in war time. In this case the expense would be so great as to defeat the object sought to be attained, if it were attempted to fortify a perimeter sufficiently extensive to protect the town from bombardment. Perhaps these objections might be obviated, or some other site found in that neighbourhood as advantageous for the camp, and free from the encumbrance of a town.

There would then only remain Chatham. Few would now probably deny that the recommendation to fortify this important arsenal was a wise one. Not only would such a place have had great influence in the defence of the capital, but it might have supplemented, almost supplied the place of Woolwich, with practically nearly all its advantages of proximity to the metropolis. In its present condition, it is as open to an enemy occupying the country between it and London, as Woolwich itself. There is nothing to prevent a position being taken up on the left bank of the Medway, within rifle range of the dockyard and arsenal, and even with field guns, the whole being laid in ruins, and all the stores burnt which they contain.

The estimate for the complete defence of Chatham by the Commission

mission of 1860, amounted to 1,300,000*l.*, but as an improved line from the Medway to the Thames, in front of that proposed, *via* Gad's Hill, would probably have to be taken up, the cost would amount to about 1,500,000*l.* Besides this a tête-du-pont in front of Tilbury would form an indispensable part of this scheme, and would cost half a million at least. Some additional fortifications would also be required at Harwich, but they need not be expensive, and with an efficient torpedo equipment would be sufficient to close that harbour against an enemy.

To make the scheme quite complete, one would, of course, like to see a citadel on Banstead Downs, in rear of the first line of defence, and at least one entrenched camp to the north of London, which the enemy must leave behind him when he advanced from the capital to subdue the rest of the country, and from which the defending force would be able to act on his communications. But leaving these out of consideration for the present, the state of our defences by fortifications would be, that on a line from Portsmouth to Chatham, there would be a strong nucleus of defence every twenty-five miles, where our troops could muster and organise themselves, and where they ought to be able to find the stores and ammunition necessary for a campaign. At present, in the event of an invasion no one would know whither to go, where to muster, or where to find anything; but if our forces were collected in these four camps, one or two marches of twenty-five miles would enable them to concentrate on any given point that was threatened, with their right or left resting on a fortress, which would at all events prevent a retreat being converted into a rout. This position also presents this peculiar advantage, that along the whole line from Aldershot to Chatham there extends a range of hills, which presents throughout its whole extent better strategic positions for defence than probably any range of hills elsewhere in England. It forms, in fact, a natural rampart, resting on Chatham on the east, and with two such bastions as those proposed at Reigate and Aldershot, ought to be easily made impregnable. Where the rampart fails is only between Aldershot and Portsmouth, which is also the longest gap, but it is the one which the enemy is least likely to avail himself of. No enemy landing on the south coast would attempt to turn the line by passing to the westward of Aldershot, leaving Portsmouth in his rear, and Aldershot on his flank, when attempting to advance on London by the valley of the Thames.

To take up such a line of defence would probably cost about 5 or 6 millions of money, but it would certainly render the invasion of England, and the attack of its capital an operation infinitely more difficult and dangerous than it is at present. It would be too

too dangerous in the face of such a line of defence to land either on the beach or in any of the small harbours of the south coast, and the enemy would consequently be thrown as far north as the Humber, on the east coast, and as far west probably as the Exe on the south. He would then have to advance by a long route against the defending force, possessing four strong fortresses in the neighbourhood of its capital, more than sufficient to shelter the débris of the army if defeated. This is a very different operation from advancing two or three short marches from its base against an untried army in such a position that, if defeated, it must disintegrate and leave the capital at the mercy of the invader.

Neither this, however, nor any other system of national defence can be considered complete without the establishment of some central fortified points, in order to secure in the first instance a dépôt of arms and stores, and a place where guns and ammunitions of war can be manufactured, after those of the capital have fallen into the enemy's hands. It would be even more important, however, as constituting a place where raw levies, or volunteers from the north could muster and be organised, and where the débris of a beaten army might be reformed. It is wanted, in fact, to form what may be called a keep to our national system of defence.

As the Commissioners of 1860, after what they represent as a tolerably exhaustive inquiry, unanimously recommended Cannock Chase as the spot best suited for the site of such an establishment, and their decision has never been questioned, there seems no reason for doubting the correctness of their conclusions. The spot is certainly central. The land is, or was, free from houses or encumbrances, and was consequently to be had cheap. 150,000*l.* was all that was asked for it; and had the purchase been made, and a commencement of an arsenal been established, as above pointed out, the rest of the work would now be easy. The temptation, however, to save this paltry sum on an expenditure of nearly 70 millions was too strong for a British minister, and no steps whatever have been taken in this direction, and no plans, and, so far as the public know, no estimates have ever been made of the expense of carrying out this project.

It is curious to contrast this state of affairs with the conduct of the little state of Belgium under similar circumstances. When some ten years ago they began to perceive that their independence could not be preserved without some considerable expenditure, they set themselves at once to work to do what was needful. In the first place they had the courage to abandon and dismantle a number of the fortresses they already possessed, because

because they found them antiquated, and also because they were too numerous for their small army to garrison efficiently, and they then concentrated their energies and resources in converting Antwerp into a first-rate strategical fortress in the rear of their capital. No money was grudged that was required for the purpose, and with an energy equal to the occasion they have rendered the whole so complete, that when on the outbreak of hostilities in July last, they felt their neutrality endangered, in a very short time they mobilized 100,000 men, garrisoned Antwerp, and found themselves perfectly prepared for whatever might happen. All the detached forts were fully armed, and their ammunition and stores were complete, so that in a few days if attacked they would have been perfectly ready to defend themselves. Another circumstance which must be almost an equal source of pride to the Belgians is, that owing to the talent of Brialmont, who had had the principal direction of the works, and more than this, to the free and intelligent discussions that took place during their progress, both in the Chambers and out of doors, Antwerp is acknowledged to be the model fortress of Europe, and the one whose works are most nearly up to the level of modern science. The defences recently erected in this country may be equal to them in design, perhaps even surpass them in some respects, but the necessity of studying economy in every stage has rendered their thin line rather pale when contrasted with the massive strength of the Belgian works. It is true we may be able to remedy this defect to a great measure by temporary works thrown up between the permanent works when the place is attacked, as has been done at Paris and could always be done to a certain extent in all fortresses. There can, however, be no greater mistake than to suppose that earthworks thrown up in haste in presence of any enemy, can ever be an efficient defence except as adjuncts to permanent fortifications. An army in the field may so entrench itself as to add 10 per cent. or something more to its strength, but it will be lucky if in so doing it does not injure its mobility to an equal extent; but for the defence of places, unless the garrison is nearly equal to the attacking army, only permanent works with wet ditches or revetted escarpments are of any avail.

Fortifications may, in fact, be defined as the art of creating in time of peace soldiers out of earth and bricks—and now it must be added, iron—who shall be at their posts ready and armed whenever war may break out. By a judicious creation of this sort Belgium has certainly doubled her defensive strength, or in other words, for defensive purposes made her army of 100,000 men equal to one of 200,000. We could easily do the same, and

reap the economy of it, if our people could only be brought to understand the nature of the problem presented to them, and also made to feel its urgency.

In addition to these there is still one weak point in England's armour which must not be overlooked, or it may be a source of trouble hereafter. Ireland is almost undefended by fortifications of any sort, while notwithstanding 700 years of possession by the English Crown, and seventy years of intimate union, the island is inhabited by a native population disaffected—not to say hostile—to the Government under which it lives. No one probably doubts that if an invading force were landed on the island, the bulk of the population would join them with enthusiasm, and if supplied with arms would fight for what they call the independence of their country. It is in vain to point out to Irishmen that, owing to the geographical extent and situation of the country, they can never be practically independent. They have neither the materials nor the wealth to create or maintain an ironclad fleet sufficient to defend their shores, nor the men or money to repel an invader if once landed. They must exist either as a conquered country or annexed to some larger and wealthier community with whom they must, if they are to be a people, make common cause. Of late years some have hoped that by conciliation and justice the Irish may be made loyal subjects of the English crown, and it may be so, though a disease of such long standing cannot probably be cured in a generation. But be this as it may, it cannot be doubted that at present the Irish would welcome an invasion, from whatever quarter it might come, and it would be a serious complication of our difficulties, if when engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with any Continental power, Ireland were taken possession of by our enemies. Hitherto the English Government has always been, and always felt itself strong enough to repress any rebellion that might occur in Ireland without the aid of fortifications. Even in the event of our getting into trouble with the United States, though a Fenian army would certainly be thrown on the west coast of Ireland, and be aided by money and arms, still it is not probable the Americans would risk many of their troops or their prestige so far from their base, by depending on such allies as they would find in the island. If we were not at the time engaged in war with some European nation, an American or Fenian invasion is not a danger that need frighten us. What is to be feared is the superiority of an enemy's fleet in our waters, rendering the invasion of England possible, and our consequently being forced to withdraw every

every soldier from Ireland, and to employ them in the defence of our own shores. In such a case 10,000 men with means for arming the population, might overrun the island, and there is not—except in Cork harbour—a single fort or fortified barrack in the whole island, where any loyal men or any remnant of troops that might remain, could find shelter, or where they could hold out for a week if attacked by artillery. Still less is there any place that could be expected to hold out till we had leisure to succour it, or any securely fortified harbour under the protection of whose guns we could land troops when it became necessary to reconquer the island. To attempt to fortify Dublin or Belfast or any large city for this purpose, would only aggravate the evil, for their fortifications would certainly be used against ourselves. In Cork Harbour, however, a commencement has been made, which at no great expense might be converted into a fortified position that might meet the difficulty. Forts Carlisle and Camden at the mouth of the harbour, have been designed more to deny the use of anchorage to an enemy's ships, and the fort on Spike Island is in the worst style of old fashioned forts, and too weak and too small to resist any regular attack by artillery. If Government had the courage to purchase 'Great Island,' on which Queenstown is situated, and to erect upon it the works requisite to convert it into an intrenched camp, this deficiency might be supplied to a great extent, while, owing to its singularly favourable position for defence, the whole scheme ought not to be at all disproportionately expensive.

The absence of any such place of refuge, or any rallying point in the whole of Ireland, might lead to catastrophes, the extent of which it is difficult to calculate in the event of any insurrection, aided by foreigners, being successful. What is even worse, strategically, is the want of any secure harbour, by means of which communication can be kept open with the island in war time. To make Cork Harbour quite secure, it ought to be fortified all round, as Portsmouth and Plymouth are; but that would in a disaffected country require a garrison of regular troops, the abstraction of which would be almost as great an evil as the one it is intended to remedy. The fortification of Great Island might not accomplish all that is required, but it would be an immense gain to the defence of Ireland, and is probably as much as it is now desirable to attempt.

It may be argued that the invasion of Ireland by a foreigner, combined with operations against England, would be merely the neutralisation of a portion of his troops, who might otherwise be employed against ourselves; and, as Ireland must be restored to us when peace was made, unless we are utterly beaten, we ought

not to concern ourselves about her fate. On the contrary, it may be urged that nothing would be so likely to cure her of her inveterate disloyalty as twelve months' occupation by a foreign army, with its requisitions, its shootings, and the strong-handed repression in which it would certainly indulge. He must be a hardened cynic who would argue thus. We, if we are a great people, are bound to protect Ireland even against her own follies, and it is impossible to contemplate the misery and the disorganisation that would result from the invasion of Ireland by a foreigner without feeling that we ought to shrink from no sacrifice to arrest it. How this can be accomplished without securing some points by permanent fortification is a problem which we must some day face, though it has not hitherto been studied with any attention at all proportioned to its importance.

In the presence of such astounding events as are now taking place on the Continent, the attention of Parliament during the next session ought to be almost exclusively absorbed in questions relating to national defence, and the re-organisation of our military forces. But is Parliament, or are the Ministry at all prepared to face them in anything like the spirit demanded by the gravity of the crisis? No temporising half-measures will now suffice. Either we must be prepared to make sacrifices—pecuniary or personal, equal to those to which our neighbours are forced to submit—or we must be prepared to succumb and take up a second rank among nations, and be content to exist on sufferance.

In the last great death grapple in which we were engaged in the beginning of the present century, France only was our equal, and the one power we had to fear. The world, however, has made wonderful progress since those days. The United States of America have grown into a power at least equal—if they chose to exert their strength—perhaps superior, to any European nation. Russia has spread her empire over half a continent, and is full of youth and vigour. Prussia, as we see, has become a giant, and France may be purified and strengthened by her present adversities. Have we made similar progress? and are we now as equal to the struggle with any of these four as we were with the one, sixty years ago? Perhaps not; but it may be argued we have no desire to fight. All we want is to be allowed to dwell in peace, to spin our cotton, to manufacture articles for the rest of the world, and to accumulate and enjoy our gains, injuring nobody. We may also plead that we deserve well of the world, for we have developed constitutional freedom and religious liberty, and kept the lamp of civilisation lighted when, but for us,

us, it might have been extinguished in the turmoil of Continental politics. Unfortunately for this Utopian dream, we possess the most extensive and the most scattered empire in the world, and consequently the one least easily defended. What is still more unlucky, America covets Canada, and would like to possess our West Indian Islands. Russia is equally desirous of taking our place in India, and both Germany and France hate us because we are happy and prosperous, and sit quietly looking on, while they are pouring out their blood like water, and their treasure like sand; and all would like to share in our commerce, and to appropriate at least a portion of our gains. Under these circumstances one of two things—Either we must be prepared to face the same expenditure of blood and treasure that any one of these four giants has incurred or is prepared now to meet, or we must withdraw our pretension to rank as their equal. If, however, our patriotism is equal to the sacrifice, we may, possibly, be spared the most painful part of it. But on this point there must be no mistake, and the world must be convinced that we are really in earnest, or the catastrophe may be imminent.

It is idle to fancy that, after such a convulsion as that now occurring, affairs can for years subside into even so stable a position as the armed peace which was considered so threatening before the recent outbreak. Whether France comes out of the struggle victorious or defeated, she must be more powerful for warlike purposes than she was before the war; she will probably reorganise her forces on the Prussian model, and, if regenerated by adversity, she may be stronger than ever. Even if Paris falls, and the Prussians dictate the harshest terms of peace, they must send back the French army, three hundred thousand strong, now prisoners in Germany. Provided with arms, they are an army again, and burning with a desire to wipe out the memory of their defeat by fighting anybody, or in any cause. On their return, they will find in France six or seven hundred thousand men, more or less drilled, and with arms in their hands. Many of them are, or have become, regular soldiers, and the bulk of them have become divorced from the pursuits of civil life, while the war has destroyed the means by which many gained a livelihood, and they are consequently unable to resume their industries. Hatred the most implacable, not only against Prussia, but against every one, whom, justly or unjustly, they fancy may have contributed to their reverses has taken possession of every Frenchman's bosom, and created an undying feeling of irritation on the part of the most sensitive nation in Europe, which must long be the cause of imminent danger of an outbreak with or without any adequate cause.

cause. Their fleet, too, is untouched, and its efficiency unimpaired by the war, and, with this, while there exists in France a million of men under arms, writhing under a sense of injury and disgrace, who shall say that peace may not be broken at any hour?

There is one other important fact which must be carefully noted, which is, that the organisation of the Prussian army is the greatest advance in military science that has been made in modern times. The brilliant strategy of the First Napoleon caused a revolution in military matters that, for a time, rendered him supreme in Europe. His armies were first created by the terrible discipline of the revolutionary period, but they were moulded into an effective and homogeneous fighting machine by the genius of their Chief, and his power of selecting and influencing those best suited for his purposes, and then by his inspiring the masses with blind, but unreasoning, confidence in his star, by leading them from victory to victory in battle-fields all over Europe. The defect of this system is that everything depends on the leader, and it broke down signally in the present war, in consequence of their favourite generals being discredited in the first encounters, and no one coming forward to take their places. The Prussian army is organised on a totally different system. The names of Moltke, or of the Princes who command the German armies, though all respectable, are not names to call forth enthusiasm as men of genius; but that is of little consequence. The staff, the regimental officers, the privates, all know their duties, and are sufficiently intelligent to understand that the success of the whole must depend on each fraction doing the duty which it is specially told off to perform. From the commander-in-chief to the last recruit there is an intelligent perception of the part to be played, and an unhesitating determination to do it, which is the perfection of discipline, and, so far as we can see, renders it impossible to disintegrate such an army. It may be overwhelmed by numbers, it may be beaten by circumstances which in war no one can foresee, but, man for man, an army so intelligently organised is superior to any army yet put on foot at any age or by any country.

When the proportions of this great array of armed men first dawned upon us in July last, all Europe was struck with the magnificence of the spectacle. A whole nation rising as one man to repel an unjust invasion of their soil. Now, however, that we have had opportunities and leisure to scan its features more narrowly, it seems a portent which may be disastrous to the liberties of Europe. One of the boasts of our modern civilisation was, that we had relegated the business of war to regular soldiers, and freed peaceful citizens and the industrial

trial classes from its burthens, except in the shape of taxes. The Prussian system has abolished this distinction. In Germany now every citizen is a soldier, and either for home service or foreign wars must, when called upon, join his regiment, on pain of being shot as a deserter. It is a return to the state of Europe before the Thirty Years' War; but it is done, and cannot now be undone. Unless France, the moment she recovers her power of self-government, sets to work to organise the whole of her male population on the Prussian system, she must be content to hold her liberties, her very national existence, on sufferance, at the mercy of her stronger neighbour. So, too, must Austria, and so must all nations, unless those exceptionally favoured, who wish to remain masters of their own destinies. Perhaps the worst feature of the new system is that, when every citizen is a soldier, disarmament becomes impossible, and when all have arms in their hands the temptation to use them is great. Should this prove to be the case, war may again become the normal state of Europe, and peace only be obtained at fitful intervals during the exhaustion of one or more of the contending nations.

Against this it may be argued that any army recruited as the German army is must naturally be averse to war, and eager for peace when what it considers its legitimate ends are attained. It certainly has not shown these tendencies in either the Austrian or French wars, and, besides this, the consciousness of irresistible strength is a terrible temptation either to use or abuse it; and though Germany may, after this war, wish for peace and rest contented, when other nations are equally armed, causes of quarrel can never be long wanting.

Ought we, then, in the new organisation of our military forces to copy the Prussian system? For our home army—irrespective of India and the colonies—it might be well that we should, at least to a certain extent, do so, but it is no use entertaining the question at present; for it is quite certain that neither the people nor our rulers are sufficiently convinced of the imminence of the danger for the one to propose or the other to submit to such a system. It required the disaster of Jena, and seven years' subsequent occupation of Prussia by the French army, to store up a sufficient amount of hate to induce the Germans to submit to the dreadful tyranny of their military system, and to pass every male, without exception, through the army. Now that, after fifty years of self-negation, they are reaping the fruits of it, perhaps they do not regret their sacrifices; but we certainly are not prepared for any such effort of patriotism, and nothing probably but a disaster equal in extent and in consequences to that at Jena, would ever convince the inhabitants of these islands of what it is necessary to

to go through if they would be great. Even in circumstances like the present, it is more than questionable if the English would listen to a proposal for a conscription such as exists in France and in most countries of Europe. We even hesitate about employing the ballot for the militia, and, in fact, want to be not only safe, but powerful, without undergoing any of the inconveniences or making any of the sacrifices which all other nations are prepared to submit to in order to attain these ends.

Worse than this, we are not even prepared to spend our money in our own defence. When France and Germany were borrowing their ten, twenty, and thirty millions for war purposes, and we were boasting that we were prepared to fight either of them in defence of Belgium, our Ministers came down to the House and asked for a credit of two millions! Even that was not to increase our means of defence, but merely to supply the deficiencies which the wretched cheeseparings of the two previous years had made in our means. Had they asked for ten millions it would not have been a penny too much, and had they resolutely set about spending it we might even now be in a very different position. The first result of this littleness of our governors was our being nearly involved in a war with Russia. Had they asked for ten millions, Prince Gortschakoff's circular would never have been penned; but when it was seen that all the Ministry dared to think of spending was this paltry sum, all the world made up their minds that our friendship was not worth seeking, and our enmity not to be feared.

Yet this surely is not the feeling nor the wish of the country if it could be properly ascertained. With an infinitesimally small amount of grumbling we spent a few years ago on the Abyssinian expedition, in order to rescue a consul from the hands of a mad savage, a sum of money rather in excess of the total which the War Department has been able to wring during the last ten years from the House of Commons for the fortification of our dockyards and arsenals. Yet no one probably would be inclined to assert that the punishment of King Theodore was as important an object as the safety of our own shores.

Or to take another example when we were much poorer than we now are, we spent twenty millions of money to emancipate our slaves, and were never the worse for it; and no one now regrets the expenditure. If people really understood that such an amount was wanted, not to free men who had never known liberty, but to prevent a whole nation of free men from being enslaved, would they grudge it? The real question is, who among

among our rulers will have the courage to risk his seat by daring to tell the nation the truth in this matter? Not certainly the Premier; though in a speech he delivered at the Mansion-House in July last he asserted and dwelt with particular emphasis on the fact that our annual accumulation of savings, over and above our regular income, could not be estimated at less than one hundred millions a year. Yet a few weeks afterwards he tremblingly ventured to ask the House of Commons for a dole of two millions to protect the enormous capital that produced this annual saving!

While this miserable pretext of economy is the ruling passion of our statesmen, what is most to be feared is the adoption of half measures. Something that will silence those who are anxious for the safety and honour of their country, and tide over the difficulty for the moment, leaving the rest to the chapter of accidents. If it does involve us in war or disaster it is easy to plead that it was impossible to foresee it, and it may be some one else who has to bear the brunt of it. If, however, wiser counsels prevail, and we are prepared to spend what money is required, there are two lines of policy that may be pursued. The first would be to withdraw ourselves within our shell, and trust to the Channel and our fleet to defend our shores. It is a selfish line to take, and it may answer; but if it is to be adopted, let every public dockyard, and every private one that will take a contract, be instantly set to work to build not only sea-going vessels, but gunboats and monitors, and all the smaller forms of craft required for home defence. Our present ironclad fleet cost about ten millions, and if we are allowed time to spend a like amount we may have a Navy and Reserve equal to all our exigencies, and able to cope with any that can now, at least, be brought against it. In this case let us have no more talk of any increase of our Army beyond what is wanted for Indian and Colonial reliefs, and let no money be spent on the Militia and Volunteers, and no more talk of relying on them for our defence. This done, should our fleet be beaten, and the Channel forced, we must be prepared to submit, and had better do it, without bloodshed and destruction of property, to the stronger man who has broken into our house, and be content to give up our separate national existence. It is an intelligible policy, but a very ignoble one, and one which few Englishmen, if they understood its bearing, would be found to endorse, and if it should not prove successful it is a surrender of everything that is worth living for. If, on the other hand, we are prepared to defend ourselves, even if our first line is forced and an enemy on our shores, do not let us deceive ourselves with the idea that an

Army

Army of 50,000 or 60,000 men, with a half-trained Militia and a body of Volunteers—who do not form part of the same organisation with the Militia and the Army—is any defence at all.

Unless the men who are to take part in the defence of the country are very numerous, unless they all form part of one organisation however diverse their functions may be, and unless they are supported by internal fortifications, any attempt on their part to resist would be merely to expose themselves to defeat and destruction. Six months ago no nation was so confident of her own powers and of her absolute security from attack as France. Yet now her fate is such that it would be well if we took warning from it before it is too late. It may be that the verdict of history will be that France fell through the corruption of the Empire. If we shared a like fate, the verdict would probably be that it was because we were—as we have been often called—a nation of shopkeepers, and refused to spend, out of our enormous wealth, the comparatively small sums requisite to ensure our safety.

To the thoughtful few who have leisure to study these questions, and knowledge sufficient to appreciate their significance, the conclusions to be drawn from the statements we have just made, may appear as self-evident as they do to ourselves; but by the mass of Englishmen, it is to be feared, they may be regarded as the mere grumblings of discontent. With them eight hundred years of immunity from invasion in the past, is a promise of a like period of safety for the future. It is in vain to point out that during the first half of that time we occupied the position of being the invaders of French soil, and during the latter half—with the exception of the scare from the Spanish Armada—France has been the only nation from whom we have had anything to fear; while fortunately for us, though most powerful on land, the French never were a maritime people, and never were able to wrest from us the dominion of the sea. It seems equally in vain to point out that France no longer occupies that exceptional position, and that, instead of a number of small incoherent states, Europe and America are aggregating themselves into a few greater dominions, and organising themselves on a more warlike basis than has ever been known before. It may be that no one of the five or six great masses into which the civilised world is consolidating itself, at present possesses a fleet equal to our own, but it is easy to foresee combinations which would give the required superiority, and, unless we are warned in time, may expose us to all the horrors under which unhappy France is now suffering.

If Englishmen could only be induced to look their position fairly

fairly in the face, and to realize the possibility of such a fate befalling us, as has overtaken France, there may yet be time to avert such a catastrophe. We are neither so old, nor so effete as to want either the spirit, or the men, or the means requisite for the purpose. Our real danger lies in the careless ignorance which hides from us the dangers by which we are surrounded, and prevents us taking those measures by which alone they can be avoided. What we do want are statesmen, like those of Prussia, who sixty years ago foresaw what was needed, and during half a century have had the steadfastness to persevere in perfecting those organisations which have raised her to her present greatness. More even than this, we want that the mass of the nation should rouse itself from the lethargy of security in which it is now slumbering ; and, like true patriots, that we should prepare ourselves to make those sacrifices of time and money which alone can save the British empire from dismemberment, and these islands from the horrors of invasion.

- ART. II.—1. *A short Treatise on the Game of Whist, containing the Laws of the Game, and also some Rules whereby a Beginner may, with due attention to them, attain to the Playing it well. With Calculations and Cases.* By a Gentleman [Edmond Hoyle]. Bath printed, and London reprinted. For W. Webster, near St. Paul's. 1743.
2. *The Principles of Whist stated and explained, and its Practice illustrated on an Original System, by means of hands played completely through.* By Cavendish. London, 1862.
3. *A Treatise on Short Whist.* By James Clay, M.P. London, 1864.
4. *The Theory of the Modern Scientific Game of Whist.* By William Pole, F.R.S., Mus. Doc. Oxon. London, 1865.

THE game of whist, after two centuries of elaboration, has now become a favourite amusement in all ranks of society, and especially with persons of great intelligence and ability. Numerous societies have been established expressly for its practice, and at many of the West End clubs it is played daily, particularly in the afternoon, when the mental faculties are more active than in the evening. At these little gatherings may be seen men of high rank, sitting at the same tables with others eminent in literature, science, art, or the public service—all testifying, by the earnestness with which their attention is fixed on the game, to its great intellectual attractions. In the best

best private circles, too, and in domestic society generally, its high character is becoming better appreciated, although the style of play is still far from what it ought to be.

Whist is of English origin, but its popularity is not confined to this country. On the Continent it has become fully naturalised ; the finest player that ever lived was a Frenchman, and the most elaborate works on whist are by foreign authors. It has, in fact, extended over the whole earth ; there is not a spot where European civilisation prevails, where whist is not practised and prized. A published collection of 'Whist Studies' dates from the tropics ; in the rigour of the North American winter whist forms the occupation of the frozen-up inhabitants for months together ; and in the wilds of Australia the farmers play at whist for 'sheep points, with a bullock on the rubber.'

We need not hesitate to give a place in our pages to an intellectual occupation of such high and universal interest ; and we propose, first, to offer a concise history of the game ; next to describe the chief characteristics of its most modern and improved form ; and, lastly, to add a few remarks on whist playing.

The early history of whist is involved in some obscurity. It is not to be supposed that a game of this high character should have sprung at once perfect into being ; it has been formed by gradual development from elements previously existing. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century a card game was in common use, of which both the name and the chief feature enter prominently into the construction of whist. This was called *triumph*—corrupted into *trump*—and the essence of it was the predominance of one particular suit, called the triumph or trump-suit, over all the others. It was of Continental origin, like most of the card games in use at that period. A work published in Italy in 1526 speaks of it under the name of *Trionfi*, and it is mentioned by Rabelais as *la Triomphe*, among the games played by Gargantua. From France it was imported into England, where it soon became popular in good society, as we find a reference to it in a quarter where it would hardly be looked for, namely, in a sermon preached by Latimer at Cambridge the Sunday before Christmas, 1529. He mentions the game under its corrupted as well as its original appellation, and clearly alludes to its characteristic feature, as the following extracts will show :—

' And where you are wont to celebrate Christmass in playing at cards, I intend by God's grace to deal unto you Christ's Cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's Rule. The game that we play at shall be called the Triumph, which, if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall

shall win ; the Players shall likewise win ; and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same.

* * * * *

‘ You must mark also that the Triumph must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatever suit they be of.’

* * * * *

‘ Then further we must say to ourselves, What requireth Christ of a Christian man ? Now turn up your Trump, your Heart (Hearts is Trump, as I said before), and cast your Trump, your Heart, on this card.’

Other references to this game are found at a later period ; we need only mention two. In ‘Gammer Gurton’s Needle,’ said to be the first piece performed in England under the name of a comedy, and written by Bishop Still soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, occurs this passage :—

* * * * *

‘ Chat. What, Diccon ? come nere, ye be no stranger :
We be set fast at trump, man, hard by the fyre.
Thou shalt set on the king, if thou come a little nyer.

* * * * *

Come hither, Dol ; Dol, sit downe and play this game,
And, as thou sawest me do, see thou do even the same :
There is five trumps besides the queene, the hindmost thou
shalt find her ;
Take hede of Sim Glover’s wife, she hath an eie behind her.’

Another reference is by Shakespeare. In ‘Antony and Cleopatra,’ Act IV., Scene 12, Antony says,—

* * * * *

‘ My good knave, Eros, now thy Captain is
Even such a body : here I am Antony ;
Yet cannot hold this visible shape, my knave.
I made these wars for Egypt ; and the Queen,—
Whose heart I thought I had, for she had mine ;
Which, whilst it was mine, had annex’d unto ’t
A million more, now lost,—she, Eros, has
Pack’d cards with Cæsar, and false played my glory
Unto an enemy’s triumph.’

This passage has been the subject of several comments ; but the repeated allusions to card playing leave no doubt as to the reference in the last word.

The game of Triumph appears to have been played in several different ways, some of which resembled our present *Écarté* ; they had, however, little similarity to whist, except in the feature of the predominance of the trump suit, which was common to them all.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century the game had acquired in England another name, which is also preserved in whist,

whist, namely *Ruffe*. It has often excited curiosity how the word for an ornament to the neck or wrists should have come to be used for this purpose; but it is possible it may have been only another corruption of the original French *triomphe*, as there is much similarity in the sounds. At any rate the terms were synonymous, as Cotgrave, in his 'French and English Dictionary,' 1611, explains the French word *triomphe* to mean 'the card-game called ruffe or trump; ' and Nares in his Glossary says 'ruff meant a trump card, *charta dominatrix*.'

But contemporaneously with this change, the game itself had also undergone, in England, some modifications which caused it to differ materially from the original foreign type, and among these was the attachment of certain advantages, or 'honours,' to the four highest cards of the trump-suit. This was probably of itself an ancient invention, for we find a game called 'les Honeurs' in Rabelais' list; but the importation of it into trump or ruff gave the game a new character, and it took the name of 'Ruff-and-honours,' the original form being called 'French ruff' for distinction.

Ruff-and-honours was played with a pack of fifty-two cards, the ace ranking the highest. There were four players, two being partners against the other two, and each received twelve cards; the remaining four were left as a stock on the table, and the top one was turned up to determine the trump suit. The player who happened to hold the ace of trumps had the privilege of taking the stock in exchange for four cards of his own, an operation called *ruffing*. The score was nine, and the party that won most tricks were 'most forward to win the set.' Three honours in the joint hands were reckoned equivalent to two tricks, and four honours to four. This came very near to whist, and was, in fact, whist in an imperfect form.

The further changes in the constitution of the game, and the radical alteration of the name, appear to have taken place early in the seventeenth century. The first form of the new designation was *Whisk*, a word which occurs in 'Taylor's Motto,' by Taylor, the Water Poet, published in 1621. Speaking of the prodigal, he says:—

'He flings his money free with carelessness,
At novum, mumchance, mischance (chuse ye which),
At one-and-thirty, or at poore-and-rich,
Ruffe, slam, trump, nody, whisk, hole, sant, new cut.'

The origin of the word is obscure; but, in default of a better explanation, it has been suggested that it was used by the common people as a synonym for *ruff*, in ridicule of the affectations of

of the gallants who played at the game.' The article of dress in fashion under the latter name at the time is described as—

'great and monsterous, made either of cambrie, holland, lawne, or els of some other the finest cloth that can be got for money, whereof some be a quarter of a yard deepe, yea some more, hanging over their shoulder-points, instead of a vaile. But if *Melus* with his blasts, or *Neptune* with his storms, chaunce to hit upon the crasie barke of their bruised ruffles, then they goeth flip-flap in the winde, like ragges that flew abroad, lying on their shoulders like the disheclout of a slut.'

This sort of thing might well be ridiculed as a *whisk*, which not only meant 'a small besom or brush,' but also referred to an article of dress :—

'Their wrinkled necks were covered o'er
With whisks of lawn, by grannums wore
In base contempt of bishops' sleeves.'

Thirty or forty years after Taylor's mention of the word, as applied to the game, it had become changed to its present form, the earliest known use of which is quoted by Johnson from the second part of 'Hudibras' (spurious), published in 1663 :—

'But what was this? A game at Whist,
Unto our Plowden-Canonist.'

In 1674 we find a published description of the game in a curious book, ascribed to Charles Cotton the poet, and entitled 'The Compleat Gamester; or Instructions how to play at Billiards, Trucks, Bowls, and Chess; together with all manner of usual and most gentile Games, either on Cards or Dice.'* In this book a chapter is devoted to 'English Ruff-and-Honours, and Whist,' and it contains the following passage :—

'Ruff-and-honours (*alias slamm*) and Whist, are games so commonly known in England, in all parts thereof, that every child almost of eight years old hath a competent knowledge in that recreation.'

After describing Ruff-and-honours the author says, 'Whist is a game not much differing from this.' The ruffing privilege

* The frontispiece to this book represents various games being played, and is accompanied by a punning description of them in verse. One figure shows a game at whist, in which ladies take part, and the rhyme says,

'Lastly observe the women with what grace
They sit and look their partners in the face,
Who from their eyes shoot Cupid's fiery darts,
Thus make them lose at once their game and hearts.

* * * *

Ladies don't trust your secrets in that hand
Who can't their own (to their own grief) command,
For this, I will assure you, if you do,
In time you'll lose your Ruff and Honour too.'

was abolished ; each player still had twelve cards, but, instead of leaving an unknown stock on the table, the four deuces were discarded from the pack before dealing ; a great step in advance, as it enabled the players to calculate with more certainty the contents of each others' hands. The score was still nine, tricks and honours counting as before.

Cotton never uses or alludes to the earlier name 'Whisk,' but he gives an independent derivation of the newer word. He says the game

'is called whist from the silence that is to be observed in the play.'

This meaning is warranted by the custom of the time. The word, although treated as a verb, adjective, or participle by Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, and others, is defined by Skinner (1671), one of the best authorities, as *interjectio silentium imperans* ; and so it was commonly used. In an old play, written by Dekkar in 1604, we find the example—

'Whist! whist! my master.'

Cotton's derivation of the present name has been adopted by Johnson and Nares, and has always been most commonly received ; but it must not be forgotten that the word 'whisk' is the older of the two, and that it continued in use, along with the other name, for a century after Cotton wrote. Pope, in his epistle to Mrs. Teresa Blount, 1715, says—

'Some squire, perhaps, you take delight to rack,
Whose game is Whisk, whose treat a toast in sack.'

Johnson describes whist as 'vulgarly pronounced whisk ;' and the Hon. Daines Barrington, writing, in 1786, on games at cards, adopts the latter orthography without any qualification.

It is possible to reconcile the two derivations by supposing that, when the game took its complete form, the more intellectual character it assumed demanded greater care and closer attention in the play ; this was incompatible with noise in the room or with conversation between the players, and hence the word 'whist !' may have been used in its interjectional form to insist on the necessary silence ; and from the similarity of this to the term already in use the modification in the last letter may have taken its rise. It is worthy of remark, that in a fashionable book on Ombre, published in Berlin in 1714, the writer, who had probably never heard of the English game, says 'Pour bien jouer l'ombre, il faut du silence et de la tranquillité.'

But, whatever may be the views held in this country as to the origin of the name of our national card-game, it is only fair to

to our ingenious neighbours across the Channel to give their explanation, which we find in a French work on whist :—

‘ At a time when French was the current language in England, the people had become so infatuated with one of their games at cards, that it was prohibited after a certain hour. But parties met clandestinely to practise it; and when the question “ Voulez-vous jouer ? ” was answered by “ Oui ! ” the master of the room added the interjection “ St ! ” to impose silence. This occurred so often that “ *Oui-st* ” became at length the current appellation of the game ! ’

With these names there came to be associated another of a very strange character, namely ‘ swabbers ’ or ‘ swobbers.’ Fielding, for example, in the account of Jonathan Wild’s visit to the spunging-house in London, in 1682, says, ‘ *whisk and swabbers* was the game then in the chief vogue.’ Swift, in his *Essay on the Fates of Clergymen*, ridicules Archbishop Tenison, who was said to be a dull man, for misunderstanding the term. He relates a known story of a clergyman, who was recommended to the Archbishop for preferment, when his Grace said, ‘ He had heard that the clergyman used to play at *whist and swobbers*; that as to playing now and then a sober game at *whist* for pastime, it might be pardoned ; but he could not digest those wicked swobbers.’ ‘ It was with some pains,’ adds the Dean, ‘ that my Lord Somers could undeceive him.’ Johnson quotes the pretended speech of the Archbishop, and defines swabbers as ‘ four privileged cards, which are only incidentally used for betting at *whist*. ’ These were probably identical with the four honours ; and it has been conjectured that as ‘ *whisk* ’ was intended to ridicule ‘ ruff,’ the analogous term ‘ swabbers ’ (from swab, a kind of mop) may have been added to supply the place of the other part of the original name ; so that ‘ *whisk and swabbers* ’ was made the vulgar synonym for the ‘ *ruff and honours* ’ of the fashionable world. But, however this may be, the additional term was of limited application, and soon went out of use.

It is curious that although the precursors of whist had enjoyed favour in high places, yet whist itself, in its infancy, was chiefly played in low society, where cheats and sharpers assembled. The greatest part of Cotton’s chapter is devoted to a warning against the tricks and frauds of these gentry. He alludes to the ‘ arts used in dealing,’ and shows how, by ingenious devices, ‘ cunning fellows about this city may not only know all the cards by their backs, but may turn up honours for themselves, and avoid doing so for their adversaries.’ The following passage gives some significant hints :—

‘ He that can by craft overlook his adversaries’ game hath a great advantage,
Vol. 130.—No. 259. E

advantage, for by that means he may partly know what to play securely. There is a way to discover to their partners what honours they have; as by the wink of one eye, or putting one finger on the nose or table, it signifies one honour; shutting both the eyes, two; placing three fingers or four on the table, three or four honours.

In a republication of Cotton's work in 1734, these cautions are amplified, showing that whist still retained the same low character. The editor says, 'as whisk (he uses the old appellation) is a tavern game, the sharpers generally take care to put about the bottle before the game begins.' A special chapter is given to 'piping at whisk'; and as this is an accomplishment not generally known at the modern clubs, the following extract may be interesting:—

'By piping I mean when one of the company that does not play (which frequently happens), sits down in a convenient place to smoke a pipe and so look on, pretending to amuse himself that way. Now the disposing of his fingers on the pipe, whilst smoking, discovers the principal cards that are in the person's hand he overlooks, which was always esteemed a sufficient advantage to win a game. This may also be done by another way [i. e. without the pipe, and by common conversation]. "Indeed," signifies diamonds; "truly," hearts; "upon my word," clubs; "I assure you," spades.' *

It is only fair to add, that with the bane the editor supplies also the antidote. He says, '*For which reasons, all nice gamesters play behind curtains.*'

There is other evidence of the low character of whist. In Farquhar's comedy of the 'Beaux's Stratagem,' 1707, Mrs. Sullen speaks of 'the rural accomplishments of drinking fat ale, playing at whisk, and smoaking tobacco with my husband.' Fielding and Pope, as we have seen, both speak of it disparagingly; and Thomson, in his 'Autumn' (1730), describes how, after a heavy hunt dinner—

‘Whist awhile
Walks his dull round beneath a cloud of smoke
Wreath'd fragrant from the pipe.’

This being, he adds, one of the 'puling idlenesses' introduced to cheat the thirsty moments until the party

‘Close in firm circle, and set, ardent, in,
For serious drinking.’

In the early part of the eighteenth century there was a mania

* 'There are several other bare-faced practices made use of, such as looking over hands, changing cards under the table, and often from off the table; but these are generally made use of by women, who, when detected, laugh it off, without any sense of shame or dishonour.'—*Annals of Gaming.*

for card-playing in all parts of Europe and in all classes of society, but in the best circles whist was still unknown. Gentlemen in their gaming coteries chiefly practised piquet (a very old game, invented in France in the fifteenth century), and in ladies' society the most fashionable amusement was Ombre, immortalized by Pope's 'Rape of the Lock' (1712), in a manner strongly contrasted with his disparaging mention of whist a year or two later.

It was about 1730 when the new game rose out of its obscurity and took rapidly the rank due to its great merits. At that time the ordinaries, where gambling had been long carried on to an enormous extent, and with the most scandalous abuses, began to be superseded by the more intellectual meetings at taverns and coffee-houses, which figure so prominently in the literary annals of the last century. It happened that a party of gentlemen who frequented the Crown coffee-house in Bedford Row, and of whom the first Lord Folkstone was one, had become acquainted with the game, and practised it at their meetings. They soon found out it had merits, studied it carefully, and arrived, for the first time, at some fundamental rules of play.

The way having been thus prepared, there was wanting a man of genius who should further work out the elements of the game, and mould it into a permanent, logical, scientific form. This man appeared in the person of EDMOND HOYLE. There is very little trustworthy information as to his antecedents. He was born in 1672 : it is said he studied as a barrister, and he styles himself in his first book 'a gentleman.' It is clear he was a man of good education, and moved in good society ; probably he was one of the party that met at the Crown.

It appears that he had studied whist for many years ; and he saw, not only that it had great capabilities, but that it was much debased by the use made of it by sharpers for cheating inexperienced players out of their money. He believed that it was in his power to guard the public against these unprincipled practices, as well as to excite a more legitimate interest in the game, by spreading a better knowledge of the principles on which it should be played ; and to attain these objects he resolved to teach it professionally. His spirited attempt excited much attention, as we find several notices of it on record. In the 'Rambler' of May 8, 1750, a lady writes :—

'As for play, I do think I may, indeed, indulge in that, now I am my own mistress. Papa made me drudge at whist till I was tired of it ; and, far from wanting a head, Mr. Hoyle, when he had not given me above forty lessons, said I was one of his best scholars.'

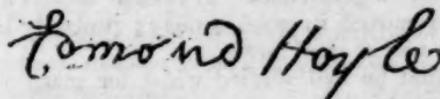
In the 'Gentleman's Magazine' of February, 1755, a writer, professing to give the autobiography of a fashionable physician, says :—

'Hoyle tutored me in several games at cards, and, under the name of guarding me from being cheated, insensibly gave me a taste for sharpening.'

In the course of this instruction he sold to his pupils a set of notes which he had drawn up, containing rules and directions for their guidance. These were in manuscript, and he charged a guinea for each copy. The novelty and great value of the rules were soon discovered, and surreptitious copies began to get into circulation, when Mr. Hoyle, to secure his copyright, had them published, and thus originated the work which stands first on the list at the head of this article.

At this time the final changes had been made by increasing the score to ten, and by using the whole pack, thus giving thirteen cards to each player. This latter improvement introduced the *odd trick*, an element of such great interest in the present game. Whether it was Hoyle, or some one previously, who made these changes, is not clear; but at any rate the game, as he presents it, is precisely the form of long whist ever since played.

His book had a great and rapid success; it went through several editions in one year, and it seems to have been again pirated, as the author found it necessary to certify every genuine copy by attaching his autograph signature, of which the following, taken from the thirteenth edition, is a fac-simile.



In the fifteenth edition the signature was, for the first time, impressed from a wood-block, and in the seventeenth it was announced that 'Mr. Hoyle was dead.' The great man departed this life, full of years and of honours, on the 29th of August, 1769.

Byron's oft-quoted parallel—

'Troy owes to Homer what whist owes to Hoyle,'

hardly does justice to our author, for he was far more than the historian of whist; he may, essentially, be considered its founder.

The effect of Hoyle's promulgation of the game in its improved form was very prompt, as we learn from a witty and amusing brochure that appeared in the same year, 1743, called 'The Humours of Whist, a dramatic Satire, as acted every day at

White's

White's and other Coffee-houses and Assemblies.' It is a short comedy, the principal characters being Professor Whiston (Hoyle), who gives lessons in the game; Sir Calculation Puzzle, an enthusiastic player, who muddles his head with Hoyle's calculations and always loses; pupils, sharpers, and their dupes. The object is chiefly to ridicule the pretensions of Hoyle and the enthusiasm of his followers, and to show that skill and calculation are of no avail against bad luck or premeditated fraud. The work was reprinted ten years later, but it is scarce, and we may give a few extracts that throw light on the circumstances attending the first introduction of the new rules of the game.

Hoyle had given out that he had spent forty years in its study, and the prologue says:—

'Who will believe that man could e'er exist,
Who spent near half an age in studying whist?
Grew grey with calculation, labour hard,
As if life's business center'd in a card?
That such there is, let me to those appeal
Who with such liberal hands reward his zeal.
Lo! whist he makes a science, and our peers
Deign to turn schoolboys in their riper years.'

Sir Calculation Puzzle gives some amusing explanations of his losses. In one case he says:—

'That certainly was the most out-of-the-way bite ever was heard of. Upon the pinch of the game, when he must infallibly have lost it, the dog ate the losing card, by which means we dealt again, and faith he won the game.'

Again, in reference to Hoyle's calculations of chances:—

'We were nine all. The adversary had three and we four tricks. All the trumps were out. I had queen and two small clubs, with the lead. Let me see: it was about 222 and 3 halves to—'gad, I forgot how many—that my partner had the ace and king; ay, that he had not both of them, 17 to 2; and that he had not one, or both, or neither, some 25 to 32. So I, according to the judgment of the game, led a club; my partner takes it with the king. Then it was exactly 481 for us to 222 for them. He returns the same suit, I win it with my queen, and return it again; but the devil take that Lurchum, by passing his ace twice, he took the trick, and, having two more clubs and a thirteenth card, egad, all was over.'

The praise of Hoyle's book by its supporters is unbounded. They say:—

'There never was so excellent a book printed. I'm quite in raptures with it; I will eat with it, sleep with it, go to Parliament with it, go to Church with it. I pronounce it the gospel of whist-players. I want words to express the author, and can look on him in no other light

light than as a second Newton. I have joined twelve companies in the Mall, and eleven of them were talking of it. It's the subject of all conversation, and has had the honour to be introduced into the Cabinet.'

The wits, however, did not neglect to poke fun at the Professor:—

‘ *Beau.* Ha! ha! ha! I shall dye! Yonder is Lord Finess and Sir George Tenace, two first-rate players; they have been most lavishly beat by a couple of 'prentices. Ha! ha! ha! They came slap four by honours upon them almost every deal.

‘ *Lord Rally.* I find, Professor, your book do's not teach how to beat four by honours. Ha! ha! ha!

‘ *Professor* [aside]. Curse them! I'd rather have given a thousand pounds than this should have happen'd. It strikes at the reputation of my Treatise.

‘ *Lord Rally.* In my opinion there is still something wanting to compleat the system of whist: and that is A Dissertation on the Lucky Chair. [Company laugh.]

‘ *Professor.* Ha! ha! ha! your Lordship's hint is excellent. I'm obliged to you for it.’

Whist advanced rapidly in public favour, and evidence is on record of the time when it was received at court and formally acknowledged as one of the royal amusements. In 1720 a little book, called the ‘ Court Gamester,’ was, as its title-page informs us, ‘ written for the use of the young princesses,’ the daughters of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II. It was frequently reprinted, and in later editions a second part was added, called the ‘ City Gamester,’ containing less polite games used east of Temple Bar. Whist was included in the latter category up to the seventh edition; but in the next, dated 1754, it was transferred to the court division. In 1758 it had become a fit recreation for University dons, as in No. 33 of the ‘ Idler,’ the senior fellow of a college at Cambridge represents himself and his party as ‘ sitting late at whist in the evening.’

When whist became fashionable, it was naturally taken up by polite literature, dry rules and laws being made subservient to poetry and imagination. We have already seen how it had been dramatised; it was now to be raised to a higher grade in Parnassus, by becoming the subject of an Epic. In 1791 appeared ‘ Whist, a Poem, in 12 Cantos,’ by Alexander Thomson, Esq. The book went through two editions, and made great pretensions to learning, by quotations from or references to authors in almost every language, from French to Persian, and of almost every age, from the Patriarchs to the eighteenth century; but the poetry was feeble, the history incorrect, and the

whist

whist not over sound. One quotation, of the concluding lines, will suffice:—

‘Nor do I yet despair to see the day
When hostile armies, rang’d in neat array,
Instead of fighting, shall engage in play;
When peaceful whist the quarrel shall decide,
And Christian blood be spilt on neither side.
Then pleas no more should wait the tardy laws,
But one odd trick at once conclude the cause.
(Tho’ some will say that this is nothing new,
For here there have been long *odd tricks* enow).
Then Britain still, to all the world’s surprise,
In this great science shall progressive rise,
Till ages hence, when all of each degree
Shall play the game as well as Hoyle or me.’

One of the chief seats of whist playing during the eighteenth century was the city of Bath, where Nash and other celebrities had much encouraged card-games generally. About 1800, a little book appeared there, entitled ‘Advice to the Young Whist Player,’ by Thomas Matthews, Esq. This was a sound and useful work, containing many improvements, resulting from the experience of half a century, and it is, even now, worthy of attentive study.

About the same date an important change took place, namely, the introduction of ‘Short Whist,’ by altering the winning score from ten to five, and abolishing the ‘call’ for honours when wanting two of game. The change is said to have originated in an accident: Lord Peterborough having one night lost a large sum of money, the friends with whom he was playing proposed to give him the *revanche* at five points instead of ten, in order to afford him a quicker chance of recovering his loss. The new plan was found so lively that it soon became popular, and has long since superseded long whist in the best circles. The reason of the preference is not difficult to discover. All good players must have found out how the interest increased towards the close of the long game, when the parties were pretty even, and when it became necessary to pay stricter attention to the score, in order to regulate the play. Now to cause this state of things to recur more frequently, it would be sufficient to play, as it were, the latter half of the game without the former, i.e. to commence with *both parties at the score of five*; for this is the true sense of the alteration.

This mode of viewing it accounts for no change being made in the value of the honours. Some authorities think the scoring for these should have been halved, and, no doubt, this would have

have given more effect to skill in play; but such a change would have rendered the game less generally interesting. It must never be forgotten that the element of chance is one of the attractive features of whist, to good players as well as to mediocre ones, and to tamper with the present arrangement would probably endanger the popularity of the game.

Whist was known in France at an early period by translations of Hoyle. It was played by Louis XV., and under the Empire was a favourite game of Josephine and Marie Louise. After the Restoration it was taken up more enthusiastically. 'The nobles,' says a French writer, 'had gone to England to learn to think, and they brought back the thinking game with them.' Talleyrand was the great player of the day, and his *mot*—'You do not know whist, young man? What a sad old age you are preparing for yourself!'—is a standing quotation in all whist books. Charles X. was playing whist at St. Cloud on the 29th July, 1830, when the tricolour was waving on the Tuilleries, and he had lost his throne. His successor, Louis Philippe, when similarly engaged, had to submit to an elegant insolence. He had dropped a louis, and stopped the game to look for it, when a foreign ambassador, one of the party, set fire to a billet of 1000 francs to give light to the King under the table.

In 1839 appeared a 'Traité du Whiste,' by M. Deschapelles, whom Mr. Clay calls 'the finest whist player, beyond any comparison, the world has ever seen.' Much was to be expected from such a quarter, but the publication was but a fragment of a larger work that never appeared. The author treats of whist in a manner highly *spirituel*. He reasons on immensity and eternity, on metaphysical necessity and trial by jury; he invokes the sun of Joshua and the star of the Magi; he investigates the electric affinities of the players, and illustrates a hand by analytical geometry. He died some fifteen or twenty years ago.

The latest stage in the history of whist comprises the more modern determination and consolidation of its scientific constitution, both theoretical and practical, as exhibited in the three works conjoined with that of Hoyle in the heading to the present article.

This important step was brought about by a circumstance somewhat similar to that which gave rise to the first development of the game by Hoyle, a century and a quarter before. Between 1850 and 1860, a knot of young men at Cambridge, of considerable ability, who had at first taken up whist for amusement, found it offer such a field for intellectual study, that they continued its practice more systematically, with a view to its complete scientific investigation. Since the general adoption of short whist,

whist, the constant practice of adepts had led to the introduction of many improvements in detail, but nothing had been done to reduce the modern play into a systematic form, or to lay it clearly before the public ; its secrets, so far as they differed from the precepts of Hoyle and Matthews, were confined to small coteries of club players. The little whist school held together afterwards in London, and added to its numbers ; and in 1862 one of its members brought out the work published under the name of 'Cavendish,' the principal object of which was to illustrate the modern play by a set of model games, after the manner of those so much used at chess. Two years afterwards appeared the *Essay* of Mr. Clay, and a little later that of Dr. Pole.

Each of these publications is distinct in its object. The work of Dr. Pole expounds the fundamental theory on which the modern game is based ; that of Cavendish gives detailed rules for, and examples of, its application in practice ; and that of Mr. Clay is an able dissertation on the more refined points of the best modern play, by the best modern player. Taken together, these books (which ought to be combined in one volume) furnish a complete epitome of the game, presenting it both theoretically and practically in the perfect state at which it has now arrived, by continued study and practice during the two centuries that have elapsed since it first assumed a definite shape and took its present name.

We may now endeavour to give a general idea of what the game is in its most improved form.

The great feature of modern whist is the more perfect cultivation than formerly of the relations existing between the two players who are in partnership with each other. As these players have a community of interests, it is evidently desirable that they should act in conjunction. If the two hands could be put together and played as one, great advantage would clearly result ; for not only would the strong points of each still preserve their full value, but special benefits would arise from the combination ; just as the junction and co-operation of two divisions of an army would give more powerful results than could be obtained by their divided action. The modern play aims at carrying out this principle to the farthest extent possible. It forbids the player to consider his own hand apart from that of his partner, commanding him to treat both in strict union, and to make every step conducive to the joint interests of the pair.

Simple and obvious as this principle appears, it is only very lately, after a century and a quarter of tentative approximations, that it has become fully recognised. The fact of the community of

of interests was, of course, always patent, but many of the earlier rules were either antagonistic to, or at least imperfectly fitted for, efficient combined play ; and the tendency of the latest improvements has been either to abolish or to modify these, so as to make the combination of the hands the ruling principle, the great basis from which the whole play springs.

Now, in order that this combination may be properly effected, it is requisite that each partner should adopt the same general system of treating his hand ; for there are several different modes of trick-making, according to either of which a player may regulate the general design of his play. These are fully investigated by Dr. Pole, and the discussion forms one of the best parts of his essay. He shows clearly that the only system which adapts itself favourably to the combination of the hands, is that of endeavouring to make tricks, by 'establishing' and 'bringing in' a *long suit*. Suppose, for example, you hold six spades ; after a few leads of the suit you will probably be left with the full command of it, and every card, however small, will then make a trick, if led, and not trumped by the adversary. So essential is the adoption of this system to the interests of the combined hands, that Dr. Pole incorporates it in what he terms the fundamental theory of the modern scientific game, which is—

'That the hands of the two partners shall not be played singly and independently, but shall be combined and treated as one. And that in order to carry out most effectually this principle of combination, each partner shall adopt the long-suit system as the general basis of his play.'

It is easy to trace how all the more important rules of modern play arise out of this theory. Take, for instance, the *management of trumps*, which is a great stumbling-block to ill-educated players. It is obvious that the chief obstacle to making long suits is their being ruffed, and that the advantage will be with that party who, having predominant numerical strength in trumps, can succeed in drawing those of the adversaries. Five trumps are generally sufficient for this purpose ; and hence the rule, that if you hold this number, or more, you should lead them. Three or four leads will generally disarm both opponents, and you will still have one or more left to bring in your own or your partner's long suit, and to stop those of the enemy.

So important is the trump-lead under these circumstances, that, in the modern game, a conventional signal, or *call for trumps*, has been introduced, by which, if the holder of a strong trump-hand cannot get the lead early, he may intimate his strength to his partner, and so call on him to lead them as soon as he can. We shall

the
per-
the
lify
ing
ed,
eral
des
gu-
of
pts
of
in'
or a
full
be a
l is
ned
da-
and
hat
on,
of
ern
ent
rs.
ir
rty
an
re
if
ree
ou
ur
at,
as
nd
is
Ve
all

shall have occasion to speak of this more fully hereafter. The old-fashioned objection to 'lead up to an honour,' as well as the direction to 'lead through an honour,' both vanish under the modern system. Either is right, if you are strong in trumps; neither, if otherwise.

It is imperative that your trump-lead be returned by your partner the first opportunity. Hesitation in this is inexcusable, as endangering the great benefit your strength would confer on the combined hands.

If you hold only *four* trumps, much discretion is required as to leading them; and with three or less, which is numerical weakness, a trump-lead at the commencement of the hand is seldom justifiable. The proper application of trumps, when weak, is to use them for ruffing, if they escape being drawn by the adversary.

Several minor rules in regard to trumps are deducible from the same principles. The greatest mischief you can do to a strong trump-hand is to force it to ruff, thus depriving it of its preponderating strength. Hence you must carefully avoid forcing your partner, if you know him to be strong, or if, being weak yourself, you have reason to suspect he may be so. But, on the other hand, force a strong adverse trump-hand whenever you can. Again, if you are second player to a trick which it is possible your partner may win, and have none of the suit yourself (a position always puzzling to ill-taught players), the principles tell you to ruff fearlessly, if weak in trumps, but to pass the trick, if strong. In the former case your trumps are useless; in the latter they are too valuable to risk losing unnecessarily.

In the *management of plain suits*, the theory furnishes ample guidance. It bears materially on the *first lead*, which, though the most important step a player has to take, has generally to be taken in the dark. This lead must therefore be guided by careful considerations, and it should have two objects in view; in the first place it should be a lead which, even in ignorance of the partner's cards, may be reasonably expected to benefit the combined hands, and not to favour the adversaries; and, secondly, it should serve to give the most direct and useful information to the partner as to the cards held by the leader.

The lead from the long suit fulfils all these conditions; for even though the player may not succeed in ultimately bringing the suit in, the lead will be the safest he can make, and it will permit of his realizing any other possible advantages from the cards in his hand.

The question, which card of your long suit you should first lead, is answered by considerations founded on careful reasoning and

and long experience. As a general principle, it is expedient to begin with the lowest, which gives your partner the chance of making the first trick, and enables you to keep the complete command at a later period. But when you hold several high cards, this principle is subject to modification by the chance of the suit being trumped, and by some other contingencies, and therefore certain definite leads have been determined for particular combinations, of which the following are the most useful:—

FIRST LEADS from a Long plain Suit.

<i>Holding</i>	<i>Lead</i>
Ace and king,	King.
King and queen,	King.
Ace, queen, knave,	Ace, then queen.
Queen, knave, ten,	Queen.
King, knave, ten,	Ten.

The lead of king from king and ace, is one of the conventional refinements of modern play, for the purpose of conveying information to your partner. Leads in trumps, or in plain suits when trumps are out, are determined by special rules, which will be found in the books.

The modern theory further defines the duty of your partner in helping you in regard to your long suit. After showing you his own, it is his duty to return yours; but much depends on what card he plays. In the first place, he must *get rid of the command* by playing out the master cards, if he holds them; for it is essential that you retain the superiority in your own hand. Then, secondly, he must adopt what is called *strengthening* play, by sacrificing his high cards in the suit to strengthen you. Suppose, for example, he had originally ace, knave, and four, and has won your first lead with the ace, he must return the knave, and not the four. The effect of this is to raise the rank of any lower cards you hold in the suit, and to aid in getting higher ones out of the way, so as to hasten your obtaining the complete command.

The modern system is chiefly useful in directing the *lead*, which is the active and aggressive part a player has to perform; but it is not without influence also on the more passive operations of the other hands, inasmuch as it prescribes greater care and strictness in what were thought, under the old system, unimportant things. The second player, for example, in the old game, would often feel at liberty to put on a high card to a small one led; but by the new doctrine he is bound, except in well-defined and recognised cases, to play his lowest, or he may give his lynx-eyed partner false information, and so ruin their joint plans. The third hand now is forbidden to do what

he might often legitimately have done before, namely, to finesse (except with ace and queen) to his partner's original lead, as the high cards are wanted out of the way. Even the fourth player, easy as his part is, may do vast mischief if he is careless with his sequences or small cards.

Another application of the theory is in *discarding*, which should, if possible, be done from short or weak suits, not from long ones. The cards of the former are of little use; those of the latter may be very valuable, even to the smallest you have.

We have made several allusions to the communication of information between the partners, as to the contents of each other's hands. It is clear that if the hands are to be combined and played as one, such information must be ample and perfect, and the provisions for this are peculiarly characteristic of the modern game. It is prescribed that the whole play shall be so regulated as to convey the greatest possible amount of intelligence, and thus to aid, to the utmost, in the combined treatment of the hands. Indeed to such an extent is this carried, that the two players may be said to carry on, throughout, a defined and legalised system of communication in their play, by which they obtain almost as perfect an insight into each other's hands as if their cards were exposed. The rules of this 'conversation,' as Cavendish calls it, are imperative, and a player who violates them, without sufficient reason, is said to play 'false,' or not to understand the 'language' of the game.* We must

* Since this article was in type, we have met with a remarkable book on whist, published in Vienna in 1845, entitled 'Das rationelle Whist; oder das Whistspiel, mit allen seinen Abarten, vollständig aus einem Princip nach der philosophischen und der mathematischen Wahrscheinlichkeit entwickelt und erhärtet. Nebst einem leicht fasslichen philosophischen Versuch über die mathematische Wahrscheinlichkeit dieses Spiels. Vom Ritter Ludwig von Coeckelbergie-Dützele.' This is an admirable work. The motto, taken from Schiller,

'Den lauten Markt mag Momus unterhalten,
Ein edler Sinn liebt edlere Gestalten.'

and an exhortation introduced elsewhere,

'Que le whist soit un jeu, et non pas un jouet,'

show the author's high estimation of the game, which he treats in a most intellectual and philosophical manner. His exposition of the mathematical probabilities is especially clear and full. He comes very near to an anticipation of the modern English game, by the great stress he lays on the advantage of combining the hands of the two partners, and he devotes one long chapter expressly to what he calls *Verständigungsspiel*,—i. e. the system of mutual understanding established between the partners by their play. He heads the chapter by the appropriate Spanish proverb—

'Que hablen cartas
Y callen barbas.'

Let the cards discourse, but the tongue be mute; and the following extract will illustrate generally the principles he inculcates:—

'In order to make the most advantageous use of your own as well as of your partner's

must speak somewhat fully about these communications, because, at present, opinions are divided as to the extent to which they may legitimately be carried.

A large amount of information is conveyed, to an intelligent and observant partner, by simply following the rules which have been determined as most expedient on general grounds; and this is a great incidental advantage of a careful adherence to system. But the modern game goes much farther than this, inasmuch as it prescribes certain *conventional* modes of play, established, by pre-arranged understanding, for the sole purpose of conveying information. Cases are continually arising in which it is quite immaterial, as a matter of general expediency, what card is played; but in these you are allowed no choice; the convention directs what you are to do, and you are bound to follow it implicitly.

A few examples will make this clear. Suppose king and ace are led in succession, and you hold only the two and the four; it is quite indifferent, on general grounds, in what order you play them; but the convention tells you you must, when playing worthless cards, always throw away the lowest first, then the next lowest, and so on; it would be considered a crime if (except for a definite motive to be explained presently) you were to drop the four first, as your partner would at once infer you had nothing smaller. Again, suppose you, being third player, hold a sequence of king, queen, and knave; they are all of equal value, but it is by no means indifferent which you play; the convention prescribes you must (if not leading, when other con-

partner's hand, you must endeavour to find out what his cards are, and to afford him similar information as to your own. Both these objects are effected by what is called the language of the cards (*Kartensprache*), or the art of signalling (*Signalkunst*). The cards selected to be played serve, by their relative values, as telegraphic signs, by which the two partners carry on a reciprocal communication, and convey indications as to what cards they hold, as well as suggestions of their respective views and wishes. By this means they are enabled to give better support to each other; to calculate more easily the chances of the game; and to anticipate more correctly the effect of any particular play.

The conduct of your hand should be as clear as possible towards your partner; but towards the adversary it may be equivocal and deceptive. The former course should be usually followed, especially when the chief direction of the play lies with yourself or your partner; the deceptive practice should only be resorted to when the adversaries have the command, or when it is obvious that your partner is thoroughly weak, and that your information can be of no use to him. In general, however, false indications, which of course mislead your partner as well as the adversaries, should be used very sparingly; the most advantageous system is to approach as nearly as possible to the ever-honest dummy, who deceives nobody, and yet in the long run proves the best player.

In Northern Germany, if we are to judge by a more modern work, the 'Encyclopädie der Spiele,' Leipzig, 1855, whist would appear to be made rather a *jouet* than a *jeu*. The book scarcely contains an intimation of the true principles of the game.

siderations

siderations come in) always play the *lowest* of a sequence ; if you were to play the queen, your partner would infer you had not the knave. Another important convention is in returning your partner's suit, when you hold nothing but useless cards ; you must return the highest if you have only two left, the lowest if more ; thus if, after winning his lead, you have the four and five left, you must return the five ; if you have the four, five, and six, you must return the four.

These, and some other conventional modes of play, have been admitted without question ; but about thirty years ago an application of the principle was introduced which, although it has been very generally adopted in England, has given rise to much discussion. This is the *call for trumps*, already mentioned, which is given by throwing away, unnecessarily, a higher card before a lower, *i. e.* by a conventional departure from the ordinary conventional rule. Thus, in the case above mentioned, where king and ace are led, the call for trumps would be given by throwing away first the four, and then the two.

The legitimacy of this signal has been questioned. It is said, by some, to be no more justifiable than giving a sign with your finger, or kicking your partner under the table ; but we cannot see that it is a whit more open to cavil than playing the lowest of a sequence, or any other pre-concerted means of conveying information. It has been attempted to draw a distinction between purely empirical conventions, and such as may be traced to an extension of ordinary rules of play. For example, throwing away the smallest of two cards, both useless, is said to be only an extension of the same practice, when the higher one may be useful ; playing the lowest of a sequence is considered analogous to the common-sense rule of winning with the lowest card possible, and so on. It is then argued that this class may be allowed, while empirical conventions are indefensible ; and Mr. Clay, who has devoted a chapter to the signal for trumps, has ingeniously endeavoured to show that it has arisen out of ordinary play, and so comes within the permissible category. But irrespective of the fact that there are several admitted intimations which cannot be traced to ordinary rules, we do not see any logical ground for such a distinction ; for whenever a natural mode of play is pushed so far as to require a special pre-arranged understanding to make it intelligible, it becomes as strictly conventional as if it were of empirical origin. In short, no line can be drawn, and, therefore, either the conventional mode of conveying information should be admitted generally, or it ought to be abolished altogether. But the latter course would be clearly impossible, as nobody could be prevented from

from playing indifferent cards in some regular way, which he might expect his partner to comprehend.

The introduction of particular modes of play for the sole purpose of giving information is as old as Hoyle. He says if you have ace, king, and queen of trumps, 'play the lowest, in order to let your partner into the state of your game.' Also, if you have a quart-major in any suit, and have occasion to throw away from it, he tells you to throw away the highest, for the same object. Mathews says if you have to win a small trump with one of a sequence of three, win it with the highest and play the lowest afterwards, 'to inform your partner.' All these are pure empirical intimations, which cannot be traced to any extensions of natural play.

Mr. Clay distinctly states his opinion that 'it is fair to give your partner any intimation which could be given if the cards were placed on the table, each exactly in the same manner as the others, by a machine, the players being out of sight and hearing each of the other.' This would sanction any kind of intimation, pre-arranged or not, that can be conveyed by the cards played.

A passage in Paley's 'Moral Philosophy' is pertinent to this question. After speaking of whist and justifying any advantage gained by skilful play, he says: 'But if I gain an advantage by packing the cards, glancing my eye into the adversaries' hands, or by preconcerted signals with my partner, it is a dishonest advantage.' This might at first seem to condemn conventional signals; but mark the reason—'*because it depends on means which the adversary never suspects that I make use of.*' This clearly shows that the 'preconcerted signals' here alluded to mean only such as are *privately* arranged between the partners, and are unknown to the adversaries. It is, of course, essential to the legitimacy of all conventional signals that they be publicly acknowledged, and that the intimations given to the partner be equally visible to the adversaries, who may take any advantage of them they can. Every practised player knows, for example, how dangerous it is to call for trumps with a clever adversary, who, by forcing the strong hand before trumps can be led, may totally destroy the intended plan, and so turn the tables on the giver of the signal. It is the same, more or less, with all intimations: the advantage is on the side of that player, be he partner or adversary, who observes them most carefully and acts on them most skilfully; and thus they tend, as all whist devices ought, to the promotion and the reward of good play on either side.

On the whole, we think it established that any well-understood modes of giving, publicly to the table, by the play of the cards, information

information as to the contents of the hand of the player, are justifiable by the spirit and the morality of whist, as well as by the recorded opinions of the best authorities, past and present. The essence of the modern game, as we have already explained, consists in the combination of the hands, which can only be effected by full information. Without pre-arranged conventions this information would be most imperfect, the combination would become impracticable, and whist would lose all the fine intellectual character it has acquired, and would relapse into little better than an obscure game of hazard, as it was in its earliest days.

It is astonishing what an insight a player may obtain into the state, not only of his partner's hand, but also of those of his opponents, if, guided by the established rules, he carefully observes the fall of the cards, and draws the proper inferences therefrom. Mr. Clay's first chapter, and Dr. Pole's Table of Inferences, put this very forcibly. It may fairly be said that by the time half the hand is over, the general character and probable results of the whole play will be revealed. Deschapelles has a fanciful way of illustrating this: he likens the progress of the play of a hand to the parabolic path of a shell thrown from a mortar, the seventh trick forming the apex of the curve. During the first half, corresponding to the rise of the projectile, the play is tentative, and the player is acquiring information, which in the latter or descending portion he has to apply.

In the above remarks we have taken no notice of what may be called the *accidents* of the game, such, for example, as finessing, taking advantage of peculiar situations, &c. Rules for these things formed the staple of ancient whist; the modern game has by no means superseded them; they must be well studied by every one who aspires to be a good player, and the new system gives more scope for them, by increasing the knowledge which leads to their successful application. They are treated of fully in all whist books, and do not require further notice here.

The description above given has been necessarily brief, but it will suffice to show that modern whist stands, in an intellectual point of view, far in advance of the old game of Hoyle. It is more logical and systematic in its structure, and is more easily learnt; at the same time it admits of a higher order of skill in play, and it is proved by experience to be more advantageous in its results.*

* The advantage of the systematic combined game over independent play, is estimated at half a point per rubber. Superior personal skill in the two players may add half a point more.

The modern game is, like whist itself, entirely of English invention; but when we come to inquire what whist playing actually is, in this country, we find it, as a general rule, far below the proper standard. Considering the immense popularity of the game it is singular how very rare is even moderate proficiency. Really good play is generally confined to the clubs; in domestic circles the prevalence of what Charles Lamb called 'sick whist' is almost universal.

It is almost inconceivable what depths of ignorance and incompetence are found even among habitual players. Deschapelles tells a laughable story of four enthusiastic worthies who were given, for a joke, two packs of cards, from one of which the four aces, and from the other the four kings, had been abstracted. They played on, with constant disputes about tricks and honours every hand, but it was two hours before they found out the cause! These proficients were well matched by four later players, in this country, who had just heard of the signal for trumps, and, thinking it a fine invention, each of the four gave the sign, but not one of them saw it! 'Madam,' once said an adept to his partner who asked his opinion of her play, expecting a compliment, 'you played one card quite correctly, that was the last.'

It would be vain to attempt to describe all the infinite varieties of bad play; but it may be useful to give a few of its most salient characteristics, and this we may do by dividing whist-players into four classes, with, however, the proviso that such a classification must be only approximate, and far from exhaustive in the lower grades.

Beginning with the worst, the fourth class appear to have derived their ideas of playing from certain oral traditions, which, though widely spread, and, doubtless, of great antiquity, it is difficult to trace to any definite origin. Probably they may be the handing-down of the rudest practice in the infancy of the game. We have, as a matter of curiosity, paid some attention to the habits of this class, and the following may be taken as a summary of their chief rules, which, we believe, now appear in print for the first time:—

'If you have an ace and king of any plain suit, lead them out at once. If not, lead from the best card you hold, in the hope of making it some time; or lead a single card for ruffing.'

'But if fortunately your partner has led before you, you have only to return his lead, and need not take the trouble of scheming a lead of your own.'

'Never lead trumps, even if led first by your partner; it is wasting them, as they might make tricks by trumping.'

'In all other cases, do the best you can.'

The only idea of skill possessed by these players, is in recollecting the high cards that are out, and in discovering when the partner is likely to be short of a suit, that they may force him to trump; they are quite indifferent as to the play of sequences and small cards, and wonder at anybody attaching importance to such trifles. This class forms the great mass of domestic players; they are generally very fond of the game, and practise it a great deal; but their improvement is almost hopeless, as it is so hard to get them to take the first step, *i.e.* to unlearn everything they already know.

The third class are more deserving of respect. They have probably belonged originally to the fourth class, but by reading Hoyle or Matthews, or some of the old books, aided by careful attention, practice, and natural ability, they have risen much above it, and have acquired, in domestic circles, the reputation of being superior players. They are very observant, recollect and calculate well, draw shrewd inferences as to how the cards lie, and generally are adepts in all the *accidental* features of good play. Their management of trumps is diametrically opposed to that of the fourth class, as they have a great *penchant* for leading them, a course almost always advantageous for them with inferior adversaries.

But skilful as these players are, they commit, as Deschapelles says, 'one long and continual fault which they do not see,' they are 'forts joueurs qui sont de détestables partenaires.' They do not play upon *system*; they will not conform to the conventional language of the game; and hence they lose the great advantage of the combination of their own with their partners' hands. They, indeed, usually object to *system* altogether, arguing that the play should be dictated by their own judgment. A player of this class will often lead from short suits, or will lead trumps when weak, or abstain from leading them when strong, or will even refuse to return his partner's lead in them; or, in fact, will adopt any other mode of playing for his own hand alone, 'the worst fault,' says Mr. Clay, 'which I know in a whist player.'

We lately saw a fatal instance of the evil of this style of play. A good player of this class opened by leading the king of spades, which he followed by the queen. His partner, a systematic player, who had originally ace and two small ones, with four trumps, gave him credit for the knave, and probably one or two others; he therefore put the ace on the queen, to get it out of his partner's way, then succeeded in drawing all the trumps, and returned the third little spade. The original player had no more, and the adversaries brought in several cards of the suit and won the game.

If players of this class knew how easily they might step into the rank of first-class adepts, by simply adopting the orthodox system, they might be induced to devote a few hours to its acquisition; but the great obstacle to their improvement is the pride they take in their own skill, which they object to make subservient to a set of rules, and, perhaps, in some instances to the will of a partner inferior to themselves.

The second class are those who play according to correct system, but who, from want either of practice or of talent, do not shine in individual skill. This is generally the case with the young who are properly taught, and their number is happily increasing every day. Two such players would unquestionably win over two much superior adversaries of the third class; and they make such admirable partners, that a fine player, working with one of them, would, of himself realize almost the full advantage of the combination of the hands. This class are eminently hopeful; they are already entitled to the name of good, sound players, and if they have only moderate abilities, they must continually improve.

The first, or highest class, are those who, to the soundness and system of the second class, add the personal skill of the third. They then become *fine* players, and, although there may be among them many grades of excellence, they may, as a class, be said to have arrived at the summit of the scale. We may refer to Mr. Clay's book for an exemplification of what a fine player should be.

To improve any large number of whist-players in the lower classes is more than can be hoped for; few of the old hands are open to conviction or anxious for instruction. But for the benefit of younger aspirants, and of others who may have the ambition to rise out of the dull ranks of the incapables, we will offer a few words of guidance.

First then, we say to the student, you must be convinced that you have something to learn. It is the want of appreciation of this truth that accounts for such a general prevalence of bad play. People fancy they can become good players by mere practice, which is a great mistake; they only move on in one eternal blundering round. The scientific game has been the result of years upon years of elaborate thought and incessant experiment, and you can no more arrive at it by your own limited experience, than you could become acquainted with scientific astronomy by watching the apparent motion of the stars. And, further, if you have already learnt and practised whist on the erroneous principle of considering merely your own hand, you must wipe out all that, and make a *tabula rasa* on which true knowledge can be inscribed.

The

The next thing to be done is to make yourself acquainted with the recognized system of modern play, embodying the complete *language* of the game. This is the all-important thing; the three great points of modern whist are system, system, system. You will be surprised to find, if you approach the subject with a docile disposition, how easy this system is to acquire; the difficulties only arise from its clashing with pre-conceived notions; some dozen sentences embody its chief features, and when their spirit is once well impressed on the mind, the great portion of the learning is done.* When whist playing is studied on system, to use Dr. Pole's words,—

'It is astonishing in how different a light the game appears. Its acquisition, instead of being laborious and repulsive, becomes easy and pleasant; the student, instead of being frightened at difficulties, finds them vanish before him; and even those who, having formerly practised without method, take the trouble of learning the system, suddenly see the light break in upon them, and find themselves repaid a hundredfold in the increased enjoyment and satisfaction the game will afford them.'

Practise as much as possible, with good players, but do not be turned aside from correct play by unsound criticism, or by unfavourable results, both which you will often have to encounter.

* The following short memoranda of some of the most important points of the modern game might be committed to memory, or printed on a card for easy reference:—

1. Lead from your most numerous suit. Begin with the lowest, unless you have several high cards, as mentioned in the text.
2. Lead your own suit before you return your partner's, unless he leads trumps, which return immediately.
3. In returning your partner's suit, if you have only two left return the *highest*; if more, the lowest.
4. But in any position, if you hold the best card, play it the second round.
5. *Holding five trumps, lead them*, or call for them.
6. Look out for your partner's call for trumps, especially if weak in them yourself. If he calls, and you hold not more than three trumps, lead the *highest*; if more the lowest.
7. Second hand, generally play your lowest.
8. Do not trump a doubtful trick second hand, if you hold more than three trumps; with three or less trump fearlessly.
9. Do not force your partner if you hold less than four trumps yourself; but force a strong *adverse* trump hand whenever you can.
10. Discard from your weakest suit.
11. If not leading, always play the lowest of a sequence.
12. Be very careful in the play of even your smallest cards, every one of which will convey information to your partner.

Why cannot whist be taught professionally, like chess and billiards? Hoyle set the example, at a guinea a lesson, and there is now much more scope for instruction than there was in his day, from the game being reduced to so much more systematic and teachable a form. So easy is it, that we know a child, under seven years of age, who, having been properly taught, can go through the formalities of the modern game with tolerable correctness.

Neither

Neither be discouraged by finding at first your memory at fault. Systematic play aids this largely, by showing to what points it is most important to direct attention ; first the trumps, next the higher cards of your own long suit, then those of your partner's, and so on. Trust to your natural memory only, avoiding everything artificial, except carefully sorting and counting your cards at the beginning of the hand. All other mnemonic arrangements do mischief ; the practice even of putting the trumps in a particular place is as childish as that of turning the picture cards the right way up, 'to prevent,' as Deschapelles says, 'the flow of blood to their heads.'

When you have become thoroughly familiar with the system, and can speak the language of the game with fluency, then you may turn your attention to the *accidents* of play, which have the object of taking the best advantage of particular situations. You will find plenty of examples of these in Cavendish's published 'Hands,' and many more in Hoyle and Matthews, which you may at this period study with advantage. And here you will find the field gradually opening for your personal skill ; your knowledge of system has already placed you in the second class of players ; you have then to advance into the first rank, and to mount as high in it as your ability will allow you. You will encounter difficulties, and must not expect to get on too fast, as you may be years before you really excel ; but do not be discouraged, as you are in the right way. 'Yo y el tiempo,' was Charles V.'s maxim, and your perseverance will be sure to be rewarded.

One of the most difficult, but at the same time most frequent cases for the exercise of fine skill is in judging when and to what extent the systematic rules should be departed from. Towards the end of the hand, for example, all rules may often be laid aside ; and the state of the score will frequently warrant exceptional play. With a partner, too, who does not understand the combined system, it would be folly to adhere to it, as you would only be giving information to be used against you. In such a case you have, in fact, three adversaries instead of two, and you must fight your own battle single-handed as well as you can. Your partner's neglect to aid you may, perhaps, lose you the game ; but if you exert your skill, you will, like the old French physician, when his patient died, have 'toujours la consolation d'avoir fait quelque chose.'

Cavendish sums up his work with the following words, which will form an appropriate termination to our own remarks :—

'The theory of whist tells you how to play your own hand to the greatest advantage, how to assist your partner, and how to weaken and to obstruct your opponents. This knowledge constitutes a *sound* player.'

player. If to theoretical perfection you add the power of accurate observation, and of acute perception, together with a thorough comprehension of the whist capacities of partners and opponents, you have all the elements necessary to form a master of the science.'

ART. III.—1. *Les Discours de M. le Comte de Bismarck avec Sommaires et Notes.* Vol. I. Berlin (n. d.).

2. *Das Buch vom Grafen Bismarck.* Von George Hesekiel. In drei Abtheilungen, reich illustriert von namhaften Künstlern. Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1869.

3. *Deutschland am Neujahr 1870.* Vom Verfasser der Rundschauen. (Ascribed to Von Gerlach.) Berlin, 1870.

4. *Krieg und Friede. Zwei Briefe an Ernst Renan, nebst dessen Antwort auf den ersten.* Von David Friedrich Strauss. Leipzig, 1870.

5. *Die bundesstaatliche Einigung Süd- und Nord-Deutschlands unter Preussens Führung als nothwendiges Ergebniss des gegenwärtigen Krieges, und ihre Bedeutung für das Europäische Gleichgewicht.* Berlin, 1870.

6. *Unsere Grenzen.* Von Wolfgang Menzel. Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1868.

7. *Elsass und Lothringen. Nachweis, wie diese Provinzen dem Deutschen Reiche verloren gingen.* Von Adolf Schmidt, ord. Prof. an der Univ. Jena. Dritte vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig, 1870.

8. *Elsass und Lothringen, und ihre Wiedergewinnung für Deutschland.* Von Prof. Dr. Adolph Wagner. Fünfte Auflage. Leipzig, 1870.

9. *What we demand from France.* By Heinrich von Treitschke. Professor of History in the University of Heidelberg. Translated from the German. London, 1870.

10. *Des Relations de la France avec l'Allemagne sous Napoléon III.* Par le Marquis de Gricourt, Sénateur de l'Empire. Bruxelles, 1870.

11. *La Prusse devant l'Europe.* Par le Comte Alfred de la Guéronnière. Lettre de S. E. le Comte de Bismarck au Comte Alfred de la Guéronnière. La Réponse. Bruxelles, 1870.

THE two works, placed first at the head of the present article, will supply our readers with considerable information respecting the public and private life of Count Bismarck. The former of these works is the first volume of a French translation, which has appeared at Berlin, of Count Bismarck's collected speeches in the Prussian Chambers and in the Parliament

liament of the North German Confederation. They extend at present no further than the Sessions of 1867; but these speeches embrace all the principal questions, foreign and domestic, from that of the military establishments of Prussia to that of Luxemburg, which have given rise to debate between the Prussian Legislature and Government, or between Prussia and Europe. We understand the proofs for this publication are corrected by Count Bismarck himself, and as he has just now not a little on his hands besides, it is not surprising if the second volume do not follow the first so soon as might otherwise be expected. We have in the 'Discours' before us as much of Count Bismarck's mind as he thought fit to utter on each of the questions which came under discussion, and as much of Count Bismarck's manner as could be preserved in a French translation. The speeches now before us may be divided into two periods—that preceding and that succeeding the Austrian War, and the formation of the North German Confederation. The former of these might be designated—as was a by-gone epoch of German literature—as the 'Storm and Stress Period'; the latter as a period of comparatively calm weather, condonation and compromise. If, as has been said, a good man struggling with adversity was a spectacle for the gods, an able Minister, struggling for four successive years against majorities in the popular House of Parliament, and, finally, coming successfully out of such a struggle, is a spectacle so strange to Englishmen as, for its very strangeness, may well engage our best endeavours to understand and explain it.

The 'Book of Count Bismarck,' the title of which stands second in our list, has gone through several German editions, and has been translated into English in a fashion of which we will say no more than that it resembles many manufactures of a similar kind for the London book-market, which would almost justify critics in rendering 'Uebersetzer' by 'oversetter,' or 'traducteur' by 'traducer' of German or French originals. This 'Book of Bismarck,' without claiming much notice as a literary composition, contributes not a little to our personal acquaintance with the Prussian statesman, not only in the shape of public speeches and documents, but of private correspondence, which, curiously enough, has been frankly confided by the Bismarck family to the book-making discretion or indiscretion of Herr George Hesekiel. It would seem as if Mr. Carlyle's 'awful Chancellor of the North German Confederation' had no objection that less awful impressions of him should go forth to the reading public. Accordingly we have a self-portraiture of him swimming in the Rhine by moonlight

'with

‘with nothing but nose and eyes above water,’ and looking up at the Mouse Tower, ‘where the bad Bishop came to a bad end,’ or ‘throwing himself on the heaving bosom of his old love,’ the North Sea at Norderney, or luxuriating in the ‘Atlantic weather’—mixed rain and sunshine—in late October at Biarritz. Elsewhere, writing to his sister, Frau von Arnim, with that hearty appreciation of homely national viands, which Jeffrey made fun of long ago in reviewing ‘Wilhelm Meister’ (provoking from the veteran Goethe an appeal to German judgment, ‘*Das heisst in England recensiren*’), he says he had seldom or never eat such *liver* and *black-puddings* as she had sent him, and had breakfasted on them with great content for the last three days. Then again we have him writing home for a *French novel* while accompanying the campaign of Sadowa, and at another time he is converting a free-thinking friend on an inn-balcony at Rüdesheim, between the whiffs of their cigars, from Rousseauism to Christianity, and flatters himself he has at least reduced him to silence.

At the soldierly banquet given by King William I. to his principal officers, on the brief rest-day which followed his ‘crowning mercy’ of the 2nd of September last, at Sedan, champagne was served in honour of the great events of the day before—(*vin ordinaire* only, say the German chroniclers of the campaign, having previously appeared at the royal table)—and the King proposed a toast in the following terms:—

‘We must to-day, in gratitude, drink to the health of my brave army. You, War-Minister Von Roon, have sharpened our sword; you, General Von Moltke, have guided it; and you, Count Von Bismarck, by your direction of the national policy for years, have brought Prussia to her present pitch of elevation. Let us then drink to the health of the Army—of the three I have named in connexion with that toast—and of every one present who has contributed, according to his power, to the results now accomplished.’

The qualities which raised Freiherr Otto Von Bismarck—*Mad Bismarck*, as he was called in early manhood—from the obscure activities, and equally obscure diversions and dissipations of a land-improving, sporting, and deep-drinking Altmark Junker or Squire*—to hold the helm of state during the

* We learn from the ‘Book of Bismarck,’ that when the Squire of Schoenhausen, having sown his wild oats, bethought himself at length of taking a wife, he found his character as a marrying man did not stand much higher with prudent parents than probably did that of Ritter Blaubart, after his too frequent conjugal bereavements. The pious and decorous parents of Fräulein Von Putkammer were horrified at the announcement of such a suitor; but the Fräulein herself *ließ sich nicht irre machen*—stood firm to her choice. It has never been said since that the lady of ‘Mad Bismarck’ has had to suffer anything similar or analogous to what a French critic of Perrault has called ‘*les angoisses trop méritées de Madame Barbebleu*’.

eight last eventful years in Prussia, may be regarded as in good measure identical with those which have won for Prussia herself, within half that period, ascendancy over Germany and victory over France. The final moral of the great international drama must be left to the future. The end is not yet, but the ends already compassed under Count Bismarck's Ministry, and compassed with the ultimate acquiescence and applause of his strongest popular opponents, suffice to show that the audacious and pugnacious Minister has well understood the instruments he had to use and the parties he had to deal with. Much of what has appeared the astounding audacity of his action in politics has really resulted from his 'abnormal-sapient' perception that windbags were windbags, and that a very slight prick might cause to collapse a very big bladder. The mistake apt to be made on this side the Channel about the political career of Bismarck is that of unconsciously crediting Prussia with the parliamentary precedents and traditions of England. But the most cherished Prussian traditions and precedents have always been those of military monarchy and aristocracy. These have been associated from first to last with all her modern advances in the scale of nations.

When Oliver Cromwell made his first appearance in the House of Commons, Lord Digby, according to the rather apocryphal parliamentary legend, asked Hampden '*Who that sloven was?*' and received for answer—'That sloven whom you see before you, hath no ornament in his speech: that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the King (which God forbid!), in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England.'

When Otto Von Bismarck—to compare a smaller, though still a very considerable, man with a greater—made his first appearance as deputy from the Saxon Provincial Ritterschaft in the Prussian United Diet, convoked under the (soon repealed) provisions of the late well-meaning Frederick William IV.'s patent of February, 1847, he presented the aspect of a man of powerful build of some three or four-and-thirty, thick head of hair short-cropped, ruddy and healthy countenance, bright eyes rather prominent—*à fleur de tête*, as the French say,—and strong reddish beard. The new speaker stood bolt upright, looked his audience in the face for a moment, and then addressed them in a plain, unadorned, and occasionally hesitating manner, with a sharp, and not exactly agreeable, accent:—'I feel myself constrained to contradict what has so often been asserted, as well in this assembly as out of doors, whenever the popular claims for a constitution have come under discussion, viz. that the national movement of

1813 was made for that object, or from any other motive than to deliver our country from the disgrace of a foreign yoke.'

As might be anticipated, these few words of truth, delivered against an assumption as unfounded in historical fact as unnecessary to the practical objects of rational reformers, raised a storm of indignation in the impatient Liberal majority of that day against the unlucky Deputy of the Saxon Provincial Ritterschaft. Amidst the hubbub of articulate and inarticulate protests which saluted the new and unpractised speaker, if any one had asked, after the fashion of Lord Digby, '*Who is that stammerer?*' would there have been a voice found to answer, as the story goes Hampden did for Cromwell, '*That stammerer, who hath no ornament in his speech—if it ever comes in the course of events (which God forbid!) to cement the future unity of Fatherland by "blood and iron"—that stammerer will be the foremost political personage in Prussia, in Germany, in Europe!*'

Von Bismarck's first speech in the United Diet of 1847 struck the keynote of all his subsequent utterances in the Second Prussian Chamber, under the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary order of things which followed in rapid succession the Berlin *émeute* of March, 1848, to which the weakness of Frederick William IV. gave for the time all the effects of a revolution. A military retreat before a metropolitan populace made the days of March memorable—a military rally in the face of the same populace reversed the situation by November. After the dissolution of the Chambers elected under the immediate effect of the events of March, and the issue of the *octroyée* constitution of December, Von Bismarck was elected as deputy for West Havelland to the new Second Chamber.

The rejected offer of the German Imperial Crown to Prussia by the Frankfort Assembly which had substituted itself, by the grace of the people, for the old Diet of the Confederation in the Revolution year 1848, and the alternative propositions for German Union which found a mouthpiece in Von Radowitz, were strenuously combatted by Von Bismarck with all the determined outspokenness of his Prussian 'Junker-Politik.' But there were hints in his language that he, too, had *in petto* an alternative policy, which might possibly take a substantive shape at some future day, when arguments more cogent than parliamentary rhetoric should be available to support it:—

'I deny,' he said, 'that there exists anywhere among the Prussian people any felt need for national regeneration after the Frankfort pattern. Much has been said here about Frederick the Great; and his policy has even been identified with these projects for German union. I am rather disposed to believe that Frederick the Great would

would have addressed himself, in these circumstances, to the distinctive characteristic of Prussian nationality—to the warlike element which forms so marked a character of it—and would have addressed that character not without effect. He would have known that, in these days, as in those of our fathers, the trumpet-sound summoning Prussians under the banner of the Lord of their Land has not lost its charm for their ear, whether the cause contended for be the defence of our frontiers, or the power and glory of Prussia. He would have felt that he had the choice either of allying himself with our old comrade Austria, for the annihilation of the common enemy, Revolution, or of singly dictating to Germany what should be her future constitution, at the risk of having to throw his sword in the scale. Either of these courses might have furnished a national policy for Prussia. Either in union with Austria, or acting singly for herself, such a policy would have placed Prussia in the right position for helping Germany to that power which belongs to her in Europe.'

Bismarck's evening solace, in his years of independent membership, after days engrossed with politics in the Chamber or the clubs, was—beer and tobacco. His Boswellian biographer, in 'the Book of Count Bismarck,' who chronicles small beer not less punctually (as becomes a good German) than greater matters, tells us that towards evening Bismarck was wont to resort to Schwartz's beer-house, at the corner of the Friedrich's and Leipziger Strassen, in Berlin—a house which was then the chief rendezvous of the Conservative party. At that establishment the 'little dog and all' was Conservative, and never failed to bark at any democratic intruder. One evening, however, either 'Spitz' was off duty, or Bismarck had strayed into a less Conservative beer-house. He had no sooner taken his seat than somebody at a neighbouring table permitted himself to say something very disparaging about some member of the Royal family. Bismarck thereupon reared himself up to his full height and thundered at the offender—'Out of the room with you! If you are not out before I have drunk this glass out, I will break it on your-pate.' An angry tumult arose upon this apostrophe, such as was wont to arise upon Bismarck's daily *Derbheiten* in the Second Chamber. He went on, however, quietly drinking his beer, and, when he had finished it, was as good as his word in shying the beer-glass at the offender's head. Deep silence ensued, and Bismarck called to the waiter, as if nothing had happened, 'Kellner, what's to pay for the broken glass?' The *coup de verre* had succeeded, and the voice of the room was unanimous in a verdict of 'Served right.'

'Les hommes se prennent par la douceur,' says the French proverb. Such as above narrated—and it is not a solitary trait—were the douceurs by which Bismarck disarmed opponents 'in his

his hot youth,' if that description is applicable to a man between thirty and forty. Such traits almost justify Mr. Grant Duff's remark that 'the ground-tone of Bismarck's character is *überpis*.'* A story less violent, but not less characteristic, is told of him on arriving at Frankfort, in 1851, to exercise his first political function under his present royal master, namely, that of Prussian representative at the Diet of the since dissolved German Confederation. In that capacity Bismarck visited the Austrian President of the Diet, Count Thun. The Count, a 'vornehmer Cavalier,' with a sufficient sense of his own superior rank, received the representative of Prussia with scant ceremony, went on smoking his cigar standing, and did not ask his visitor to sit down. The new envoy showed himself—as at all times—equal to the situation, drew out his cigar-case, and said with unruffled ease, 'May I ask your Excellency for a light?' His Excellency was considerably taken aback—*im höchsten Grade verblüfft*—but gave Bismarck his light. The latter smoked his cigar, took his seat without ceremony, and opened the conversation.†

It may not be an uninstructive subject of consideration for Englishmen—why it was that, from the close of the Revolution year, 1848, Prussian politics took a course so different from that which our own constitutional history has led us to think the normal one. The organisation of the army, due to Frederick William I. and Frederick II., had begirt the throne with a military aristocracy founded on a landed basis, and which has not been taken off that basis by the modern reforms of the system. This has preserved that species of modern feudalism in the Prussian army which regards the obligation of loyalty to the Crown as paramount to that of allegiance to any paper or parliamentary constitution. And the course of events has cut out work for the army, the successful performance of which has finally justified, even in the eyes of Prussian popular politicians, the stubborn adherence of the King and his Minister Bismarck to their measures for increasing its strength, taken in direct defiance of decided parliamentary majorities from 1862 to 1866. Count Bismarck has been sometimes compared to Strafford; and his position, during the first four years of his ministry, towards the Prussian Second Chamber, was not very dissimilar to that of the chosen minister of Charles I. The difference was that the Prussian Strafford had for his master a steady single-minded

* 'Studies in European Politics,' p. 235.

† According to an earlier version of the anecdote, Count Rechberg was the offending party on whom Bismarck took his revenge, in the manner above mentioned, for some lack of due ceremony in his reception. We have preferred the later version given in the 'Book of Bismarck,' which, whether true or not, must at least be admitted to be *ben trovato*.

soldier, and that he was able to achieve, as the first result of his policy, an ascendancy of Prussia in Germany, to the exclusion of Austria, at which every true Prussian had aspired as a consummation devoutly to be wished. Now the *ends* of Strafford had been as much abhorred as his *means* by the antagonists of Popery and prerogative, who carried all before them in the Long Parliament; and whereas, in England, Parliament was thus pre-destined to success in its struggle with the Crown—in Prussia the Crown was predestined to success in its struggle with Parliament, because, in the latter case, that struggle was finally seen by all parties to have had for its object what had long been the object of Prussian popular ambition—an ambition, it may be added, which was the natural offspring of the very conditions of Prussian national existence. ‘Prussia,’ wrote a Hanoverian statesman, about the beginning of the present century,* ‘is not a country which possesses an army, but an army which possesses a country.’ ‘The Prussian Government,’ says a French writer, M. Cherbuliez, ‘sets its Chambers at defiance, because in Prussia there is nothing really solid in the shape of institutions but the administration and the army.’ In a pamphlet recently published, ascribed to one of the leaders of the old Prussian Conservative party, Von Gerlach,† it is observed, ‘The soul of Prussia is Prussian royalty, and that royalty is essentially military and feudal. The events of 1866 have proved that there was nothing really popular amongst us but the King and the army.’

In the interesting correspondence lately published between Strauss and Renan, in which each asserts the cause of his country with ardour so well tempered as to make us think they both originally mistook their vocation in devoting themselves to polemics instead of politics, Dr. Strauss, after confessing that, with his South-German compatriots generally, he is by no means particularly fond of the Prussians, goes on, nevertheless, to ascribe to them political and military points of superiority, which render Prussian leadership, unpopular as it is, still indispensable to Germany:—

‘One thing,’ he says, ‘must be conceded to the North-German—to the Prussian especially—he is superior to the South-German as a *political animal*. This superiority he owes partly to the nature of his country, which, poor in natural resources, compels to labour rather than allures to enjoyment, partly to his history—a history of hard schooling under princes of stern energy—but above all to the general obligation to military service.

‘This obligation renders the State, and the duty owing to the

* Rehberg.

† ‘Deutschland am Neujahr, 1870.’

State,

State, ever present to the minds of every class of the population. Every son growing up, every year bringing round the regular season of military exercises, reminds every family in the most direct manner of the State, and not only of the duty owing to the State, but the honour of belonging to it. The war of 1866 had already given our South-Germans much to think of; the present war, it is to be hoped, will complete the maturing of their judgments. They must see that, if they have lent their arms to the struggle, the Prussians have found the head for it. They must feel that, with all their good will and good heart, with all their vigour and manhood, they could yet have achieved nothing against the French. An extended State-system, exclusively put together of South-German elements, might indeed form a full-fed and full-juiced but a puffy and unwieldy body. While, on the other hand, elements exclusively North-German would go to the making of a firm and athletic but a spare and dry one. Prussia will contribute to our future German-State her strong bones and stiff muscles, which South-Germany will fill and round with her richer flesh and blood. And now, imagine, if you can, that the one without detriment could dispense with the other—doubt, if you dare, that both are destined to develop in union to a full-grown-State and nation!'

In the last number of the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' which reached this country before the siege of Paris, M. Ernest Renan, in an article entitled *La France et l'Allemagne*—observed with perfect truth of the present Chancellor of the North German Confederation, that, though he belongs by birth to the Prussian Junker or Squires' party, in the Parliamentary ranks of which he first came to the front, he has shown since in political action that he is by no means wedded indissolubly to the prejudices of that party. His policy—so soon as

* Sir Alexander Malet, in his instructive volume on 'The Overthrow of the Germanic Confederation in 1866,' has the following observations on Bismarck's earlier politics:—

'There is little doubt that the earliest aspirations of M. de Bismarck, when chosen by his sovereign to represent Prussia in the Diet, were limited to establishing parity between the two great German courts, and that he would have been well satisfied with alternation in the presidency of the Diet, and such a division of influence in the Confederation as that nominal equality would have carried with it. When, however, the Prussian statesman found that Austria would abate no iota of her pretensions, and that her influence in the Diet was generally preponderant; when, further, his clear insight into the future saw only one mode of attaining his ends, and that the destinies his patriotism conceived for his own country could no otherwise be accomplished than by the humiliation of her-rival, he at once threw himself into the task with all the energy of his nature. M. de Bismarck's whole soul glowed with the passionate resolve to expel Austria from Germany. It was not in his nature to hesitate as to means; and neither moral nor material obstacles diverted him from his object. In fact, he entered on the contest unencumbered by scruples of any kind. To raise Prussia to the political status which he thought his country ought to hold was his religion. He entered the path of action with the fervour of a Mahomet enforcing a rival faith, and, like Mahomet, succeeded.'

he distinctly formed a policy of his own*—had two objects: first, to expel Austria from the Germanic body; secondly, to rally round Prussia those members of that body which the events of history had dispersed:—

‘Did M. de Bismarck see farther?’—asks M. Renan. ‘Did his necessarily limited range of view as a practical man allow him to anticipate that one day Prussia would be absorbed by Germany—that one day Prussia would vanish in her own victory, as Rome ceased to exist as a ruling city from the day when she had accomplished her work of unification? I know not, for M. de Bismarck hitherto has not submitted himself, and perhaps never will submit himself to analysis.’

M. Renan’s question is in some sort answered by the following passage of a letter of Von Bismarck from St. Petersburg, in 1859, when he was Prussian Ambassador there:—

‘I shall be happy to see the word *German* instead of the word *Prussian* inscribed on our flag, when we shall be bound together in a closer and more purposelike manner with our countrymen, but the word loses its charm when abused, as at present, by application to the Confederate nexus now existing. I discern in our present federal relations a source of Prussian weakness, which sooner or later we shall have to heal *ferro et igni*, if we do not betimes, at the favourable season undertake its cure.’ He says in the same letter, ‘The result of my eight years’ official experience at Frankfort [as representative of Prussia at the Bund] has been that the subsisting federal arrangements form a fetter for Prussia at all times oppressive, at critical times perilous to her very existence, without securing to her any of those equivalent advantages which Austria derives from them in the infinitely greater measure of independent individual movement which they afford her.’

‘When two men ride on one horse,’ says the proverb, ‘one must ride behind.’ So long as Prussia remained content to ride behind Austria in the old German Confederation, as she had remained content to do throughout the whole period of the ascendancy of the policy of immobility of the late Prince Metternich, peace was preserved between the two great Powers of Germany. So soon as Prussia resolved (or Von Bismarck resolved for her) *not* to ride behind, so soon war in Germany, which might be termed *civil war*, became imminent, and Von Bismarck had long not obscurely indicated that he should be prepared to face it. It may be regarded as due to that daring Minister’s temper and character that the situation, when it had become strained beyond pacific arbitrament, was at once seen and accepted, and the quarrel was fought out ‘*mit Blut und Eisen*’—to borrow his own expression. But the seeds of that quarrel had

been

been sowing for centuries—ever since, in fact, the days of the Great Elector; and even if war between Austria and Prussia had been avoided in 1866, situations strained to the very verge of war would have recurred again and again, till the two rival forces would have met at last in armed conflict, as they did in that year, to decide which of the two should constitute the armed force of Germany for all time within present human prevision.

That dualism of power and influence in Germany, which has apparently come to an end, had formed the main source of the whole recent action of Austria and Prussia in German politics, from the abortive Austrian attempt at a new scheme of Confederation in 1863, to the formation (excluding Austria) of the North German Confederation of 1866. The intervening episode of Prussian and Austrian participation in the 'Federal execution' on Denmark in 1864, was prompted on both sides by the same motive of rivalry, no idea of German right or European interest having anything to do with it. This was abundantly proved, as regarded the successful partner in that operation, by Prussia at last resting her title to the territory, wrung by treaty from Denmark, on the transfer of the Danish title to that territory; whereas the 'Schleswig-Holstein' war had been commenced on the German popular plea that 'Denmark had no title to hold, nor, therefore, to cede that territory.' What the astute Prussian Minister himself had thought, at a previous period, of that German popular plea for the repeated raids on Denmark, had been expressed by him sixteen years before, in a speech he made in 1848, in the character of an independent member of the Prussian Second Chamber, when he stigmatised the first armed attack on Holstein, in that year, as 'a most unjust, frivolous, and pernicious enterprise, undertaken to support a revolution without legitimate motive.' In 1852 Von Bismarck accepted from the late King of Denmark, the Grand Cross of the Order of the Dannebrog, conferred in recognition of his activity in the pacification of the Danish duchies. At that latter epoch, Von Bismarck was acting as the representative of Prussia at the Frankfort Diet. To do him justice he has never pretended any special sympathy with the popular pretexts on which the last invasion of Denmark was perpetrated.* He

* We translate the following passage from Varnhagen Von Ense's 'Tagebücher' (vol. xiii. p. 428):—'What Austria and Prussia seek at the hands of Denmark is not more regard to the Germanism of Schleswig-Holstein—they don't care much about that. But the Anti-German Ministry at Copenhagen is democratic-Danish; they want a reactionary one—that is, the root of the matter!' This was written in 1857, under Frederick William IV. Count Bismarck, five or six years later, sounded his first remonstrances to the Danish Government explicitly on its too democratic character.

struck into it on the part of Prussia to take it out of the hands of the Middle States and Austria; to get possession of the oyster, and leave the other claimants the shells. Why *Austria* made herself also an accomplice in the Danish raid, can only be explained on the motive assigned with little of decent reserve by her own diplomatists. Forsooth Austria could not afford to forfeit her share of German popularity, by refusing to lead the march of the minor German States, on the much-besung 'Schleswig-Holstein!' And, above all, she felt herself as usual 'bound' (in American phrase) to prevent Prussia from acquiring an accession of territory—which Prussia has acquired in spite of her.

When Austria appealed to the vote of the Frankfort Diet, to frustrate the aforesaid purpose of Prussian acquisition of Danish territory, Prussia, under Count Bismarck's government, at once treated that vote as a *casus belli*, seceded from the Confederation, and made her short and decisive campaign of Sadowa. And thus the old Austro-Prussian dualism came to its tragic termination.

'In the life of nations, as of individuals,' writes Strauss to Renan, in the correspondence already cited, 'conjunctures take place, in which the very thing long wished for is realised in so strange a shape, that we do not recognise—nay, turn from it with disgust and anger.'

'Thus was it with the Prusso-Austrian war of 1866 and its results. It achieved for us Germans that which we had long wished for, but not in the way we wished, and therefore repelled the sympathies of a great part of the German people from its accomplishment. We had wished to bring about the union of Germany by pacific evolution from the idea—the will of the people—from the calm deliberations of the best men amongst that people. But we now saw the way paved to it by the action of material force—by "blood and iron." We had wished to include all German races under one imperial Constitution, but now not only the Germans in Austria but also in the Southern Middle States, are left out. It required time for the German idealism, and for the German self-will also to become reconciled with the real conditions of the problem; but the imperativeness and, I may add, the reasonableness of those conditions was so self-evident, that better views had, in a very short time, made the most gratifying progress.'

As Austria would not accept Prussian hegemony in Germany, so France would not accept German ascendancy in Europe without an appeal to the God of Battles. We speak of France, as France was lately represented, not only by the Imperial Government, but by the parliamentary, and extra-parliamentary organs of popular opposition.

Five years back few would have singled out Count Bismarck

as the Sphinx destined to devour an empire that could not read his riddle. Napoleon III. had hitherto been the great propounder of enigmas in recent European politics. Every one was attent to hearken to that which Louis the Silent thought fit to utter at rare intervals. 'He thinks reticence is his talent,' Count Bismarck is reported to have said in 1865 to a Spanish retired statesman, sojourning like himself at Biarritz. The reverse of reticence certainly is the talent of the North German Chancellor. To know distinctly what he is driving at, and to drive straight at it, when circumstances appear favourable, is a main element of his power—a species of straightforwardness not by any means excluding simulation or dissimulation, as there may be occasion for either, but decidedly excluding all superfluous subtleties and aimless irresolutions. To know how to meet Count Bismarck on some ground of common interest and common policy, might haply have been for Napoleon III., any time these last five years, to know how to have preserved France from humiliation, and himself from overthrow. It must be no ordinary man who has held what may be termed joint command with the late Ruler of France over such tremendous issues for the weal or woe of two great nations. M. Thiers is reported to have said, on some occasion, 'The Second Empire has produced two great Ministers—Count Cavour and Count Bismarck.'

It might be interesting to seek why Napoleon III. failed at last in much the same enterprise as that in which Count Bismarck succeeded—in twisting parliaments round his finger, and carrying through political revolutions *mit Blut und Eisen*. But first occurs the question—*Has Count Bismarck succeeded where Napoleon III. has failed?* The first eight or ten years of the Second French Empire seemed a signal success, and if Count Bismarck's ministry should last as long as Napoleon III.'s reign, his policy has ample time before it for equal eventual failure. It is undeniable, however, that the main object which Count Bismarck's policy has effected, had been the main object of German popular aspirations for a whole generation. That object is unity of national organisation and national force. The Prussian Minister's past successes and present ascendancy are chiefly owing to the clearness with which his eight years' embassy to Frankfort led him to discern that object, and the boldness and decision for which his accession to power gave scope in pursuing it. 'Quand on sait ce qu'on veut, et qu'on le reut vite et bien,' says a French historian,* 'on l'obtient toujours'—always with the proviso that what one wills shall lie in the

* Mignet.

a 2

direction

direction of the natural course of events, and shall take due account of the nature of men and things.

Von Bismarck had soon surmounted as a speaker the stammering hesitation of his first parliamentary appearances; but he never acquired that even, uninterrupted flow of words which generally indicates no high pressure of thought or passion forcing its way to utterance. In the marshalling of his topics there is not much parade of parliamentary logic—still less much display, smelling of the lamp, of parliamentary rhetoric. What is chiefly perceptible in Von Bismarck's speeches, from first to last, is the speaker's ever-present sense of the logic of the situation. It was this which sustained him during his four years' struggle with parliamentary majorities—it was this which he probably succeeded in conveying some sympathetic sense of, even to those majorities. 'When the King's Government,' he said on one occasion (the refusal of a vote of 6000 thalers by the Chamber of Deputies to defray the charge of a military envoy at St. Petersburg) 'shows itself obstinate apparently for a trifle, in an exceptional case of this kind, you may be assured that, after mature examination, and following the dictates of its duty, it could not do otherwise than maintain this post, and refuse to consent to its suppression.' On another occasion (the discussion of the affairs of the Danish Duchies) Von Bismarck told the Chamber—'For the last year and a half, if we could have openly declared the object at which we were aiming, I believe, gentlemen, you would not have met us with so much opposition. . . . If you were better initiated in the technical part of diplomatic affairs, it would not happen to you to put such pressure upon us as to reduce the Ministry to the alternative either of seeming by its silence to admit the justice of your censures, or, in refuting them, of expressing openly what, for political reasons, were better left to be understood.'

In the first period of Von Bismarck's Ministry, during which he represented what might be called His Majesty's Opposition to his Second Chamber, he stood upon his undoubting and determined confidence in the tenability of his position as the King's Minister—no matter against what majority of the popular Chamber. If that Chamber would not pass the military budget—why, they were only one power out of three whose concurrence was required for its passing, and thus there was no more reason why the Crown and the Upper House should give way to the Second Chamber, than that the latter should come to some terms of compromise with the two other co-ordinate powers. If the President of the Chamber took upon him to call the King's Minister to order, the King's Minister refused to recognise the President's

President's right to do so. It is an edifying example of German phlegm and German longanimity, that this strained state of relations between the legislative and executive powers could go on for four years without terminating in some more violent situation or total rupture. 'All the Talents' in the Lower Chamber were firing away as incessantly at the King's Minister as the Paris forts have been doing lately at the Prussian positions, and the Minister was opposing an imperturbable front to all their verbal artillery, and telling them with cutting conciseness, and often happy humour, *leurs vérités* in return. After the conflict had terminated, in consequence of the events of 1866, in the sort of compromise which he had declared throughout could be its only possible termination, we find Count Bismarck, in the newly convoked 'Reichstag' of the North German Confederation, in 1867, quietly replying as follows to an old antagonist in the Prussian Chamber (Duncker) who again met him in the new arena with the old topics: *—

' Since the last speaker has expressed a certain degree of surprise that I should have spent perhaps the best years of my public life in combatting the parliamentary right of discussing the Budget, I will just remind him that it may not be quite certain that the army, which gained last year's battles, would have possessed the organisation by which it gained them, if, in the autumn of the year 1862 (the date of Von Bismarck's accession to power), no one had been found ready to undertake the conduct of affairs according to *His Majesty's orders*, and putting aside the resolution passed by the Chamber of Deputies on the 23rd September of that year (viz., the vote which *rejected*—a vote repeated and disregarded for four years in succession—the military budget brought forward and adhered to by His Majesty's Government).'

Prussia possesses three Parliaments and one Bismarck; and the one Bismarck has hitherto been more than a match for the three Parliaments. Whether coercing or creating Parliaments—ignoring all constitutional control by those existing, or inaugurating universal suffrage for those newly called into existence, Count Bismarck's eight years' administration of Prussia militant is something unprecedented in history. One governing principle may be traced throughout his conduct of affairs—the principle of repudiating parliamentarism as a master while using it as an instrument. In carrying out that principle *per fas aut nefas*, through evil or good report, he may be said to have boldly

* There is a story told, characteristic of Count Bismarck's shrewd humour, on occasion of the first meeting of the newly constituted North German Diet. The British Ambassador at Berlin having expressed some surprise to him that there should be so many 'Particularists' in that Assembly, Count Bismarck's answer was, 'Oh you don't know the Germans: if every German had money enough, every German would keep a Particular King all to himself.'

staked his life, and to have barely saved it. Not to mention the five revolver-shots of young Blind, delivered *Unter den Linden* on the eve of Count Bismarck's war upon Austria in 1866 ; not to mention the grave risk of parliamentary impeachment, and its possible consequences, if his Austrian war had turned out a failure instead of a triumph,* the successive sessions of the three Prussian Parliaments nearly killed him in 1868. The 'Prussian Landtag,' which had opened in the previous November, closed on the 23rd of February ; the North-German 'Reichstag' opened on the 23rd of March, and, shortly after, the 'Zoll Parliament.' By June the over-tasked Minister-President was fairly thrown on his back, and lay for months at his country-house at Varzin, like Chatham at Hayes, unable to talk to any one on business or to open a letter. The 'Book of Bismarck' places on record his obstinate nervous sleeplessness, against which his admirers and sympathisers, amongst the public, sent him all sorts of specifics. Amongst others an old soldier advised him to smoke daily a pound of Porto-Rico tobacco. Bismarck in reply presented the *brave* with a pipe and sundry pounds of the kindly prescribed narcotic, requesting him to have the obligingness to smoke it for him. The shaken nerves of the all-powerful Minister, whose unsparing sayings and doings had shaken the nerves of so many parliamentary Liberals, may in some sort be regarded as the Nemesis of Parliamentarism.

Edgar Quinet, the veteran and very honest apostle of 'the principles of 1789,' wrote in his 'Allemagne et Italie,' at a date so far back as October, 1831 :—

' This [German] race is ranging itself under the dictatorship of a people not more enlightened than its other populations, but more acquisitive, more ardent, more exacting, more versed in affairs. To the charge of that people it confides its ambitions, its rancours, its rapines, its *ruses*, its diplomacy, its violence, its glory, its external force and aggrandisement—reserving to itself the honest and obscure exercise of its internal liberties. Since the close of the middle ages the force and initiative of the German States passes from South to North along with the whole movement of modern civilisation. It is *Prussia* then that Northern Germany is beginning to make its instrument of aggrandisement?—Yes!—and if let alone, North Germany will push Prussia slowly forward to the *murder* of the old kingdom of France.'

Then follows a passage which has acquired portentous import since the date at which it was written :—

* Bismarck's Boswellian chronicler, Mr. George Hesekiel, reports him to have often said among friends,—' There are circumstances in which death on the scaffold is as honourable as death on the battlefield.' 'I can figure to myself worse modes of death than capital execution.'

' In proportion as the Germanic system reconstitutes itself in its interior, it exercises a powerful influence on the populations of the same language and origin, which had been detached from that system by force in past ages. *We must not disguise from ourselves that the old wound of the treaty of Westphalia, and the cession of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, still bleed at the heart of Germany, as the treaties of 1815 at the heart of France.* That old wound, amongst a people who ruminate so long over their recollections and aspirations, is still traceable in all their ambitions and all their rancours which date but of yesterday. It has long been a grievance of the popular party in North Germany against the German governments that they did not force back these provinces from France in 1815, and, in their own phrase, did not hold the fox fast when they had him in their net. What durst not be attempted in 1815 has since become a sort of fixed idea of German national ambition.'

It is only a short time ago that one of the great objects of apprehension amongst all who amused themselves with casting the horoscope of European futurity was *Pan-Slavism*. In the future, as in the past, the empire of the air, and the dominion of ideas, were assigned by common consent to Germany ; and *Pan-Teutonism* never occurred for a moment as a word of menace of war and conquest to Europe. It must be frankly owned, however, nobody ever took Prussia for a realm of ideology, nor Count Bismarck for a dreamer of dreams or seer of visions. What he sees and handles is men and things in the concrete ; he is no devotee of ' *Geist*,' no professorial apostle of ' the Idea.' (In our younger days it used to be called ' the Divine Idea '—the ' *Divine* ' has somehow dropped out of the vocabulary of later German philosophism.) That Germany should dream dreams, and Prussia lend her military strength and skill to realise them, was a combination which only of late years presented itself to prophetic forecast. A combination more formidable to all who feel themselves likely to come in collision with it cannot easily be imagined, than that between a race which ruminates on the past, and deems itself destined to recover in the future the European empire which it claims to have held and lost—and an armed nation like the Prussians, never addicted to day-dreams, ever docile to the drill-sergeant, and always ready to draw the sword in the cause of *Pan-Teutonism*, when that cause can be shown to coincide with the aggrandisement of Prussia. Nothing could seem less substantial in matter-of-fact foundation than the ' *Schleswig-Holstein* ' enthusiasm of six or seven years back in Germany. Nothing could have been used more dexterously as the stepping-stone to substantial Prussian aggrandisement. Nothing can now seem wilder than the *Pan-Teutonic* readings of European history since

since Charlemagne, with which the German professorial-political press is at this moment teeming. But if these readings find faith with the youth of Germany, the rank and file are thus found for armies ready to place themselves under Prussia's command for future wars of conquest.

The French fixed idea of 'natural boundaries' is fairly transcended in extravagance by the notions now zealously disseminated in Germany of what is termed German nationality, as the only legitimate basis of dominion for the future, wherever any vestige of that nationality is extant. The most comprehensive and complete form, in which we have met with the German claims to something like universal dominion founded on these notions, is in a pamphlet entitled 'Unsere Grenzen,' by Wolfgang Menzel. We give precedence of notice to this publication because it made its appearance before the war of 1870, and also because it lays a basis broad enough to support whatever rights of conquest and dominion Pan-Teutonism can ever have to assert over the mixed and mongrel races which, according to the author, and all his Pan-Teutonic followers in the German press, have corrupted and degraded their blood and language by Latin, Celtic, or Slavonic admixtures. Herr Wolfgang Menzel, then—a popular periodical Polyhistor, much read for many years by *Pfahlbürger* and *Philistines* in all parts of Germany—proclaims modern Germany the legitimate inheritrix of the right of conquest made good by ancient Germany over the enervated and corrupted Roman empire. All those races which have mixed their blood and enriched their language with the surviving populations and traditions of the antique culture and civilisation—just in proportion as they have drawn from other fountains than 'the pure well of German undefiled'—are themselves defiled and corrupted, and unworthy of empire in Europe. The modern English language, the modern French race have alike been corrupted by such admixtures. It might perhaps be worth asking Herr Wolfgang Menzel if he is quite certain whether Norman energy may not have made on the whole, in England, a mixture rather vigorous than otherwise with Saxon solidity—whether Prussia herself may not partly owe her ascendancy over the purer German races to the fact that the Prussian border people, warlike from age to age, is not pure German?

What we have ventured to designate as the Pan-Teutonic creed widely preached throughout Germany may be shortly summarised as follows:—Whatever portions of Europe are inhabited by populations sprung from the same stock as the great German nation, especially if they ever acknowledged any sort of allegiance

ance to the never compact, and now long defunct so-styled Holy Roman Empire, are to be regarded without exception as wrongfully wrenched from German dominion ; and it is a question of time only, and policy, *when* Germany is to claim them back again. The more successful the graft of any scion of the old German stock on any other non-German national body, the more complete the assimilation to such other body of the population of any province which, at any period since the days of Charlemagne, owed allegiance (however indifferently paid) to the Holy Roman Empire, or the more triumphantly, throughout a long course of ages, any such province may have vindicated an independent national existence for itself—the more heavy the arrear of wrong demanding reparation to the aggrieved German Fatherland—the more guilty all accessories to the protracted degradation and corruption which must have been undergone by any race which has been made to cease to be German ; nay, worse, to become something else. It does not seem clear that England may not be called to account for having suffered Norman to spoil the good work of Saxon invasion, and the importation of 'Welsch' idioms to adulterate the purity of the language of the *Nibelungen Lied*.

But if the reconquest of England is adjourned indefinitely by the moderation of Herr Wolfgang Menzel, that of German-Switzerland, Flemish Belgium, and Holland are regarded as mere questions of time by the more impetuous mind of Dr. Adolph Wagner, who writes *since Sedan*. Not that he would resort, at present, to force of arms, to recover for Germany these 'abtrünnige' members of the much mutilated Pan-Teutonic body. All he would stipulate for immediately are certain rectifications of frontier at the expense of Switzerland, Belgium, and, perhaps Holland. But he tells the Swiss, Flemings, and Hollanders alike, that they are a set of stupid 'Particularists' for fancying they have any valid claims to separate existence, which can be opposed for a moment to the paramount claim of the Mighty Mother of all Teutons, to call them back at some future auspicious day under her eagle wings. Swiss heroism is fabulous ; Swiss republicanism takes saucy airs on itself, not to be tolerated in the neighbourhood, now drawing closer, of the Prussian drill-sergeant. Dutch nationality might, it is reluctantly admitted, have had some excuse for asserting itself in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries against the Houses of Austria and Bourbon, but can have no prospect of permanently asserting itself now against the House of Hohenzollern. It is the 'manifest destiny' of great states to annex little ones in their neighbourhood, especially if the latter have the misfortune to be derivable

derivable by professorial antiquarian research from a common race. If they object to absorption, that only shows the more plainly their perverse 'Particularism,' and makes it the more necessary that they should be brought betimes for their good under the Prussian drill-sergeant.

When we see Germany, to repeat the words of Edgar Quinet, 'confiding to the charge of Prussia its ambitions, its rancours, its rapines, its *ruses*, its diplomacy, its violence, its glory, its external force and aggrandisement;' we are involuntarily reminded of the Horse in the Fable 'who had the whole range of a meadow to himself, but a stag coming and damaging the pasture, the horse, anxious to have his revenge, asked a man if he could not assist him in punishing the stag; "Yes," said the man, "only let me get a bit in your mouth, and get upon your back, and I will find the weapons." The horse agreed, the man mounted accordingly, and the Horse has been from that time forward the slave of Man.'

We leave the moral of the fable to the consideration of the German 'Hengst' or 'Horsa.' It is certain he has put a man on his back, and run down the Gallic stag. Remains the question—having got the man on his back, when is he likely to get him off again? The future conquests of Pan-Teutonism are no more to be made, than Count Bismarck predicted the past were to be made, by parliamentary speeches, but by 'blood and iron.' It is for the German 'Hengst' or 'Horsa' to bethink himself how much of the blood may be his, how much of the iron may enter into his own soul.

It is the curse of war that the high feelings, with which it may have been at first entered upon, soon become sadly mingled with the animal ferocities and avidities which are the shameful parts of our nature. Nothing in history is less religious in their course than wars of religion—nothing more unprincipled than wars of principle, if principles are to be judged by actions. And even if the original merits of the cause at issue should not suffer alteration, the relative positions of the parties engaged in the contest often so change as to transfer the sympathies of disinterested and dispassionate spectators from the one to the other. This has been signally instanced in the later stages of the international conflict now raging. The hypocrisy of the French attack upon Germany, to liberate Germany from herself—or, in plain terms, to bring French arms in aid of German disunion, in order to keep the sources of that disunion open—has been succeeded by the sincere efforts of French patriotism to free French soil from the invader. It now needs an effort of imagination to bring back before the mind's-eye the opposite picture

picture which French success would have realised by carrying fire and sword through German towns and villages. What meets the eye actually is the ruthless requisitions and reprisals of armed force in France—a country but yesterday so flourishing and with which we have of late been in such intimate commercial and social intercourse. But the progress of war effects changes in the spirit of those who take part in it, as well as of those who merely 'assist' as spectators. The 'taste of blood,' or rather, let us say, the excitement of military adventure and enterprise, often effects a complete and very rapid revolution in the feelings and characters of men who took up soldiership at first with reluctance as a public duty. A recent 'military correspondent along the communications' of the German army in France states that two out of three Prussian soldiers, with whom he came in casual and friendly contact in village-quarters, 'said they liked war, and hoped it would continue. The third had seen enough of it, and wished it to end. I saw a wedding-ring on his finger.'

'What would be the feelings of Englishmen,' says the same Correspondent, 'if they saw enemies all round them scattered through the pleasant suburban villages, and threatening fearful reprisals for every act of resistance? How would the people of Richmond, Sydenham, and Wimbledon endure to know that their villas were used as hospitals for typhus patients, their cottages filled with foreign soldiery, their libraries scattered, their bedsteads and pianos broken up for fire-wood, their velvet cushions thrown down in heaps as couches for troopers covered with mud? Yet this is exactly the condition of the country round Paris, and the German army is one of the least cruel and best disciplined in Europe. Let me add one word. The chiefs of this army assert that an invasion of England is not only possible but almost certain of success. They say it only requires to be well planned and vigorously executed. If the people of England will put this together with the fact that throughout Germany, and especially throughout the German army, there has arisen just such a feeling as was expressed in America at the height of the Alabama agitation, they surely will not grudge to the Government the means for putting our army in a state to make a fair fight of it, if ever the time comes when our manhood shall be called upon to show itself or acknowledge a decadence in public virtue. I am no alarmist, but I cannot see hosts of warriors, representing, be it remembered, every rank and class in Germany, speaking openly of their grudge against England, and determination to repay us for the acts of our merchants, without saying, as best I can, that if we will carry on the trade in arms we must be prepared with arms in our hands to defend our liberty in this matter.'*

We dare not, at this hour, undertake to anticipate the ultimate

* 'Times,' December 16, 1870.

issues of the Prussian ascendancy at present attained in Germany, nor to predict what conquests a Prusso-German empire may meditate next, *when* that of France is accomplished, or whether the classes which, in Prussianised Germany as elsewhere, have to bear the main burthen of war will exhibit enough of pacific and constitutional energy to exercise that due degree of parliamentary control over the executive government, which will be absolutely necessary to keep in check for the future the warlike impulses of the Prussian aristocracy. It must for ever remain one of those questions which the actual course of events has relegated to the domain of conjectural, and it may be deemed idle speculation—whether Count Bismarck's recipe of 'blood and iron' was the only one which could have terminated the 'secular' rivalry of influence and action between Austria and Prussia in Germany.* Blood and iron *have* terminated that incompatible dualism, and have further terminated the pretension of France to pronounce the *ne plus ultra* of German national union. These are immense achievements, and none can contradict King William's testimony that their author has placed Prussia on a previously unattained pinnacle of elevation—at which, we will add, giddiness may well be apprehended for the steadiest heads. In what degree great national ends justify whatever means are used to attain them is a question of political ethics too apt to be set aside by the human passions and immediate interests concerned. One thing we may say, without fear of contradiction, of Count Bismarck's policy—that few men, in a century which does not greatly dare, whether for good or evil, would have been capable either of hazarding such stakes or playing out such a game.

* Sir Alexander Malet observes on this point:—'Whether the precise mode in which the overthrow of the Germanic Confederation was brought about was the only, or even the best, means by which the needed radical cure could be effected, is an open question. At all events, the unity of military command which has been the proximate result, and the confirmation and extension of the Customs Union, open very different prospects for the future of Germany from any which that ill-knit congeries of tribes could possibly have looked for while fractured and divided, as they came forth from the alembic of the Congress of Vienna. Assuredly he who has been the main instrument of this great change deserves well of his own country. . . . Certain acts of doubtful moral rectitude, done in pursuit of a great and generally admitted laudable object, may and will be censured; yet, if we look to what Germany was, and what has been accomplished within her limits, it is impossible to withhold admiration from the clear perception which shaped events, difficult to withhold approval from the result attained; nor does it seem possible for even his bitterest enemies to avoid admitting that M. de Bismarck takes rank among the ablest men of the age.'

Sir Alexander Malet, however, took the above estimate of Count Bismarck's well-deservings of Germany at a time when it could still be added to the list of his 'remarkable exploits,' that, 'after all his successes, he still maintained peace with France.'

ART. IV.—1. *Financial Statement of the Right Hon. James Wilson.* Calcutta, 1860.

2. *Financial Statement of the Right Hon. S. Laing.* Calcutta, 1861.

3. *Financial Statements of the Hon. Sir C. Trevelyan.* Calcutta, 1863-4-5.

4. *Financial Statement of the Right Hon. W. N. Massey.* Calcutta, 1868.

5. *Financial Statements of the Hon. Sir R. Temple.* Calcutta, 1869 and 1870.

6. *Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India, presented to Parliament.* 1856 to 1870.

PROBABLY no subject may seem more difficult of approach to the ordinary English mind than the revenue system of our great Indian Empire. Yet, divested of unnecessary details and complications, the system is one of remarkable simplicity, and the object of the present paper is to try to place it before our readers in an accessible and tangible form, so far at least as is necessary to understand its essential features. We would first briefly sketch the methods of raising a public income handed down to us by Native rulers, then examine the changes and improvements which we have ourselves introduced, and finally try to exhibit in brief compass the incidence of taxation and the salient points of our present financial position in India.

The main revenue of all Indian Native States is derived from the land—so much so that the land revenue alone is properly termed ‘revenue,’ all other items being lumped together as ‘extras.’ This land revenue is undoubtedly in substance the whole, or nearly the whole, rent of the land, so far as it can be levied by a great Government taking customary rents as distinguished from competitive rents. The proper customary rent is supplemented by various cesses whenever a little addition can be borne. A good deal of the gross receipt is deducted by village and district officers and other officials before reaching the Government treasury; but these deductions represent, in fact, the expenses of management, which must be incurred under any system. Frequently a still larger proportion of the revenue is anticipated by assignments to the commanders of troops and other State creditors. This is merely a mode of paying public services from the revenues. And numerous personal assignments are, what would be, in a European budget, payments from the Civil List. Directly or indirectly, then, the State appropriates

appropriates nearly the whole of the revenue or rent yielded by the land.

The list of 'extra' items levied in a Native State is very formidable, but they may all be put under two or three heads. The extra cesses on the land revenue, to which allusion has already been made, are alone sufficient to make a long category of taxation, though they are, for the most part, well-understood percentages added to the revenue proper. The rest may be classed under 'Saer,' or customs, and fines. The 'Saer' comprise numerous transit and market dues locally levied on crossing each local boundary and at every market. The fines are the result of the system which generally commutes all punishments into a money payment.

There was also throughout India a very universal and not inequitable system of levying from non-agriculturalists, who were not otherwise directly taxed, a certain small payment as the price of protection, known as the Moturpha or Atrafee tax. It sometimes took the shape of a personal tax on tradesmen, sometimes of a tax on the instruments of trade.

Salt, spirits, tobacco, opium and other drugs were not usually the subject of special taxation, and did not contribute to the revenue, except in so far as they were taxed with other articles in the general system of market and transit duties. It may be said, then, that the revenues which have been mentioned are the only regular sources of income to the majority of Native States. In some parts of the south a considerable revenue was raised by a monopoly of tobacco, pepper, and betel-nut, but such arrangements were local and exceptional.

In Mahomedan States a considerable percentage is levied on sales regularly registered, but in times when there is little regular government and record probably little is obtained from this source, except in the chief towns.

It may be taken as an indirect mode of taxation in all Native States that the ostensible remuneration of the public servants employed in the civil administration is almost nominal, and they really live by the levy of fees, fines, and presents, voluntary or extorted.

Under the village system there is, too, a good deal of what we should call local taxation, that is, the self-governing village communities, through their chiefs and elders, collect, by assessment on the members of the community, and expend for local purposes, a good deal in addition to the public demand. Their local purposes are not our purposes—they do not make roads or undertake sanitary reforms—but they have their feasts, and hospitalities,

hospitalities, and religious establishments, and their bribes to great men, and the compensation for plundered property, which they are forced to make good.

The accounts are kept so differently, and so much of the revenue never actually reaches the treasury, that it is almost impossible to compare the Native receipts from any particular territory with those under British rule; but the Native taxes, though vexatious and frequently repeated, are small in amount, and it may be generally said that the total receipts of 'extra' revenue in a Native State fall far short of the proportion to the land revenue which our indirect taxation has now attained. The whole of the extra items will probably seldom be found to add more than 20 or 30 per cent. to the land revenue. And taking this land revenue as rent rather than a tax, it may be said that under Native rule the people are not very heavily taxed; they are only much vexed by a bad or indifferent ruler.

If we look again to the financial position of the ruler himself, we shall find that, if his revenue is somewhat less than that which our system yields, he has many advantages in the absence of drawbacks and expenses. He has probably conquered his territory, not bought it; he has nothing to pay in satisfaction of old claims, and no interest of debt, for he has not yet learned the delightful art of public borrowing on a large scale. His indigenous establishments, paid in Native fashion, cost but a fraction of the foreign and highly paid agency by which we work; and if he indulges in an expensive civil list from which we are comparatively free, a prudent ruler can keep that within limits which he can afford. In former days, when Native potentates were hard pressed by Marrattas and Afghans and Pindarrees, and were obliged at great expense to entertain British contingents, they were in continual pecuniary straits; but since our great power has put down all these enemies of the public peace, and under treaty arrangements Native States have been secured against all external and some internal enemies, the financial position of a Native ruler of ordinary prudence is extremely good. In the last century, the Nawab-Viziers of Oude, with an immense territory in the finest part of India, were always in extreme difficulties, but after they yielded half their territory and revenues to the British Government as the price of protection, they were soon able to lend crore after crore of rupees (that is, millions sterling) to that same Government. In fact, putting aside cases of exceptional mismanagement and extravagance, and also the case of feudal chiefs (principally Rajpoots), whose revenues are subdivided among many feudatories, it may be said that the normal condition of every decently

decently managed Native State of modern days is to have a large surplus revenue; and rulers who reign long and peaceably do, in fact, usually hoard a great deal of money. Financially speaking, then, Native rule has now great advantages over British rule.

We have seldom acquired territory in India by undisguised conquest; usually province after province has been ceded to us, by treaty or grant, on condition of obligations undertaken by us. We have not only promised large stipends for the support of the princely families whom we succeeded, but also by accepting their assignments of revenue as binding on us, we have indirectly taken upon us much of their civil list, and even many of their local functionaries, from whom we now obtain no useful service whatever. And the main feature which distinguishes our position is this, that we have generally accepted territory in payment of military services, so that for the revenues of part of India we undertake the military defence of the whole. Our acquisitions have been attended, too, by an expenditure of borrowed capital, the interest of which is now deducted from our revenue receipts. Altogether, then, the expensive character of a foreign and as it were exotic administration and army apart, we undertake the rule of India under financial conditions which place us at a very considerable disadvantage.

Under the circumstances in which we obtained power, we naturally, in the first instance, accepted the native revenue system, and only strove to check its abuses and correct its excesses. Gradually as we have come to feel our way, and better to understand the country, we have considerably modified and supplemented the system. From an early period of our rule we have made it a main aim of our policy to create landed property in our own sense—to give to the land in the hands of private individuals a substantial and marketable value; and for this purpose it is first necessary so to limit the State demand as to leave a wide margin between revenue and rent. In the greater and more valuable provinces we have sought to create something like British landlords, intermediate between the Ryots and the State. It would not be within the scope of this paper to inquire whether these Indian landlords have performed, or are likely to perform, any of the functions of landlords; suffice it to say that their existence renders it necessary that they should be permitted to intercept a large portion of the land revenues which would otherwise reach the coffers of the State. In the great province of Bengal, the revenue payable by these landlords for all lands cultivated and uncultivated was, before the end of the last century, assessed in such a way as to leave them

them a narrow enough margin of profit ; but then the assessment was declared permanent and unchangeable for ever, and the subsequent extension of cultivation and increase of values has rendered the assessment light in the extreme. There are no means of ascertaining what proportion of the rental of Bengal is now paid to the State, and the incidence of the assessment varies very greatly in different districts ; but this, at least, may be safely asserted, that the present land revenue does not exceed a third or fourth of the rental. In the other provinces of Northern India the revenue was settled for thirty years, on the principle of taking two-thirds of the then rental for the State and leaving one-third, and all additional income during the term of settlement, to the landlord ; but on the expiry of this settlement another settlement has been made, giving half to the landlord and taking half for the State. And all the more recent provinces have been settled on this latter principle. In Southern and Western India the British Government, dealing direct with the Ryots, originally obtained more nearly a full rent ; but latterly to these Ryots also terms have been conceded which leave them a good margin of profit, and render their holdings valuable properties. On the whole we may assume that, speaking roughly, the British Government now receives as revenue about half the rental of its whole Indian territories. In Northern India the progress of the country balances the diminution of the Government share from two-thirds to one-half, and the revenue to be collected for the next thirty years will about equal that collected from the same areas during the past thirty years. In Madras and Bombay there is an increase of revenue from extended cultivation. And the result of various additions of territory, re-settlement, and other arrangements, has been to make the moderately assessed land revenue of the British Indian territories about twenty-one millions sterling, gross receipt. The charges included under the general head 'Costs of Collection,' amount to about 10 per cent. on this amount ; but this sum includes not only all charges of the administration of the great public estate, but the large judicial establishments maintained in the revenue department to settle questions between the different classes of occupiers, the minute surveys corresponding to our Ordnance surveys, and the machinery necessary for ascertaining all rights and recording them in great detail. It can hardly be hoped that such an estate, held by such millions of small tenants, and involving an immense complication of rights, sub-rights, and inter-rights, should be more economically administered.

The Native sources of revenue other than the land have been dealt with by us as follows:—Fines were never a source of income to us, and although the Penal Code has now very properly increased the power of fining, the receipts are, after all, but a small contribution towards the cost of the Courts, and not a revenue. The Moturpha or trades-tax has been abolished in one province after another. It survived in the South till Mr. Wilson introduced the income-tax, and was then swept away as absorbed in this latter tax and its supplementary license-tax. The tobacco monopoly of Southern India was at the same time abandoned, and we have now no old source of revenue of that sort. We have gradually introduced the system of paying our Native servants adequate salaries, and, so far as lies in our power, we put a stop to the levy of fees and perquisites.

Sir Charles Trevelyan first won distinction as a young man, by agitating against the vexatious transit and market duties, and they, too, were wholly abolished. The internal and even the interportal trade of British India is now absolutely free, and the duties levied by us on the frontiers of Native States have also almost disappeared. In lieu of the old Native system of duties we have substituted a very moderate system of duties on the sea-borne trade with countries beyond the limits of India. We levy 1 per cent. on iron imported into India, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on cotton-twist, 5 per cent. on piece-goods, and a maximum of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on apparel, arms, carriages, spices, certain metals, and various other articles; also $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per gallon on beer, and from 2s. to 3s. per gallon on all wines—light wines being much more heavily taxed than in this country. Then there is an export duty of 3 per cent. on oilseeds, cotton goods, hides, &c.; of $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ per 80 lbs. on grain (principally rice), and 6s. per 80 lbs. on indigo. From all these duties we derive a revenue of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, or say, if we make allowance for improved trade, $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions. About half of the import duties, say about 900,000*l.*, is derived, according to the last accounts, from cotton-twist and piece-goods; and adding woollen goods, &c., we may attribute about a million sterling to European textile manufactures. Then about 300,000*l.* is paid on beer, wine, and spirits, almost entirely for European consumption, leaving about half a million collected on all other imports. Of the export duties, more than two-thirds, or not far short of half a million, is yielded by grain. Such is the Indian Customs system.

So far as we have yet gone, the Indian Government, having given

given up so much and put on so little, would be in little case to meet its great charges. But we now come to the new sources of large income which it has created. First, as almost the only new and heavy tax of universal incidence, we may place the salt-tax, which has attained its present position from very small beginnings, till it now ranges from 500 to 2500 per cent. on the prime cost of the article. The salt manufactured in Northern, Southern, and Western India costs about 3*d.* per maund of 80 lbs. ; in Lower Bengal, where the moisture of the climate renders necessary artificial evaporation by boiling, it costs about 15*d.* per maund, and the Bengal salt is now almost displaced by superior Liverpool salt, landed at about the same price. In Bengal, there being little saline soil, and comparatively little facility for smuggling, the duty was gradually raised to the point at which it stood some years ago, viz. 5*s.* per maund. In Northern India the rate was in the early part of the century 6*d.* and 1*s.* per maund ; then it long stood at 2*s.*, and finally it was raised to 4*s.* per maund. Our necessities since the mutiny occasioned the farther enhancement of the Bengal rate to 6*s.* 6*d.* per 80 lbs.—say 1*d.* per lb.—and the duty in Northern India has been raised to the same level. In Madras and Bombay, till comparatively recent years, the duty did not exceed 1*s.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* per maund. Since the mutiny it has been raised to nearly 3*s.*, and for the present year it is to be, we believe, about 3*s.* 9*d.* per maund.

Experience proves that, where there are not opportunities of successful smuggling, the consumption of salt depends less on price than almost any other article. Throughout Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, the annual consumption is found to be pretty uniformly from 12 or 13 to 15 or 16 lbs. per head of the population, and only in Northern India, where a very high rate of taxation (fully 2500 per cent. on the prime cost) is combined with a saline soil and great facilities for smuggling, does the rate of consumption fall to from 6 to 8 lbs. per head. In Lower Bengal the present very high rate of duty is apparently borne without material diminution of the consumption ; but it is the last straw that breaks the camel's back, and it would certainly be unsafe to add continually to this one burden. In Madras and Bombay the higher rates of duty are still in the stage of experiment.

Although we can hardly hope for much increase in the consumption of taxed salt in the provinces which already consume the normal rate of 13 to 15 lbs. per head, except in so far as the population increases, we have of recent years, in addition to increase of duty, added large populations to our salt consumers,

and so increased the revenue. The annexation of Oude enabled us to put a stop to an untaxed salt supply, which both supplied Oude and overflowed into our own territories and into Nepal. Railways and other facilities of communication have enabled our taxed salt imported from the coast to displace an inferior indigenous article in the Nizam's territory and other districts of the south and centre. And so it has happened that, excepting the mass of Native States lying between the Nerbudda, the Jumna, and the Indus, we have subjected to our salt system almost the whole population of India, the inhabitants of nearly all our own districts and of a good many Native States besides —say from 160 to 170 millions in all—and we raise a revenue from this source of about six millions sterling. If we estimate the average annual consumption of taxed salt to be (the diminished consumption in Northern India detracting from the average) from 11 to 12 lbs. per head—or 55 to 60 lbs. per family of five persons, and the duty to average nearly 5s. per maund of 80 lbs., we may take it that the salt duty is in effect an indirect poll-tax of something over 8d. per head, or say 3s. 6d. per family. So powerful is habit, and so effectual the screen afforded by indirect methods of collection, that this tax is in most parts of India borne wonderfully well, and has been up to a certain point attended with little political difficulty. In regulating it we have to consider two things: first, that we should not by this means put an undue share of taxation on the poor; and second, that we do not push it to the point which induces smuggling and causes the people to suffer, without adequate gain to the revenue.

The mass of the people of India are not given to the consumption of either spirits or opium. The religion and rules of the Mahomedans and of the higher classes of Hindoos forbid the use of spirits; and, notwithstanding the widely spread growth of opium, the Aryan inhabitants of India do not seem to have the same taste for the drug which is so marked in the Chinese and Indo-Chinese races. Tobacco is the only very general luxury, and there is a considerable use of the intoxicating drugs drawn from the hemp-plant and cognate sources. We are accused of having introduced or fostered spirit-drinking for the sake of revenue; and it is certainly the case that the habit seems very much to centre round our settlements and cantonments. Example, no doubt, goes for something; but it could hardly be said that Government wilfully fostered the trade by fettering it and making it a strict monopoly sold to the highest bidder. Yet under this system it has certainly seemed rapidly to grow, and of late years effort has been made to check the consumption by substituting

for

for the monopoly system a heavy excise duty. We now derive from spirits and intoxicating drugs, including the opium sold for Indian consumption, a total revenue of almost two millions and a quarter sterling.

The opium revenue, classified under that head, is derived exclusively from opium exported to China and other Eastern countries; and it cannot be said that a farthing of that great revenue of about 6½ millions sterling (after deducting the cost of manufacture) is paid by the inhabitants of India. Few will be found to believe the assertion of the great opium dealers, Messrs. Jardine, Mathieson, and Co., that opium is eminently beneficial to the Chinese, and that they themselves are, mere commercial considerations apart, philanthropic benefactors of the human race. Some may think that opium is more injurious than spirits; some that it is less so: but, at any rate, it is not proved to be so much more injurious than spirits that it must be put in quite another category. It must, we apprehend, be put in the same category with ardent spirits. Those who would introduce a Maine liquor law and wholly interdict the manufacture and use of spirits in this country may consistently enough argue that we should prohibit the growth and manufacture of opium in India; but till we put down spirits in this country, for the sake of our own people, we can hardly be urged to put down opium in India for the sake of the Chinese, even if it were possible thus to save them. The course which has been followed with general approval in Scotland and Ireland is to discourage the consumption of spirits by putting on a very heavy duty; and that is exactly what is in practice done with respect to opium. We levy a duty or profit of from 200 to 300 per cent. on the price of the article. It so happens that the soil and climate of India are so favourable to the growth of the drug that we are able to levy this enormous export duty without suffering materially in the Eastern markets from the competition of any other country. We should be delighted to raise the duty still higher, and to obtain an equal or greater revenue from a more restricted consumption, if it were possible to do so; but in addition to the difficulty of preventing the smuggling an article so valuable and of so little bulk, it is evident that in regard to a foreign trade, open to all the world, there is a limit to an export tax. Great as is our superiority, we cannot raise the price beyond a certain point, without bringing into the field Turkey and Persia, and other countries, and incurring the far more dangerous competition of a rapidly increasing production of opium in China itself. So far, then, it seems difficult to take exception to the conduct of the Indian Government in

in regard to opium. The 'sore point, however, is this, that whereas in Western India the Government levies a simple export duty, and is not otherwise compromised, in Eastern India the manufacture is a Government monopoly, and an amount corresponding to the duty is obtained in the shape of profit on sales. Probably in practice the system is as little deleterious as any other could be, and it has the advantage of habit and prescription; but undoubtedly the thing has an ugly look, and it would be very desirable if Government could be relieved of its direct connection with the traffic without substantial injury to our own subjects in India.

A stamp revenue may cover various branches of taxation, as our English succession duty and the French tax on sales. The Indian stamp revenue consists of a comparatively light stamp on almost all written contracts, and, more recently, on bills of exchange also, and still more of taxes on litigation. The use of stamped paper gives a certain security against forgery, as well as legal validity to documents, and the people have come by habit almost eagerly to accept it. They think no promise worth much till it is endorsed on stamped paper. There is a heavy institution stamp on all civil actions, which was some years ago increased to a point latterly deemed too high; and all court fees and processes are paid for in stamps. By these means the stamp revenue has mounted up to nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. But in his last budget exposition Sir R. Temple has distinguished between 'Judicial Stamps,' that is the fees levied on judicial proceedings, and the proper stamp revenue, and attributing nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ million to judicial receipts, classed under 'Law and Justice,' he leaves but $\frac{1}{2}$ million as the stamp-tax on non-litigious documents. That, then, is the amount of the tax, properly so called, levied in this shape. For the rest, it can only be said that the Indian administration of justice is nearly self-supporting, a total expense of 3 millions being met by $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of receipts under 'Law and Justice.'

Mysore and some other States pay tributes amounting in all to about $\frac{1}{2}$ million—but a small sum compared to the political outgoings.

By the several well-established means which have been mentioned, about 40 millions sterling of effective revenue are raised, exclusive of the modern devices for additional taxation now represented by the income-tax. But the Indian accounts are made up in a form which exhibits all receipts in gross, and many items are included which are not real revenues, but mere per-

per contra receipts of the great spending departments, or matters of account. The judicial receipts from Court fees, and about 2 millions expended on the provision of opium and recouped by the sale (besides the sum which we have put down as opium revenue), raise the account of receipts to nearly 45 millions. Then we have 'Forests,' and 'Post Office,' and 'Mint,' which do not really yield any considerable income, costing about as much as they yield ; and 'Telegraph,' 'Police,' 'Marine,' 'Education,' 'Army,' 'Public Works,' which all cost very much more than they yield, though they figure for certain receipts. To these Sir R. Temple has now added the gross receipts from the guaranteed railways, making with the income-tax a total nominal income of 52 millions. We shall deal only with the effective revenue, omitting the receipts which are not really revenue.

Against the 40 millions of ordinary real revenue, we have to set the following expenditure.

The cost of collecting the land revenue and managing the landed interests has been stated to be about 10 per cent. ; the cost of collecting and managing the other revenues may be taken to be about 5 per cent.—a not excessive charge. Under the head of 'Cost of Collection' we must put, then, about 3 millions in all.

The burdens on the revenue entailed by treaty, in the shape of cash allowances to Native princes, with something added for hereditary officers and other sinecurists, and some minor diplomatic charges, amount to about $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions. The interest on the debt, including the dividends paid to proprietors of East India stock, now nearly approaches 6 millions. The interest paid to the guaranteed railway companies in excess of receipts is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ million. Altogether about 13 millions must be deducted from the 40 millions as inevitable charges, leaving about 27 millions as what we may call spendable or net income.

Till recent years the charges of the various departments were so divided between India and England, and the forms of account so much differed, that it was difficult to bring them together ; but of late much has been done towards exhibiting the cost of the great spending departments in one view. Still this object has not been completely effected. For instance, the cost of military works, the building and repair of barracks, and everything of that kind, is still put under 'Public Works,' and not under 'Army.' 'Ecclesiastical' is still a separate head, although the Indian ecclesiastical establishment is for the most part a mere provision of army chaplains. So also under 'Medical,' 'Telegraph,' 'Stationery,' and 'Superannuation Allowances,' lurk many charges

charges which are really incurred for military objects. The annual cost of the army has of late years averaged something over 16 millions sterling, while the military buildings not included in the above have exceeded 2 millions per annum, and are not now estimated at less than 1½ million, exclusive of establishments and of many roads, &c. &c., classed as civil, but really determined by military, more than by civil, considerations. Altogether, we cannot estimate the cost of the Indian army at less than 18 millions sterling, or just two-thirds of the net revenue.

The marine department, after deducting receipts, has been reduced to a modest cost of ½ million, or thereabouts.

A considerable part of the duties formerly performed by the Native army is now handed over to a semi-military police, and this regular police force (exclusive of the local police of towns and villages, paid by local assessment) costs about 2½ millions. The civil administration—including several minor departments, the medical and ecclesiastical services, stationery and printing, and political agencies—costs about 3 millions sterling in all; the administration of justice, ½ million in excess of the receipts. Education now costs the central treasury nearly ¼ million, and the telegraph department nearly ½ million, in excess of receipts. About 1½ million is charged under 'Superannuation, Retired, and Compassionate Allowances.'

Public works have a good deal varied, but we may take the average cost of ordinary or non-productive works and establishments other than military buildings to have been of late years about 3 millions per annum, besides an additional expenditure on works classed as extraordinary or reproductive, and which are executed from borrowed capital, as being an investment and not an expenditure to be defrayed from income.

We may thus summarise the ordinary income and expenditure of the British-Indian Empire, broadly and approximately stated in millions sterling and quarter-millions:—

	REVENUE.	Millions Sterling.
Tributes	¾	
Land revenue	21	
Salt	6	
Excise on spirits and drugs	2½	
Customs	2½	
Stamps	¾	
Opium	6½	
Total	40	
		EXPENDITURE.

EXPENDITURE.						Millions Sterling.
Charges of collection						3
Treaty allowances						2½
Interest of debt						6
Payment to guaranteed railways						1½
Total inevitable expenditure						18
Net available income						27
Cost of army						18
Marine						½
Regular police						2½
Civil administration						3
Justice						½
Education						½
Telegraph						½
Superannuation, allowances, &c.						1½
Public works						8
Total						30
Deficit						3

Thus it appears that our ordinary revenues being set against our ordinary expenditure, a deficit of about three millions results, and that is the deficit which seems to be chronic, and which we have been struggling to meet by increased taxation. That struggle has been going on ever since the days of the mutiny. Our financiers have repeatedly changed their front and their plans. An entire change in the mode of meeting the deficit has, in fact, been made in the current year, and the present arrangement is avowedly temporary, a fresh expedient being promised. The whole question of additional taxation being thus so completely open, it may be well here briefly to review the efforts which have been made since the mutiny. The enhancement of the salt-duties, bit by bit, to the present high rates was one of the measures adopted; but as we have already reckoned that increase, as well as the extension and increase of the commercial and judicial stamps, nothing more need be said on those subjects. After a comprehensive review of the finances of India, Mr. James Wilson gave the weight of his authority to increased Customs duties, by which the duty on cotton goods—twist and piece goods alike—was raised to 10 per cent.; and he imposed an income-tax on all incomes above a certain point, to be supplemented by a trades' license designed to catch the smaller traders. We have since reverted to nearly the former Customs rates, and thus the income-tax and trades' licenses have alone remained, the subject

subject of continual discussion and of combined or alternate use. Of the income-tax it may be said that it was almost exactly copied from the English income-tax, the law which imposed it being for the most part borrowed from the English Act. The difficulties of assessment in England are well known: they are ten times greater in India; and the accumulated wealth which supplies the sources of a great income-tax in England are comparatively wanting in India. Hence the yield in the latter country has been disappointing; nor, in fact, has any very systematic attempt been made to grapple with the difficulties of assessment. There has been continual hope that the tax was but a temporary expedient, and it has been collected as a kind of war-tax by a sort of rule of thumb as the local officers and administrations could best manage. Mr. Laing followed very much in Mr. Wilson's footsteps, but expressed an opinion unfavourable to the financial success of the income-tax. In the time of his successor, Sir Charles Trevelyan, the income-tax was abolished, the five years for which it was originally imposed having then expired. It was partially replaced by an extended license-tax on trades and possessions. The objection to this was that it taxed the middle and poorer classes of tradesmen and artisans, but not the very rich; and though it was eventually extended upwards so as to include heavy payments by merchants, professional men, and public servants making large incomes, it was still open to the objection that it left free those who of all others seemed the fittest subjects for taxation—the possessors of realised property and capital. The result of farther discussion was to reimpose the income-tax last year at a light rate of 1 per cent, the idea being that so light a rate would be little felt, yet would afford the means of levying larger contributions in case of great public emergency. This year there has been no political emergency; but the chronic character of the deficit has been brought strongly to light, creating a financial emergency which Lord Mayo and Sir Richard Temple have met by a great increase of the income-tax to an aliquot part of the rupee, equal to about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It has been declared by the members of the Government that they will feel bound to make some more satisfactory arrangement in the future; but meantime the measure has called forth the loud complaints and fierce denunciations of which we have heard so much. During the past year it was found that, with such improvements in the mode of assessment as the Indian Government has been able to effect, a 1 per cent. income-tax yielded about 700,000L, and Sir R. Temple calculates on getting, at the enhanced rate, something over two millions. The Government has also somewhat reduced the military expenditure, and retrenched a large

a large portion of the usual expenditure on public works. By these means it hopes to get rid of the deficit, and to show an equilibrium of receipt and expenditure at the end of the present year, and to devise by that time more permanent measures of relief. Such is the present phase of Indian finance.

Before attempting to form some estimate of the incidence of taxation, it is first necessary to notice the relative value of labour and money in India, as compared to the standards to which we are accustomed. We are apt to over-estimate the wealth of the East. Even when there is real wealth, measured by Eastern standards, Eastern incomes are wonderfully diminished when turned into our money, or applied to the purchase of European commodities and the payment of European labour; and, on the other hand, sums which seem to us comparatively small fall with very greatly increased severity on Eastern taxpayers.

We may take the population of British India to be, in round numbers, 150 million souls, or 30 million families—say, five times the population of the United Kingdom. When we come to compare the income of these populations, we may put the matter thus: we may take the wages of an unskilled labouring man in India, in the rural interior, to be about 3*d.* a day where there is no European or other special demand. In this country we cannot put the wages of unskilled labour at less than 2*s.* a day, everything included; in many parts of the country, if we include house and garden, milk, cider, &c., it is a good deal higher. That makes the proportionate value of labour in this country to labour in India as 8 to 1, and such is about the proportion which all our inquiries have led us to consider to be the best approximate standard for comparing all sorts of labour in England and in India. But the proportion of skilled mechanics earning superior wages is much larger in this country; so that if we take the earnings of a labouring population in this country, compared to equal numbers in India, to be as 10 to 1, we shall probably by no means over-estimate the disparity. European labour in India, as compared to the same labour in England, we calculate as three times more valuable. Put the matter practically. Would a professional man, earning 500*l.* or 1000*l.* a year in this country, ordinarily go to India for less than 1500*l.* or 3000*l.*? The value of European labour in India, compared to native labour in India, is, then, probably as 20 or 25 to 1. If you pay an inferior Native clerk 10*l.* per annum, you must pay a European say 250*l.*

We have taken the earnings of the male head of an Indian family to be 3*d.* per day. Allowing something for the possible earnings of wife or children, we may say that the income of the family

family is, on an average, 5 rupees, or 10 shillings, per month, say 6*l.* per annum. Allow for a proportion of skilled labourers at 10*l.* per annum, and we may calculate the income of nearly 30 millions of labouring families, the classes below the income-tax, to be 200 millions sterling per annum.

Coming to the richer classes, we find that an income-tax yielding at 1 per cent. 700,000*l.* represents a taxable income of 70 millions. If, allowing for under-assessments, we take the income of these classes to be 100 millions sterling per annum, that is probably quite a full estimate. Let any one acquainted with India apply that estimate to any particular province. It presumes superior incomes amounting to nearly five times the gross land revenue. If we suppose that the various landholders, above the labouring ryots, derive from the land an income equal to the revenue paid to Government, are there other capitalist classes enjoying four times that income? In a country where the land is so exclusively the source of wealth, there are probably not such incomes, and only by the wealth of the great cities could our estimate be approached. We take it, then, that the total income of the 150 millions of British India—the income of labour and the income of capital together—cannot be put higher than 300 millions sterling per annum. If that be a fair approximate estimate, then the sum drawn from the country by the State will be, even if we exclude the opium revenue, considerably more than 10 per cent. of the income of the people, and probably at least as large a proportion as is raised by taxation in this country. But the main public income—the land revenue—although a sum withdrawn from the resources of the country generally, is not a tax on individuals. On whom is it a tax? Not, properly speaking, on the ryots who pay rent, for they have paid it to some superior from time immemorial. Most assuredly not on the landlords, for, so far from being taxed, they have now in the portion of the rent which is left to them a property almost wholly created by our system in modern times. The land revenue is, in fact, but a portion of that God-given value of the land which in other countries has been appropriated by individuals, but in India has been reserved to meet the necessities of the State. Putting apart, then, the land revenue and the opium, we raise by taxes which really fall upon the population of India—that is, from 1. Salt; 2. Excise; 3. Customs; and 4. Non-litigious stamps—nearly twelve millions. Let us see on whom this taxation falls.

It has been said that the salt-tax is as nearly as possible a poll-tax, salt being consumed by rich and poor alike. The

Excise

Excise revenue also is almost entirely paid by the poor, spirits being forbidden to the better classes. Of the Customs revenue (principally derived from articles of European production) a very considerable proportion must be paid by the European community in India; witness the large receipts from European liquors. The goods taken by the Natives find a sale in India rather on account of their cheapness than their quality. The rich Native uses more, as articles of luxury, the fine Native fabrics—shawls, skincobs, and worked tissues of various kinds, and plate and jewellery of Native manufacture. The main Customs receipts are derived from the cheap cloths and threads for light clothing, and copper and brass for pots and pans, and other minor articles consumed by the masses of the people. Even the stamp duties and Court fees fall more heavily in proportion on the petty affairs of small people than on the great transactions of great people; and some of the self-supporting departments benefit the rich at the expense of the poor. Let us take for instance the Post Office; it is a great benefit to a European officer in the Punjab corresponding with his brother in Madras, or to the Native merchant at Calcutta corresponding with a firm in Bombay, that a letter is carried for three farthings; but to a poor Native corresponding with another poor native in the next town, the rate is by no means a cheap one. Taking our standard of the relative value of money, the three-farthing rate in India is equal to a sixpenny rate in this country; and the man who should be called on to pay a sixpenny rate for his local correspondence would feel that he not only paid for service rendered, but was heavily taxed. Allowing to the upper class of Natives the larger proportion of the non-litigious stamps, a fair share of the Customs revenue, and a fractional share of the salt and excise, we cannot estimate their payment of ordinary revenue to be much more than one million out of the twelve millions which we have put down as taxation proper. If we attribute to the European residents a special Customs taxation of, say, half a million, there will remain about ten millions paid by the inferior classes beneath the reach of the income-tax. The salt-tax alone, which we have calculated as averaging 3s. 6d. per family, is an income-tax of about 3 per cent. on the labouring man's income of 6*l.*; and if we take a labouring man in Bengal, where the highest salt rate is paid on a full consumption, we shall find that he pays as a tax on the salt consumed by his family about 5s. 6d., or nearly 5 per cent. on his income. On the whole, the taxation proper falls at the rate of about 5 per cent. on the total income of two hundred millions sterling, which we have attributed to the classes beneath

beneath the income-tax; while the one million paid by the upper classes is but 1 per cent. of their estimated income of one hundred millions, and still less, if we suppose, as many do, that their income is larger.

Theoretically, then, the income-tax is amply justified by this calculation; and even Sir R. Temple's heavy tax of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. would not quite redress the balance or establish full equality of taxation between the rich and the poor. The belief now so generally entertained that the rich Natives do not bear their fair share of taxation seems to be, so far as regards the old established taxes, fully borne out. It seems quite fair that they should be taxed either by an income-tax or by some other means. The practical objections to an income-tax are certainly weighty. We have alluded to the extreme difficulty of assessment in a country to which we are strangers, and in which the means of ascertaining incomes are very deficient. And there are farther difficulties. The objection frequently taken to the English income-tax, that temporary incomes are taxed equally with permanent incomes derived from fixed capital, comes out with greatly increased force in India, especially as it affects the Anglo-Indian community. The incomes of Europeans in India, whether they be public servants or private adventurers, are not real permanent incomes, nor even life incomes, such as those of professional men in this country—large incomes are usually enjoyed only a few years, and they are the fund from which provision must be made for a man's after-life, and for his family. An income-tax levied on this temporary income is to a great extent a percentage on his capital, rather than on his income. Add to this that most European incomes are known and taxed to the last farthing, while those of Natives are unknown and supposed to be understated, and we can well understand the especial and not altogether unreasonable bitterness with which the Anglo-Indian community protest against a high income-tax. The rich Natives also, evade it however they may, would of course very much rather not pay the tax, and they very willingly join in the European protests. At the same time, when we hear of the excessive 'unpopularity' of the tax, we must remember that the 'people' who so hate it, and who make themselves heard so loudly regarding it, are principally the Anglo-Indian residents and richer Natives, the latter much under European guidance. The mass of the Native population do not pay the tax, and are consequently not alive to its evils.

Assuming that justice requires that the first increase of taxation should fall on the rich rather than on the poor, we fear

it

it must also be admitted that, till India very much progresses in wealth, the taxes on the rich will not be nearly so productive as those on the poor. It has been very much the fashion to suppose the Native merchants and bankers to be possessed of immense wealth, and to presume that the small results of the income-tax, after deducting the receipts from Europeans and public servants, landholders, fund-holders, and others of known incomes, imply an estimate of the income of the monied classes ridiculously below the truth. Probably the Government does not by the mere haphazard guesses of the assessor arrive at anything like the truth with regard to these incomes, but we venture to doubt if they are really as large as is supposed. If there is this enormous amount of Native wealth, where is it? We do not see it in the shape of the manufactories, and ships, and various material enterprises which represent the wealth of this country. There are no foreign investments, and comparatively little investment in Indian funds and railways. The joint-stock enterprises are almost wholly European. Where, then, is the untold wealth of which we hear so much? We believe that most of the wealth of Native bankers and capitalists is on paper only—in brief, it is lent to their more needy countrymen. It represents the capital required for the ordinary trade transactions for the supply of the population, and more especially the small capital required for the agriculture of the millions of small farmers. If we trace downwards and downwards the wealth of the millionaire banker, we shall at last find it in thousands of miserable bullocks and such like investments, the working stock of a numerous but very poor people. Granted, then, that it is right and proper to make a commencement of efficient means of taxing wealth, we must not exaggerate this resource.

Let us here pause to review shortly the financial position, and try to ascertain how far it is probable that new taxation will be necessary. It was formerly supposed that the Indian revenues were somewhat wooden and inelastic. It was said that land revenue, being a moderated land rent, could grow but slowly and gradually; that, as the rich consume little more salt than the poor, the salt revenue could only grow with the population; that dram-drinking was not the habit of the people, and it was not desirable that we should promote it; that the Customs receipts, confined to a moderate duty on articles brought from very distant countries, could never be very great; and that direct taxes were abhorrent to the people. The facts, too, seemed to bear out this view. But since the days of the mutiny these opinions have undergone a great change. The figures have shown a rapidly increasing revenue—it has been frequently said

without

without contradiction that the revenues of India have proved to be as elastic as those of England. It has been argued that we may trust to a continuing natural increase which will submerge temporary deficits ; that our establishments may be reduced ; and, especially, that much of our public works expenditure, such as that on barracks, is not a proper charge on income, but an expenditure of capital for the benefit of future generations which we may well borrow and charge to them. Let us see how far these allegations appear to be well founded.

In the first place we may say that the relative value of money in India is steadily falling, and prices are rapidly rising. As money is poured in and goods are poured out, as the communication between the East and the West becomes shorter and more easy, it must be that there is a gradual equalisation of values—the increased production of gold apart. In regard to values, then, there is every reason to suppose that India is in a transition state—that great changes are in progress. A rise in prices raises the revenue, but it also raises the expenditure, and the only question is, which side is most affected.

Then with regard to the great increase of income which has already taken place, a good deal must be deducted from the apparent increase. A large sum is due to a mere change in the system of accounts, gross receipts being now brought to credit in several departments where net receipts only were formerly credited. We have greatly increased establishments which yield a merely nominal income more than balanced by expenditure, as before explained. Oude and other new territories have been fully brought into account, and have enabled us to round off our salt preventive lines and revenue arrangements. Opium has been for some years exceptionally productive. Additional taxation has been imposed on salt and in stamps, and by income and license taxes. So far, too, as there has been real natural increase, this must be borne in mind, that in the mutiny war and years immediately following an enormous amount of English money was poured into India. A great war expenditure frequently produces an appearance of prosperity, especially when it is paid for by other people's money. Some 80 millions of British capital has, farther, been in a brief period expended on Indian railways—there was a considerable rush of joint-stock enterprise of various descriptions towards the East—finally, the American War caused an enormous influx of silver to pay for cotton. You cannot keep pouring in continually without something coming out, and much of the increased prosperity and increased revenue of India is no doubt due to the influx of British money—an influx which cannot go on upon the same scale

scale for ever ; we shall want repayment, some day, of interest, if not of principal. In fact, with all the boasted increase of revenue, the expenditure has increased faster still, and our present financial state is worse than that before the mutiny. We must not trust to gross figures—let us see the sources of our revenue, and consider how far they are likely to increase.

The tributes are fixed, and cannot be increased—on the contrary, some of them have been at various times decreased.

Notwithstanding what we have before said regarding the land revenue, it has of late years shown a considerable increase. Oude was not fully brought to account before the mutiny, and has only recently been settled so as to contribute its full quota ; investigations into claims to rent-free tenures have been completed, and all dormant Government rights have been brought to book ; unsettled estates and items hitherto classed as miscellaneous have been brought into the regular accounts ; and, finally, there has been a real increase of revenue in the Ryotwar Provinces of Madras and Bombay ; the cotton wealth has added very greatly to the value of land in Bombay ; and Madras, without a settlement, yields a steady increase as prices and population increase. But most of these sources of increase are not likely to operate in succeeding years. The land revenue of permanently settled Bengal cannot increase. The other provinces of Northern India have just been settled and fixed for thirty years. In Bombay, the rise in values has been nearly realised by a new settlement at increased rates for a similar period, and very much more cannot be expected. In Madras a settlement has long been ordered—the necessary surveys and inquiries must involve great expense—and the general impression is that the Madras ryots already pay to Government a larger share of the profits of the land than the landholders of other provinces, so that we shall not gain revenue by a new settlement, and must on the other hand fix the amount for thirty years to come. Annexations of new territory are, by the general concession of the privilege of adoption, rendered almost impossible except in the event of political convulsions greatly to be deprecated. Altogether the prospect seems to be that for the next thirty years we can expect comparatively little increase in the source of more than half our real Indian income—the land revenue. That is a serious fact to be borne in mind.

The salt-tax has been, by successive increases, stretched to its utmost limits. Already there is much reason to suppose that in Northern India a high rate is rendered less profitable by an abnormally small consumption, and increased facilities of communication render the maintenance of widely differential duties

very difficult. Of late it has been question of equalisation rather than enhancement of duties ; and the last enhancement in Madras and Bombay would have been accompanied by a reduction in Northern India if the financial emergency had not been so pressing. Both justice to the people and financial policy render it clear that we cannot look to any farther rapid increase of the salt revenue.

It is now placed quite beyond doubt that the cultivation of opium in China has very greatly extended of late years, and is at present carried on in the western provinces on a very large scale. The only financial consolation has been the belief that the appetite of the Chinese for the drug was also extending so rapidly as to absorb both the Native and the Indian drug ; but there was recently a heavy fall in the price of the latter, and weighty opinions, both official and non-official, suggest that the fall is caused by the indigenous cultivation, and that this fall is not only permanent but warns us of the day shortly approaching when the imported opium will no longer be able to bear a heavy duty in competition with the Native article, and our Indian revenue from this source will be lost. There have been repeated alarms on this subject, which have blown over ; but the present alarm certainly seems more serious and better supported than those which have gone before, and it must, at least, be felt that our opium revenue is precarious in the future.

In excise we have lately somewhat lost revenue by the change in the mode of administration, designed to check consumption, and we cannot calculate on more than a reasonable annual increase in the present revenue from this source.

The Customs may be expected to increase with the return of commercial prosperity and the increase of trade. Manchester men have cried out that the Indian taxation of their cottons is unjustifiable, while Indian administrators have maintained that but for Manchester influences they could easily and fairly raise a much larger revenue from this source by a not excessive duty of 10 or 15 per cent. So light are the present duties that it seems impossible fairly to complain of them. And although no doubt in almost any other country, not subject to British rule, heavier duties would be and are imposed, experiments already made point so much to the possibility of a successful Indian competition with Manchester power-looms that an increased duty is not likely to be attempted. The Customs duties on imports will probably remain about the present rate, and the only doubt is whether the export duty on grain and some other articles can be maintained.

The stamp revenue may be expected to give a fair increase from year to year ; but it will be seen that at present this revenue (Court fees apart) is not very large.

It

It comes, then, to this, that in the Tributes and Land Revenue and Salt, yielding upwards of two-thirds of our real revenue, we can expect but small increase in the present generation; that the Opium, yielding more than half the remainder, is a revenue exceedingly precarious and uncertain; and that the really elastic income derived from Customs, Excise, and Stamps, is only about one-seventh of the whole.

On the other hand, we shall find that the expenditure is doubly elastic: first, because as prices and the value of labour rise, our establishments increase in cost; and, second, because, as we improve and modernise our system, new wants, new establishments, and new machineries are continually created, which much more than counterbalance any possible reductions in our old establishments. Modernised roads and police, and education, and sanitation, and many other things, cost money which must come from some source.

Let us look at the main items of expenditure. The expense of the army seems enormous—cannot we largely reduce that? Well, let us see. According to the most recent statement by Sir W. Mansfield, the army in India was as follows:—

Europeans	..	..	..	..	55,333
Natives	..	..	..	..	134,740
Total	..	..	..	..	190,073

Of whom 172,000 were actually under arms.

That is the force employed not only to defend and keep order among 150 millions of our own subjects in a foreign and conquered country, but also to defend and control 50 millions in Native States: total 200 millions in a territory covering 1,500,000 square miles. The Indian army is unsupported by militia reserves, or volunteers, or any of the expedients by which armies are supplemented in European countries—and is, in proportion to the countries and populations to be controlled, by far the smallest in the world. It seems quite impossible that we should with prudence farther reduce its numbers, and it would certainly be imprudent in the highest degree to reduce the proportion of European soldiers. Then as respects expense. We have long been accustomed to regard the ordinary British soldier charged to the home taxpayer as a charge, one way and another, of not less than 100*l.* per man. The same European soldier in India—looking to the higher pay and more rapid consumption of the soldier, the great expense of transport of men and materials, the much more expensive style in which he is housed and kept—cannot be put down as averaging, men officers and material together, less than 200*l.* per man; and that at once accounts for the greater portion of the military expenditure. In addition

tion to the soldiers in the country, India pays for some 6000 or 7000 recruits, invalids, &c., in this country or on the voyage. The Native soldiers are officered by Europeans, paid at least three times as high as officers in this country. Much of the material supplied to Natives costs as much as that supplied to Europeans. And altogether, all over the world, the soldier is every day becoming a more expensive servant and military establishments more costly. Not only does pay increase and do instruments of war become more complicated, but we have great expenses forced on us by the professors of sanitary science and other sciences; and nowhere are more expensive experiments tried than in India, where we can do our duty to the soldier at other people's expense. Nor are we anywhere so liberal in our views of justice to the officers who have fought our battles as when a British Parliament passes votes which affect only the Indian taxpayers. Altogether the fact seems to be that, however we may save excessive and unnecessary expenditure here and there, the army is an expense which we shall never very effectually check, and which will grow upon us as fast as wages rise and science invents new modes of spending money in instruments of destruction.

The marine expenditure in India has been reduced to a minimum; but already it is felt that something more is wanted. There must be some addition to the Indian marine, and the Admiralty demands payment for services rendered by the British Navy. Some increase under this head is inevitable.

The new-fashioned police, instituted since the mutiny on the model of the Irish police, is now generally considered to be too military, and, in point of officers, too expensive; but, on the other hand, it is deficient in point of numbers, and if the duties are to be efficiently performed, we must either improve the local police at much additional expense or increase the numbers of the regular police.

It is not probable that the civil administration of so vast a country will ever be conducted in all its branches at less than the present cost of three millions; on the contrary, it is in this branch, above all others, that new demands continually arise with the progress of society and the enlightenment of the age. Here there will be constant increase and not decrease. New classes are also continually added to the pension list, causing an increase of retiring allowances. The Native judges are the least well paid of all our public functionaries; the cost of the Courts is continually increasing, and it has been said that the increase in Court fees has been found to be overdone. 'Education, Science, and Art,' is, of all branches, that which grows most rapidly, in which expenditure most increases and receipts are very small.

Finally, we come to 'Public Works,' and the debt may be taken

taken in connection with that department. It has been argued that this expenditure is a profitable investment, and that we may well add another fifty millions to our debt, trusting to increased income. This view has so far been accepted that what are called 'reproductive works,' that is, works which are expected to return an income on the money expended—irrigation works, State railways, and the like—are placed to a separate account and paid for with money borrowed for the purpose. But the Government has, as we think most properly, declined so to deal with works returning no income, especially barracks. It may be a very good economy to an embarrassed landed proprietor, to borrow money to drain and make judicious improvements on his land; but to add to his house would certainly not get him out of his difficulties. Within a single generation half-a-dozen new plans of barracks have been adopted, each superseding the former and intended to last for ever. Barracks are in this respect exactly like the ships of our Navy—models in one decade and thrown aside the next, if not at a much earlier time. It might well have been argued that the last and most expensive barracks now in course of construction would probably not be recognised as a useful legacy by the next generation; but the fact has already anticipated the conjecture. The first of these new barracks, constructed at enormous expense on English sanitarian principles, are hardly completed at Allahabad and Jullunder, when they are discovered to be wholly unsuited to the climate and a blunder altogether. So far from its being safe to debit to capital works which return no income, the doubt is whether many of the so-called reproductive works may not entail a heavy burden. They are undertaken by Government principally because private capitalists decline them, and sanguine estimates of Government engineers are under such circumstances not very trustworthy. Especially we cannot take a sanguine financial view of Indian State railways. If we confined ourselves to the present lines, doubtless the present deficit would gradually diminish; but it is notoriously shown by all experience that the trunk lines pay best, while branches and subsidiary lines too frequently entail a loss. Now the private guaranteed Companies have already possessed themselves of the trunk lines of communication, while the Government proposes to undertake a great subsidiary system of branch and secondary lines. They have also, for political objects, embarked in two expensive lines in the sparsely inhabited countries near the Indus. Altogether there seems every reason to apprehend that the gain from increase of receipts on the guaranteed lines will be more than counterbalanced for many years to come by losses on new lines.

To

To revert to ordinary works paid for out of revenue, it has been said that at any rate the State is not bound to undertake so great an expenditure of this kind. The expenditure is called enormous and excessive. Those who have practical experience of Indian administration think far otherwise—so far at least as the work done is concerned. We have already shown that, deducting military works, the remaining expenditure of the Public Works department averages about three millions per annum. But of this sum a million is absorbed by establishments alone—the very expensive establishment of European engineers and subordinate officers who design and direct the works both military and civil—with some miscellaneous and unclassified charges. There remain for actual works about two millions to divide among all the administrations in India—say about 10 per cent. of the land revenue of each province. Now in the absence of any sufficient local taxation, not only all civil and judicial buildings, but all the chief roads and communications of the country, must be made and maintained, and every material improvement must be undertaken from this fund, in a country where extremes of climate and absence of material render roads and most other works abnormally expensive. When complaint is made of the absence of roads, it must be remembered that in most parts of India good roads cost positively more than in England and relatively enormously more, and that every mile of new road involves a very heavy cost of maintenance. Public buildings, too, are continually tumbling down, and new ones are constantly demanded on a greatly increased scale. Hence it is that, large as the total may seem, the public works allowance to each of a dozen different administrations is wholly insufficient to meet many pressing requirements. Lord Mayo's present retrenchment in this department, inevitable though it be, has caused a woful retardation of necessary works; and there can be but little doubt that, if we would do justice to the material resources of the country, we must find, either from imperial or from local sources, an ever-increasing fund for public works which yield no direct return.

The conclusion to which we come is that the secret of Indian financial difficulties is this, that only a portion, and that the smaller portion of our income, is really elastic and expansive, whereas almost the whole of our expenditure is expansive in a very high degree. If this be so, the difficulty is not temporary, but chronic, and must be met, not by temporary palliations, but by permanent measures. The fact seems to us to be that, by hook or by crook, we could make the old-fashioned sources of revenue meet the old-fashioned expenditure, even increased as it is by rise

rise of values and of prices ; but that, if we would have a modern and civilised administration, if we would have new improvements—education and sanitation and police, and railways and roads and canals—we must devise and enforce new and civilised modes of taxation also. Taking the view that we do of the Indian deficit, and believing that the incidence of taxation which we have exhibited approximates to correctness, we cannot but believe that Lord Mayo and his advisers were right in thinking that the deficit should be at once grappled with, and that the additional taxation necessary should be imposed on the higher classes. Whether, as a permanent arrangement, the arguments for or against the income-tax may preponderate, the Indian Government seem to have acted in a manly and straightforward manner in boldly taking, according to their lights, a course which, however unpalatable with certain classes and however open to objection, is yet in the main founded on principles of justice. We have admitted that the income-tax falls very hard on the European community (who also pay an abnormal share of the Customs duties) ; but the richer Natives do not seem to us to have real ground of complaint, except in so far as the tax is unequally and capriciously imposed.

We do not seek to anticipate the decision of the Government of India as respects new modes of taxation—we would only put the matter in this wise : The opinion has been rapidly gaining ground that all the attempts to impose new taxes by general legislation for all India have been unsuccessful, that everything new must in that country so much partake of the character of experiment that it is difficult to introduce novel taxes uniformly all over so vast an empire at the same time. It is found in fact that, divided, as India is, into a number of local administrations, a too complete centralisation of the finances does not work well. Local administrators have no interest in devising taxes which go to a central treasury and not to the improvement of their own country and people ; and, on the other hand, they care little to reduce expenditure, and are always ready to draw everything that can be got from a central milch cow, for the due sustenance of which they are not responsible. Recent discussions have pointed, then, to some project for localising in some degree the finances and giving the local administrations a certain financial responsibility for making the two ends meet. The idea is that if, as in America, certain imperial receipts, such as customs and opium, were taken as imperial revenues to defray the imperial charges with the interest of the debt, while the cost of the army was fairly distributed, local treasuries might be established under a general central control ; and it might be left

to

to the local Governments to find the means for making local works and other local improvements, besides administering to the best advantage the ordinary revenues and establishments. A tax successfully introduced in one province might then be copied in others; but an unsuccessful experiment in one province would not affect the others.

We must not misuse the term 'local.' Provincial taxation, extending over a country as large and populous as France, is one thing, and local taxation in the English sense is quite another thing. The one may be imposed by the Governments and legislatures of presidencies and provinces; the other is in its nature for the most part voluntary and in its purposes local in a limited sense. Of this proper local taxation there was in former times a good deal in India, such as we have mentioned in a former part of this article—the self-imposed taxation of village municipalities. But in most parts of India these indigenous municipalities have hardly been recognised by law, and the indigenous power of the elders has fallen very much into abeyance. We found village municipalities; but the towns were generally dependent on the will of the rulers, and without a municipal constitution. Our efforts have been directed to establish in towns municipalities after our fashion and directed to our objects. It must be admitted, however, that there is a good deal of sham about these institutions. They are generally forced on the people by the influence of the officers of Government, the cesses are imposed on an unwilling people for objects which do not really interest them; and there is little real self-government. If then we would establish real local taxation for purposes appreciated by the people, and obtain their real aid in such a system, much still remains to be done before the end is attained.

One word of caution as regards the mode of raising that part of the expenditure (for reproductive works only, we must hope) which must be met by loan or guarantee. In former days a large proportion—in fact, the larger proportion—of our Indian loans was raised in India, and from the Natives. Every facility and encouragement were given to private Native lenders, as is the case in France; and the confidence in the British Government was great. It was the practice to keep what was called an open loan—that is a loan at a rate somewhat below the market rate, available to all comers; generally a 4 per cent. loan when the fives were at a premium and the fours were below par. The facility of paying money into any treasury at any time was so much appreciated by the Natives that a good deal of money was always flowing in at a cheap rate in this way, and the arrangement afforded to the Natives most of the advantages of a savings bank.

bank. But when English ideas began to prevail, these open loans were denounced as contrary to financial principles and leading to extravagance; so they were stopped, and when money was next wanted, it was borrowed at higher rates and on English principles. The loans were no longer offered to the people. Tenders were invited from great loan contractors, after the London fashion, and taken by European banks and capitalists; and resort has been very largely had to the London market. The difference in the value of money between London and India is now really very slight—the Indian 4 per cents. are, at the time we write, about par in London, and about 97 in India; but, owing much, we believe, to the mode in which the business is managed, the debt of the Indian Government is more and more transferred to English holders, by far the greater part of all new loans have been raised in England or from English sources in India, and of the vast expenditure on Indian guaranteed railways scarcely a fraction is held by the Natives. Is not this ever-increasing debt of India to England a great political danger? Would it not be worth our while to do something to induce the Natives again to trust to us for Indian purposes the funds which must certainly result from their increased prosperity and wealth, and for which they have little secure employment?

We conclude by an attempt to compare in brief form Indian with English taxation, thus roughly expressed in millions sterling:—

TAXES ON CONSUMPTION AND EXPENDITURE.

	<i>India.</i>	<i>United Kingdom.</i>
Necessaries:—		
Salt	6 millions.	Grain import abolished in present year.
Grain export	½ ..	
Noxious luxuries:—		
Liquors	2½ ..	Liquors 25 millions.
Opium export	6½ ..	
Innocent luxuries:—		
Customs (liquors and grain excepted)	1½ ..	Tobacco, sugar, tea, coffee, and other customs duties 14 ..
Stamps:—		Assessed taxes, including horses and dogs 3 ..
On bills and contracts	¾ ..	Surplus of the post-office, railways, &c. 2½ ..
		On bills and contracts 3½ ..

TAXES ON PROPERTY AND INCOME.

	<i>India.</i>	<i>United Kingdom.</i>
Income-tax, present year, 2 millions.		Succession and legacy duty 4½ millions.
		Income-tax, say 7 ..
		Trade taxes ½ ..
Total, India	20 ..	Total, United Kingdom 60 ..
		It

It thus appears that in this country we have now entirely got rid of all taxes on necessaries, while in India there is a very heavy tax on salt and an export duty on grain. In most European countries salt is still taxed—*e. g.* in France, Italy, Spain, Austria, Belgium, and Russia—but nowhere is the tax so heavy as in India. Tobacco and sugar, taxed in this country, are untaxed in India. In most of the tobacco-producing countries of Europe (*e. g.* France, Italy, Austria, Spain), and also in the United States of America, tobacco is heavily taxed by means of a State monopoly or an excise, and sugar is also generally more or less taxed. Two classes of well-known British taxes have no representative in India—the assessed taxes and the succession duties. In many European countries there is a considerable tax on sales, such as the Mahomedans levied in India. As respects a succession duty, the great difficulty in India is that, owing to the system of joint family, there are scarcely successions in our sense, but a certain stamp-duty on the proof of wills has been, we believe, imposed in the present year.

Altogether we need not doubt that examples and precedents for every possible kind of taxation will be found in one foreign country or another, and among many suggested taxes the Government must decide. But two cardinal facts we believe that experience proves in regard to Indian taxation: first, that, if we are to have new modes of expenditure, we must devise new taxes to meet them; and, second, that new taxes will not be successfully devised and put in force till there is some provincial localisation of the finances, giving to those who find the money an interest in it more near than the remote interest of supplying a central treasury.

ART. V.—The '*Times*,' '*Standard*,' and '*Daily News*' Newspapers. October, 1870, to January, 1871.

ATTER the fall of Sedan, France presented the appearance of a vast and dismal inundation. The German hosts pouring onward in a resistless tide overspread and submerged the country, wherein, at that time, Paris, Metz, Strasburg, Verdun, with a few other places of minor importance, looming through the mist of sorrow and despair like so many island rocks above the general flood, alone gave any signs of defensive vitality. France lay, to all appearance, helpless beneath the heel of her enemy; and, for a brief space, the utter prostration of the one combatant and the supreme triumph of the other, raised in the spectators

spectators of the contest a delusive hope, that terms of peace which might be accepted without abject humiliation would be conceded by the magnanimity of the conqueror.

It was soon found, however, that the hope was not to be realised. Like the cruel servant who went out from the presence of his infinitely forgiving master, to clutch his miserable fellow-servant by the throat with the demand for the uttermost farthing of his little debt, the Prussian monarch resolved that the cup of humiliation should be drained by his helpless enemy to the last bitter dregs. Justifying his purpose by a pretext which had not even the merit of plausibility, King William decreed the continuance of the war, with its bloodshed and all its accompaniments of unutterable horror such as the burning of Bazeilles and Ablis, for the avowed object of uniting to Germany, in an enforced and detested bond, populations who are enthusiastically French.

In Paris the fall of Sedan was speedily followed by the deposition of the Emperor ; and the fickle populace, intoxicated with joy at the proclamation of the Republic, danced like maniacs over the grave of the national honour even while 90,000 French soldiers were defiling before their conquerors ; and, like spiteful children, stabbed the pictures and broke the busts of the man who, whatever might be his faults, had conferred innumerable benefits upon Paris. The high priests of the revolution laid on their scapegoat all the sins of omission and commission to which the war and its disasters were attributable ; and the surprise and disappointment of the nation were extreme that the Germans did not at once accept the plea which sought to exonerate France by heaping all the guilt on her ruler. The demeanour of the Parisians in those early days of their recovered freedom was little calculated to increase the sympathy of their friends, or to encourage the hope that they would oppose a stedfast resistance to the German armies now closing around them. But, after a brief period of paralysed disappointment, the luxurious city braced itself to reject all thought of peace and safety if these could only be purchased by cession of territory and by the sacrifice of a people who had fought and bled for France ; and, as in former days, the capital carried the nation along with it.

Now that their Jonah was cast into the sea ; now that the vices and corruption of the Imperial system were ended ; the world should witness the spectacle of the new republic awaking like a young giant from her long repose, and bursting the Lilliputian bonds with which the hated invader sought to bind down her vigorous limbs. A purer system was to be inaugurated ; the reign of common sense had taken the place of incapacity and folly ;

folly ; and France was as good as saved ! We shall presently see how far these anticipations have been realised.

It has been asserted that the German people would have been content after Sedan to conclude the war with the old frontiers had not the Generals pronounced the strategical line of the Vosges essential to secure Germany from future attack.

It has been pretended also that the Prussian monarch was prepared to grant favourable conditions of peace at the same period, but that his magnanimous inclinations were frustrated by the non-existence of any government with authority to treat on the part of France.

As to the first assertion, the dismantling of the Lorraine and Alsatian fortresses would have afforded Germany every reasonable guarantee ; but on this point it is needless to address any argument to the English people, since there are few Englishmen who do not protest against the transfer of free populations, and who do not foresee that, far from such transfer affording securities for future peace, it would prove a fruitful source of bitter feeling, prompting the French to persistent preparations for war and to active measures of revenge so soon as they might feel strong enough for the indulgence of that sentiment. As a commentary, a German, writing from Metz, says : ‘ Let nobody expect to win the sympathies of these people for generations to come. They hate us more intensely than do the French population proper, and if Metz remains German, only an iron rule will be possible here. Every forbearance and mildness would be misunderstood, and good deeds would fall on stony ground.’

With respect to the second pretension, the obstacle to the indulgence of King William’s merciful dispositions arising from the absence of a constituted government in France, was no greater after Sedan than when Count Bismarck lately amused M. Thiers with the prospect of an armistice, and might have been removed in precisely the manner proposed on the latter occasion. The Count is a very experienced wire-puller ; and we trace the same dexterous manipulation of the puppets in exciting and intensifying the demand of the German people for Alsace and Lorraine, as in the incendiary statement, setting the French and German blood on fire, and deciding the wavering South German States—that the head of the German nation had been insulted at Ems by the French Ambassador in such fashion, that King William directed one of his attendants to inform M. Benedetti that ‘ the King could not receive him again.’

This statement, which, acting on the temper of the French and German people, made peace impossible, was false from beginning to end ; but it served its purpose, and when a false statement is promulgated,

promulgated, if we can discover who benefited by it, we may be sure we have not far to seek for its author. The statement was first published in Count Bismarck's special organ, the 'Nord-deutsche Zeitung.' We have reverted to this incident because it has never received the weight which properly belongs to it in apportioning the blame for the origin of this war.

The junta styling itself the 'Government of National Defence,' but deriving its sole authority from the Parisian mob, was composed of General Trochu as President, whose political leanings were Orleanist, of the impulsive and sanguine Gambetta, Jules Favre, Cremieux, and other republicans of less note. All offices at the disposal of the governing body were filled with republicans, for the most part journalists and lawyers. In the provinces the general course seemed to be to take the leading opposition journalist of each department and to make him Prefect, confiding to him at the same time the military organisation of his department; and many of these functionaries, in the exercise of their little brief authority, played such fantastic tricks as were little calculated to recommend a republican form of government permanently to the French people.

M. Jules Favre, as Foreign Minister, issued a circular to the French representatives at the different Courts, declaring that although the republican party had opposed the war in the first instance, at the risk of their popularity; and although their hearts bled at the slaughter it occasioned; they would not, as the price of peace, 'cede one inch of their territory or one stone of their fortresses.' Paris should resist to the bitter end. 'After the forts we have the ramparts; after the ramparts we have the barricades; and if Paris succumbed, 'France should avenge her.'

These were brave words, yet not braver than would have been justified by the numbers and resources of the French people, and the spirit they have actually displayed, provided a proper direction could be given to their efforts. English journalists, as a rule, could scarcely find words strong enough in ridicule of the idea that Paris could stand a siege. Her walls were expected to fall like those of Jericho at the first blast of the German trumpets. To those who knew anything of war, however, it appeared certain that if the population were bent on resistance, the Germans, in laying siege to the city, were commencing an enterprise which would tax their skill and resources to the uttermost. That they would ultimately succeed in starving Paris into submission, supposing effectual relief not to come from without, appeared probable; but that result could not be achieved for at least three months; and if that period should be utilized in the creation of a field army, sufficient in numbers and equipment to advance against

against the beleaguering force, the ultimate success of the French in at least obtaining equitable conditions of peace, need not have been despaired of.

Before proceeding to the details of the war, we propose, as a guide in judging the actual operations, to take a brief view of the situation and possibilities on both sides.

First, as to France. Starting from the assumption that Paris could resist for three months, we find the French people resolute in their determination to continue the struggle—a determination which appears to have been intensified by every fresh disaster; but the only elements of success were supplied by the superior numbers and wealth of the defenders. Of able-bodied men there were more than sufficient; but there were at first no arms to put into their hands, and there was a lack of officers to give them organisation. Especially were they deficient in field artillery, the absence of which could not be supplied by any amount of courage or numbers. The action of the civilian prefects in many cases disgusted the officers of the regular army, and the hoisting of the red flag at Lyons and Marseilles threatened at one time to divide the French people into two hostile camps.

While this was the state of affairs without the city, it was impossible to count on the temper of the Parisian populace. Dissensions were known to exist, and the Belleville clique, headed by Flourens, were noisy and violent. The armed force at the disposal of Trochu was of a motley character, consisting of regular troops, Mobiles, and National Guards, the regulars being profoundly discouraged by the events of the war. The organisation of this force had yet to be begun, and the arming of it could only be gradually effected. The garrison was almost destitute of field artillery. The guns must be cast, the horses and gunners trained, while the enemy was thundering at the gates; and until this was effected, sorties in force, which must constitute the soul of the defence, could not be undertaken.

Thus the composition and equipment of the garrison was in every respect so inferior to those of the besiegers, that the salvation of the city depended absolutely on the formation without the walls of such an army—properly organised, equipped, and provisioned—as would suffice, in co-operation with the army within, to drive the Germans from their prey.

Now, for the organisation, arming, and provisioning of such a force, were required—*first*, time; *secondly*, a place where, secure from molestation by the enemy, the troops composing it might be drilled and disciplined, and where they might receive all the material and provisions necessary to enable them to take the field with any prospect of success.

The

The sea alone could furnish means for the accomplishment of this object. The sea has been for the present contest the obedient servant of France, and should have constituted the base of operations for the relief of Paris. Three harbours, two of them being Bordeaux and Havre, might have been indicated as the rallying points for the whole of the French levies: entrenched camps constructed round those ports, the flanks resting on the sea, by the labour, day and night, of every man, woman, and child, within reach; and the works armed with heavy guns from the fleet, which should have been recalled to the defence of France and divided between the three ports.

The whole of the available merchant-marine should have been constantly employed in bringing to those ports the field-guns and breech-loading rifles necessary for the equipment of the armies, as well as the stores of food and forage required for their maintenance in an advance on Paris.

The three camps, each garrisoned by 150,000 fighting men, and armed with guns very superior to any the Germans could bring against them, would easily defy attack, and would divide the operations of the enemy. To assail them, he must employ three powerful armies, separated from each other by such distance in a hostile country as would render intercommunication tedious and difficult; while to place those armies in the field and to provide them with the requisite heavy guns, he would be obliged to abandon the siege of Paris.

The defence of the three camps, on the other hand, might be considered as *one*; since they would be in constant and rapid communication by steam, and therefore able mutually to reinforce each other according to need. When ready to take the field, the French marine might easily transport the armies of the two southern camps to Havre, from which, in that case, an united army of 450,000 men might march to raise the siege of the capital.

A screen of troops should have been maintained as far in advance of the two camps as possible to the last moment; but all serious engagements in the open country where success might be doubtful, and especially all attempts to defend open towns, should have been avoided.

We have quite recently learnt by accounts from Tours that several camps of instruction have been formed in France, two of them at Bordeaux and Rochelle, although it was not stated if they were to be entrenched. St. Nazaire, at the mouth of the Loire, if local circumstances are favourable, would have been a better strategical choice than Rochelle. Havre, we also learn, has been fortified. The fear is that these measures may have been determined on too late.

The

The only organised army remaining to France after Sedan was shut in at Metz under Bazaine, and consisted, as we now know, of 150,000 men, not including the regular garrison of the fortress. This force was now hemmed in by strong lines of circumvallation, and invested by the 1st and 2nd German Armies under General Manteuffel and Prince Frederick Charles, consisting of seven corps and three divisions of cavalry, reinforced later by one infantry division. Thus a German force, never probably exceeding 210,000 men, disseminated over a circumference of 27 miles, which was separated in two parts by the Moselle, was found sufficient to hold fast 150,000 French troops, occupying the centre of the circle, and with every strategical advantage in their favour.

At Strasburg a French garrison of 19,000 was besieged by 70,000 Germans. Toul, garrisoned by 2000 Mobiles, was besieged by one Prussian division under the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg. The cannon of Toul, commanding the railroad from Nancy by Chalons and Epernay to Paris, compelled the Germans to unload their trains some distance east of the town, to transport their supplies on wheels by a long detour, and to load them again on trains to the west of the fortress. Thus the persistent defence of the garrison, which only surrendered in the last days of September, had a large share in delaying the operations of the besiegers of Paris. Verdun, on the Meuse, similarly commanded the direct railroad from Metz, passing by Rheims and Soissons to Paris. It was besieged by detachments from the 1st Army at Metz, and was defended by Mobiles and National Guards. Thionville, Longwy, Montmedy, and Mezières, all held French garrisons, and prevented the Germans from using the railroad passing by these places to Rheims and Paris. Thionville and Montmedy were blockaded, and the blockades of Bitsche and Phalsburg were continued; they were defended chiefly by Mobiles, and occupied about 18,000 German troops.

Somewhat in mitigation of their fatal inferiority in the field, the French possessed an advantage which is inherent in the case of a people defending their soil. Instead of being limited in the event of a defeat, as their enemies would be, to one general line of retreat, the French forces might retire either in manoeuvring or from a disastrous field, in any direction save one that might be barred by the enemy. With such an extent of seaboard and a powerful fleet, a defeated French army might be secure of finding safety and support on reaching any point on the coast where local conditions might be favourable; and this circumstance would evidently give the French a real tactical advantage in battle.

Turning

Turning, now, to the Germans—the capture of Paris was the one great object they proposed to themselves in continuing the war, because it was considered that its attainment would lead to the immediate submission of France. The siege of Paris, therefore, was the one great central operation to which the other military movements were only accessory. Had they foreseen the resistance they were to encounter from the capital, it is more than doubtful if they would not have offered, after Sedan, terms of peace which would have been accepted by the French; but they were under the impression that Paris would yield on the mere appearance of their forces before it; and thus they were committed to a tedious and difficult enterprise, the duration of which would afford to France all the chances which might arise from the mutability of human affairs in general, and from the changes which time might work in the opinions and actions of the other European powers.

Destitute as France was, at this period, of any organised military force in the field, the most obvious manner of reducing the country to subjection was to prevent the assembly and training of any such force, by sending strong moveable columns of the three arms into every district. But France was too large for such a treatment, even with the overwhelming numbers at the disposal of the Prussian monarch. It was impossible to coerce in that manner more than a small portion of the area of France. The German columns would command only the ground on which they encamped, with a certain zone surrounding it; and the fire of hatred and resistance smouldering over the whole surface of the country would thus be stamped out in one quarter only to burst forth with increased violence in another. To this fact it was owing that the so-called French Government was left so long unmolested at Tours; it would have been hazardous, in view of the strength of the garrison, to detach a large force from the investing armies to so great a distance from Paris, and a small force would risk being overpowered.

The base of operations for all the German forces was formed by the line of frontier extending from Saarbrück on the north, to Basle on the south, and all their movements have of necessity been regulated by that consideration.

The lines of communication for the army engaged in the primary operation of the siege of Paris took their departure from the northern half of this base; and on these lines were situated all the strong places excepting Strasburg, such as Metz, Toul, Verdun, Thionville, &c., which the Germans were besieging at the period of the fall of Sedan.

The southern half of the same line formed the base of operations for the troops engaged in the siege of Strasburg, and for those subsequently employed in reducing Schelestadt, Neuf Brisach, Belfort, &c.; as well as for the armies operating by Dijon towards Lyons, and to the south of Belfort towards Besançon.

The position of the investing army at Paris formed a secondary base, from which radiated the different columns acting towards Orleans, Chartres, Dreux, Evreux, Amiens, St. Quentin, &c., for all of which Paris forms the centre of the wheel, of which these columns represent the spokes; and the object of the employment of these columns has been at once to collect supplies, and to prevent the siege from interruption by the different bodies of French troops which were organising all over the country.

The above explanation being clearly apprehended, the movements of the German forces, which otherwise would appear confused, will assume in the mind of the reader a methodical and symmetrical arrangement.

On the evening of the 2nd September, the very same day on which the surrender of Sedan was consummated, the German armies received their marching orders, and next morning broke up in different directions.

The 11th Corps and 1st Bavarians, both belonging to the 3rd Army, were detailed to escort the prisoners to Pont à Mousson; whence, having handed over their charge to the 10th Corps employed before Metz, they were to make all speed to join the Crown Prince of Prussia at Paris.

The 3rd and 4th Armies marched on Paris by two different routes; the 3rd Army passing by Rethel, Rheims, and Epernay, to the south bank of the Marne; and continuing its march by Montmirail to Coulommiers; whence the different corps diverged to take up their respective investing positions from Lagny on the Marne towards Versailles.

The 4th Army passed by Vouziers, Rheims, and generally by the north bank of the Marne, to Claye; whence its several corps diverged to their respective positions for continuing the investing line from Lagny on their left, round by Gonesse to St. Denis and Argenteuil, north of the city.

It is to be remarked that, in order to take up the position relatively assigned to them before Paris, and owing to the positions respectively occupied by them round Sedan, the 3rd and 4th Armies had to cross each other's line somewhere en route. This they did at Rheims; and that one army of 80,000 men, with all its trains and impediments, should have been able to cut across the march of another army, numbering 120,000, without serious

serious inconvenience, is a proof of the excellence of the working staff.

It is to be understood that only the general direction of the march of the armies on Paris is above given. Every parallel road leading in the named direction was of course utilised. Each army thus marched in parallel columns, the lateral communication between which, as well as between the two armies, was kept up by the cavalry ; and in particular the outward flanks of both armies were protected by strong bodies of cavalry. The front of both armies was at the same time covered by a chain of advanced guards in communication with each other by means of cavalry patrols, thus forming a continuous circle, either for protection or information, enveloping the head of the line of march of both armies at a distance of from twenty to thirty miles in advance.

If General Trochu had possessed at this time 120,000 good troops, and an adequate field artillery, it would have been impossible for the Germans to take up their investing line on such an enormous circumference. The French, holding the centre, might have struck vigorously at different portions of the serpent form then winding its way round the devoted city, and might easily have cut it into fragments before it could have found time, by the construction of entrenchments and batteries, to tighten its folds and choke its victim.

Even as it was, the operation was hazardous. The 4th Army, under the Crown Prince of Saxony, easily repulsed an attempt made by Vinoy's corps to stop its progress on the 18th September in the valley of the Marne, and on the 19th the French made a skirmishing attack on his leading columns between St. Denis and Gonesse. But the 3rd Army had to encounter more serious opposition.

On the 17th September, the 5th, being the leading corps of the Crown Prince of Prussia's (3rd) army, threw pontoon bridges over the Seine at Villeneuve St. George ; and over these bridges the 5th, 6th, and 2nd Bavarian corps must pass to take their positions in the investing line from the Seine westward by Sevres to Bougival, likewise on the Seine, north-west of the city. They must, perchance, also move in a long trailing column, dangerously weak at any given point in comparison with the masses which the enemy could direct against it. The formation of the bridges, and the operation of defiling over them, were covered towards Paris by posting on the heights of Limeil, extending from the Seine to Boissy St. Leger, one brigade of infantry, with two squadrons and two batteries. At 2 P.M. the French troops,

to the number of eight battalions and two batteries, debouching from Charenton across the bridges over the Seine and Marne which there join, and advancing along the tongue of land comprised between the two rivers which afforded perfect protection to their flanks, attacked the Prussians, but were easily repulsed and driven back in confusion.

On the 18th, the 5th Corps, having crossed the Seine, continued its march on Versailles, by the two routes of Palaiseau and Bièvre; the Bièvre column, which was covered towards Paris by cavalry, had an unimportant skirmish in the afternoon. The same day the 2nd Bavarians, having crossed the bridges, occupied Longjumeau.

On the morning of the 19th, the 5th Corps marched from Palaiseau and Bièvre on Versailles; the 2nd Bavarians from Longjumeau through Palaiseau to its position in the investing line at Chatenay; the 6th Corps, which only crossed the Seine in the morning, moved by Orly to its destined position at Chevilly.

The head of the 9th Division 5th Corps, after leaving Bièvre, was attacked by the French 14th Corps under General Ducrot, occupying the entrenched position of Petit Bicêtre. Notwithstanding the bad behaviour of Ducrot's right wing, which left the field in great disorder early in the action, the Prussians were hard pressed for several hours; and to clear the road to Versailles they were obliged to bring up the remaining division of the 5th Corps from Jouy, which place it had reached on the southern road to Versailles, as well as two Bavarian brigades from Chatenay. The result was the withdrawal of the French to the protection of the forts with the loss of eight guns.

On the 20th the 3rd Army was distributed from Bougival by Sèvres, Meudon, Clamart, Bourg, Chevilly, to Choisy on the Seine, south-east of Paris; the Würtemburg division belonging to the same army continuing the circle between Choisy and Bonneuil on the Marne; from which point the 4th Army prolonged and completed the circumference by La Landes, Sevran, Pierrefitte, and Argenteuil, to Chatou.

Having now placed the German armies in position round Paris, we shall proceed to examine their chances of success.

The science of war—whether in its application to the branches termed *Strategy* or *Tactics*, which are simply different names of the same art when applied to scales of different magnitude—may be defined as the art of bringing superior numbers against an enemy. In other words, success in war depends on *superiority of concentration*. The same idea was expressed forcibly, if rather irreverently,

irreverently, by the First Napoleon, when he said 'God always fought on the side of the *gros bataillons*.'

The different rules and maxims which have been framed by military writers are all deduced from this one leading principle, by which, indeed, all military operations, whether great or small, must alike be regulated; whether these relate to the general strategy of a campaign, to the marshalling of an army on a field of battle, or even to the manoeuvring of a battalion on the parade-ground. And the object of all military rules, of all drill, discipline, and military training, and of all the labours of the different military departments, is to enable the general in command of an army to apply that principle successfully. It will be found that every advantage obtained by either side during the present war may be traced directly to that superiority of concentration on which we have insisted as a necessary condition of success.

The art of fortification is simply an application of the same principle, by means of which a small force may be enabled successfully to resist a large one, and the real superiority may be converted practically to the side of the weaker numbers. Its origin dates as far back as, and was a consequence of, the use of missiles. And the primary idea was to neutralize superior numbers by creating a shelter, from behind which the weaker party, in comparative safety, might discharge their missiles at an enemy advancing to attack them. It is clear that if a man sheltered by a parapet could discharge three darts or arrows at an attacking body between the moment of the latter coming within range and that of closing with the defenders, the interposition of the parapet would, speaking theoretically, place one of the latter on an equality with three assailants. Every improvement in the science of projectiles has been in favour of the lamb against the wolf; and it is evident that the advantages to the defenders must increase in the triple proportion of the range, accuracy, and rapidity of fire. Thus, the same man behind a parapet, who, when armed with stones or darts might be equal to three assailants, would, when furnished with a weapon firing ten shots in a minute at an effective range of six hundred yards, be equal in theory to fifty assailants, or, if we suppose only every fifth shot to tell, to ten assailants advancing to the attack over open ground.

The present range, accuracy, and rapidity of fire impart to all irregulars, when acting on the defensive, a greater value than they formerly possessed in the threefold proportion of those elements; and the consideration is one of paramount interest to

England,

England, since her Volunteers, by reason of their proficiency in shooting, would, in this view, be little inferior to trained soldiers in defending an entrenched position.

As the art of fortification advanced, towns were completely surrounded by parapet walls, and various devices were adopted in their construction, with the purpose of increasing the superiority of defensive fire, of which the most important was the provision of flanking defence.

The reduction of an ancient fortress, too strong to be carried by sudden assault, was undertaken, as in modern times, in a methodical and scientific manner, the system of attack being regulated according to the nature of the defences. In the absence of any sufficient means of forcing a passage through a solid rampart too lofty for escalade, the assailants resorted to the erection of a huge mound of earth, pushing forward the mass gradually until it touched the walls, and raising it to the level of the summit, from whence the besiegers might pour their stormers *over* the defences. Many passages in the Old Testament refer to this method of capturing besieged cities, as (Deut. xx. 20), where the Israelites are commanded to 'build bulwarks against the city' until it should be subdued; and yet more expressly in the denunciation against Sennacherib (2 Kings, xix. 32), proclaiming that he 'should not shoot an arrow into Jerusalem, nor come before it with a shield, nor cast a bank against it.'

This, the most ancient mode of attack, was superseded by the method of effecting an entrance into a besieged place by breaching the wall with battering-rams and engines hurling masses of rock and other missiles with great force. To effect this, however, these engines had to be brought close up to the wall; and the necessity of protecting the soldiers employed in running up these engines or rams, and in working them when in position, gave rise to the system of *approaches*, the rudest idea of which is expressed in the moveable towers or sheds on wheels, which were pushed up to the walls. This system has, in modern days, only been elaborated to suit the altered conditions introduced by science in military operations.

As the power of artillery increased, it became necessary to substitute for the parapet wall a rampart built of a thick mound of earth, the excavation of which formed the ditch. This mound was faced or scarped with brick or masonry to such a height as to render access to the interior impossible except by scaling-ladders; and to prevent this scarped wall, forming the inner side of the ditch, from being brought down in ruins by a distant fire, it was protected by raising on the outer edge of the ditch

ditch an earthen mound or parapet higher than, and sloping gradually towards, the surrounding country.

The increased range and accuracy of hollow projectiles have rendered the old system of closely surrounding a town with a continuous rampart or *enceinte* both useless and dangerous, unless supplemented by a system of detached forts sufficiently in advance to keep an enemy's artillery beyond that distance from which he might destroy the place by his shells. It was the absence of such advanced works at Sedan that enabled the Germans to place their artillery on the heights surrounding the fortress, and compelled the surrender of the French army enclosed within its walls.

A series of such forts disposed on a large circumference constitute a vast entrenched camp, the forts themselves armed with the heaviest known ordnance and requiring comparatively small garrisons, yet affording the most favourable battle positions for a large army, whose flanks would rest on two of the forts and whose front would be effectually protected by their fire.

In general terms, the advantages of such a system are :—1. They oblige an enemy to commence his approaches at a great distance from the place they are designed to protect, thereby preventing its being destroyed by distant bombardment, and rendering it necessary, before such a result can be achieved, that the besiegers should reduce two or more of the adjacent forts by regular approaches and assault. 2. The circumference marked by the forts is so extensive, that, in order to invest them completely, the besiegers must disseminate or spread out their force in such a manner as to be dangerously weak at any one point. 3. The forts composing the system being capable of defence by small garrisons, the bulk of the defensive force is available for offensive action, by sorties on a large scale, against any point in the besiegers' weak line; and these sorties could be repeated daily, the time and point of attack being varied, so that the besiegers could never know when or where they might be attacked. Under these conditions, and supposing the garrison effective, the reduction of such a fortress as we have described should be extremely difficult. By means of sorties, not only would information be obtained as to the intended direction of attack, but the siege works would suffer constant interruption. The troops engaged in these sorties would never be required to advance far from their own secure base; and, both in advancing and retreating, they would be protected by the preponderating fire of the forts.

Applying these remarks to Paris, we learn by the latest accounts

accounts that the garrison consisted of 121,000 troops of the line, 120,000 Mobiles, and 300,000 National Guards; and as General Trochu attributed his long period of inaction to the absence of an adequate supply of field artillery, it may be assumed that his equipment in that particular is now complete.

Supposing an attack to be made on the besiegers' line with 150,000 of the most trustworthy troops, let us examine their chances of success. All accounts agree in stating that the Germans have so strongly entrenched their positions, and have so disposed their numerous field artillery, as to enable them to hold securely any point suddenly attacked, even against very superior numbers. Yet their own numbers at any given point must, of necessity, be perilously weak. The extent of their inner line of investment is fifty miles; that of the outer circle, occupied by the headquarters of the two besieging armies, at least sixty-six miles. Taking fifty miles as the basis, and estimating the Germans at 250,000 men, which is certainly excessive, the average strength at any given point is only in the proportion of 5000 men to one mile. The dispositions of attack being completed, and the troops in their places an hour before daylight, the Germans could not receive more than one hour's notice of the various points against which the attack was to be directed. The real attack being combined with feints in several different directions, some loss of time would result from uncertainty as to which attack might be real and which feigned; because, should the besiegers mistake a feigned for a real attack, they might be induced dangerously to weaken the point against which the latter was about to be directed. Supposing that point well ascertained, how many men could be assembled within an hour for its defence? Even by drawing off every man from their lines for three miles on each side of the point threatened, which obviously they could not venture to do, they could only muster 30,000 men, who would, by the hypothesis, have to withstand a force more than three times their number.

In conducting such a sortie, it is by no means necessary to develop a large front. Where a gap has to be made in an investing line, the operation should be similar in principle to that of carrying a breach; the action that of a battering-ram, or rather, in the case of sorties, that of a wedge, the head hard and weighty with propelling power behind. But the head must be tipped with steel: or, in other words, the head of the attacking column should be composed of troops whom nothing will turn. That being the case, the leading assailants will break in; and a

lodgment

lodgment once made in the besiegers' lines its maintenance should be a certainty, since the defence of the lodgment can be fed both more rapidly and copiously than the attack. In the case under consideration, if the troops on both sides were equal in composition, the success of such a sortie would be mathematically certain ; even as it is, we consider the success of the French in such an operation by no means hopeless.

The fortification of Paris, first mooted in 1830 by Marshal Soult, was only finally sanctioned by the French Chambers in 1840. Paris is now surrounded by a continuous rampart more than seventy feet wide, faced with a wall or scarp thirty feet high, having a ditch in front twenty feet deep, the circuit of which measures twenty-four miles. Outside, at distances from the ramparts varying from one to three miles, is a chain of fifteen forts, not including the Château of Vincennes, and, excepting on the western side, all within such distances from one another that of any system of three adjacent forts the two on the outside can cross their fire at least two miles in advance of the centre fort. Beginning at the north these forts are—1. De la Briche ; 2. St. Denis ; 3. De l'Est (these three constituting the system of St. Denis, three miles from the *enceinte*) ; 4. Aubervilliers, distant from the *enceinte* one mile and a quarter ; 5. Romainville, distant one mile ; 6. Noisy, two miles ; 7. Rosny, three miles ; 8. Nogent, three miles ; 9. Charenton, two miles ; 10. Ivry, one mile and three-quarters ; 11 and 12. Bicêtre and Montrouge, each one mile from the *enceinte* ; 13. Vanves, one mile and a quarter ; 14. Issy, one mile and a half ; 15. Valérien, three miles. These forts are all of perfect construction, the smallest being capable of holding 4000 men.

At the time when the forts were constructed the extreme range of hollow projectiles did not exceed two and a half miles ; and the mind of the engineer failed to grasp the idea that a time would come, as it has come, when the effective range of shells would be five miles. It should, therefore, be remembered that it was with a view to the conditions of artillery science at the time of their construction that the forts were located ; and the disadvantage to the present defence of Paris occasioned by the intervening progress of that science is very considerable. On the north and east, indeed, the forts afford even now a sufficient protection to the city ; but the western and southern fronts are weak, for reasons we shall endeavour to explain.

First, on the west, it will be observed, by reference to a map, that the Seine, flowing from the point of its southern bend at Sèvres to that of its northern bend at St. Denis, covers the *enceinte*

enceinte for an extent of fourteen miles, and is nowhere at a greater distance from the ramparts than two miles; that is to say, everywhere within easy range of the guns from the ramparts. The river here serves the purpose of a wet ditch, the passage of which could not prudently be attempted by an enemy at any point.

One mile from the river and three miles from the enceinte, due west from the centre of the Bois de Bologne, was placed the fort of Valérien, which for its size and strength merits the appellation of a fortress; and this was the only exterior defence along the front of fourteen miles above referred to. Now, the distance of Valérien from St. Denis, the nearest fort on the north, is eight miles; and from Issy, the nearest fort on the south, is six miles; leaving, therefore, a considerable space on each side where the besiegers might approach their batteries to the Seine without the risk of serious injury from the guns of the different forts.

To remedy this defect, the French, after Sedan, interpolated two new works—the redoubts of Courbevoie and Genevilliers—between Valérien and St. Denis; and two others, those of Montretout and Sèvres, between Valérien and Issy; but, before these could be armed, they were forcibly occupied by the Germans, and although the latter subsequently abandoned all but Sèvres, they have been useless to the defence.

Turning now to the south, and commencing from the left, we find the forts Issy, Vanves, Montrouge, Bicêtre, Ivry, located on a range of heights running nearly parallel to the enceinte, at an average distance of one mile and a half. But towards the country there is a second range, parallel to and 200 feet higher than the first, viz. that of Clamart, Chatillon, and Villejuif, which, being only a mile from the line of forts, affords sites for the besiegers' batteries, distant only two and a half miles from the enceinte. Thus the forts which, under the conditions existing at the time of their construction, would have been effective in protecting the city from vertical fire, are not now effective for that purpose. From the heights of Clamart and Chatillon a range of five miles would command the whole of Paris south of the Seine. It is not necessary, therefore, that the besiegers should capture these forts as a preliminary to a bombardment. What is the reason, then, why no such measure has been adopted?

The general mode in which the Germans have waged their war ought to be a sufficient proof that no considerations of sentiment or humanity would be allowed to interfere with any method which might promise success at the earliest possible moment.

And

And we are convinced that the one only reason why two millions of human beings, the greater part being helpless women and children, have been spared the horrors of a bombardment, has been the recognition by the German leaders that in an artillery duel they would have been overmatched. According to a Berlin telegram, dated 19th October, the complete siege train had arrived before Paris before that date, but no attempt has yet been made to mount the guns.

In ordinary sieges the advantage to the assailant consists in the power to choose one corner or angle of the besieged place for attack, and, by the construction of numerous batteries on a long curved line embracing that angle, to obtain a convergent or concentrated fire on the works adjacent to the angle, in reply to which the fire of the besieged must be divergent,—an advantage which results surely in silencing the fire of the place.

But the vast circumference of Paris, which is the principal cause of its strength, renders this method inapplicable. The attack and defence are practically limited to a long straight line; and the besieged have built quite as many earthen batteries between two adjacent forts, for the defence, as the Germans have constructed for the attack. Superiority in an artillery duel would therefore resolve itself into a question of preponderance in number and power of guns.

The composition of the German siege train must be as yet mere matter of conjecture. Trustworthy details of the armament of Paris are likewise wanting; but, as a matter of probability, it ought to be superior both in number and power to that of the besiegers, since the French could have mounted the heaviest known guns at their leisure, and neither the number nor the weight of these was limited before the war by difficulties of transport, which have formed so serious a hindrance to the German operations.

It would be of small advantage to the besieged that they should possess a superior artillery, if they were obliged to distribute their guns equally all round the defences to provide against a possible attack at any point, while the enemy could mass the whole of his heavy guns for the attack of two or three adjacent forts. But these are not the conditions of the case we are considering. Both from their sorties and other means of intelligence the French possess accurate information as to the locality of the German siege trains, and consequently as to the points threatened with attack; and we cannot doubt, therefore, that by means of the circular railway they have been able to concentrate at those points the greater number of their heavy guns.

guns, and that these would be found to be at once more numerous and more powerful than those of the besiegers.*

We are inclined to regard the south-western angle of Paris, towards Sèvres, as the weakest point in the city armour; and Mr. Conybeare, in his valuable letters to the 'Times,' has shown good cause for believing that if the German batteries ever opened fire it would be for the purpose of first reducing the *two* adjacent forts of Issy and Vanves, because their capture would open a larger gap than would be created by the reduction of any other *three* forts, uncovering as it would do the long line of ramparts extending from behind Montrouge to behind Valérien; and because from the sites of Issy and Vanves, supposing them captured, a five-mile range would command all the best parts of the city of Paris, as well north as south of the Seine.

But from the preceding remarks it will be gathered that we do not estimate highly the German chances of success in such an attempt. The earthen batteries of the besieged are interpolated between permanent works erected with masonry, while the besiegers' batteries are all of earth. Some idea may be formed of the difficulty of keeping guns covered under a fire from the artillery of the day, from the result of an experiment made at Shoeburyness in 1863, where the Armstrong 100-pounder shell gun, firing from a distance of 2000 yards, made a clear breach thirty feet wide in a hard-rammed earthen parapet twenty feet thick in three hours. Since that date artillery science has made great advances, and the same result would be now obtained by a gun firing from a distance of 7000 yards. These views are supported by the following extract from a letter of the 'Times' correspondent at Versailles, dated 27th November:—

'I was a little surprised to find the German lines so far retired. It was explained by the advance of the French lines at Villejuif and by the erection of the new batteries which enfiladed part of the former

* A correspondent of the 'Times' has lately shown reason for supposing the following details to be correct:—

The French forts are armed with heavy ship-guns—viz., 10½-inch, throwing a projectile of 500 lbs.; 9½-inch, throwing 300 lbs.; 7½-inch, throwing 180 lbs.; and other pieces ranging from 6½-inch downwards. Besides these, heavy guns have been cast in the Paris foundries for arming the new earthen batteries interpolated between the forts, and at some places constructed considerably in advance; as at Mont Avron, in front of Rosny; Hautes Bruyères and Moulin Saquet, in front of Bicêtre and Ivry; and a new work one mile in front of Valérien, which has lately thrown a shell as far as the outskirts of Versailles.

The most powerful gun at the command of the besiegers is believed by the same writer to be one having a calibre of 9½ inches, and decidedly inferior to the French 10½-inch gun.

position ; and I learnt that my old observatory at the Bavarian redoubt had been utterly razed to the ground by those ruthless forts.'

Indeed there is little doubt that the random fire of the forts has occasioned both much loss and no little extra trouble to the German engineers.

As a sort of compensation to the garrison for their short rations, the besiegers are subject to some special disadvantages from the peculiarity of their position.

As all idea of reducing Paris by force was abandoned, the attitude of the besiegers became purely defensive, and the hardships occasioned by the constant wearying watchfulness necessitated thereby have been very serious. For many weeks it was felt that sorties in force might be expected at any moment ; rendering it necessary to keep large bodies of men at their different alarm-posts at all hours, ready for instant action ; and reminding us of the good old border days, when the troopers

'Carved at the meal with gloves of steel,
And drank the red wine through the helmets barr'd.'

For the same reason the German troops who, in the early days of the siege, dwelt comfortably in houses and villages, were compelled to exchange these for encampments in the open, the sites of which were chosen with a view to rapidity of concentration. It is probable that great hardships and much sickness have been occasioned to the besiegers by this attitude of constant watchfulness.

We must now turn to the actual events of the campaign, which the foregoing remarks are designed to illustrate.

The whole military and political system of France was at this time in a state of hopeless confusion, without any directing head. The absurd arrangement of entrusting the Prefects with the military command of their respective departments, was producing its natural results in disconnected and useless efforts and conflicting authority. Marseilles and Lyons were threatened with a red republican insurrection, which was only prevented by the good sense and patriotism of the masses. The Prefect of Lyons, without a shadow of justification, arrested General Mazure in command of the troops in that city ; and Admiral Fourichon, in disgust because this arbitrary and senseless act was approved by his colleagues of the Government delegation at Tours, resigned the Portfolio of War. On the other hand, thirteen departments banded together to demand the nomination of a general independent of ministerial authority, to organise the defence of the western provinces. Numerous bodies of Francs-tireurs

tireurs wandered independently over the country, inspiring as much terror among the inhabitants as the Germans themselves; and at Tours, under the eyes of the Government delegation, the officers of one of these corps were besieged in their hotel and threatened with death by their mutinous followers. The only hope of extrication from this chaos was in the advent of some capable and energetic man, who should be endowed with supreme authority, and with resolution to enforce it.

The chief interest of the war centred round Paris and Metz. The operations elsewhere have been of minor importance, and have exercised no appreciable influence. The sieges of Schlestadt, Neuf Brisach, Belfort, &c., being exterior to their general line of operations, were only undertaken by the Germans for the purpose of completing the conquest of Alsace, which they had determined to annex to Germany; and our limits forbid any further reference to them.

The fall of Toul and Strasburg, both after a brilliant defence, in the last week of September, liberated 80,000 German troops, part of whom were sent to reinforce the investment of Paris; while the remainder, about 70,000, were formed into an army under the command of General Von Werder, to be employed in subjugating Lyons and the south-east.

Meanwhile a French army had been gathering on the Loire, having its head-quarters at Bourges, about 55 miles south of Orleans, a place containing a large cannon foundry, and of strategical importance, situated as it is within the loop formed by the Loire, and at the junction of the different roads leading to Tours, Blois, Orleans, Gien, and Nevers, all commanding passages over the river.

In the early days of the great siege the Germans drew their subsistence from the zone of country surrounding Paris; but that becoming exhausted, their foraging columns were necessarily detached farther and farther from their supports on all the different roads radiating from the capital; and as large bodies could not be spared for this service, the troops employed therein incurred risk increasing with the distance to which they were detached. Thus the Germans were repulsed with some loss in two attempts to enter St. Quentin, a town lying 100 miles north-east from Paris. They were likewise twice defeated and deprived of the provisions they had collected at Dreux, 50 miles due west from the capital. In revenge they burnt the thriving village of Cherizy, near that town, as well as all the farms and houses along their line of retreat to Houdan. At Ablis, a beautiful village 45 miles from Paris, on the Chartres railroad, a squadron

a squadron of Prussian Hussars, there billeted, were surprised in the night by Francs-tireurs ; as a punishment for which Ablis was afterwards burnt with circumstances of great atrocity.

Early in October the German parties pressed so closely upon Orleans, that General Reyan, with the advanced guard of the Army of the Loire, which had by this time attained a real existence under General La Motterouge, although sadly deficient in discipline and equipment, advancing north of the city, encountered and drove back the Germans from Artenay to Etampes. This sign of life on the part of the French it was thought prudent to stifle at once by detaching from the investing force before Paris the 1st Bavarian Corps under Von der Tann, who on the 10th of October, with his own corps, the 22nd Prussian division, and Prince Albrecht's cavalry, attacked General Reyan at Artenay, and drove him back to the forest of Orleans. Reyan had with him only 15,000 men and one battery of 8-pounders, whilst Von der Tann had sufficient guns to have enabled him to dispense with the greater part of his infantry altogether.

Reyan's beaten and demoralized troops carried dismay into Orleans. On the 11th the Germans attacked the positions of the French in the villages covering the town ; and after a battle lasting from 10 A.M. to 7 P.M., the French retired over the bridges of the Loire in the direction of Bourges.

The army of the Loire before these encounters numbered 60,000 men. Of these, 15,000 were left all day on the 10th to withstand a force three times their numerical strength, and possessing six times their effective value as a military body ; while 45,000 of their comrades were kept idle within easy reach of the battle-field. General La Motterouge was now relieved of his command, and the army of the Loire looked forward to a brighter future under D'Aurelle des Paladines,—a General on the retired list, with the reputation of a resolute soldier and stern disciplinarian, qualities much needed at the time, and of the possession of which he has since given abundant proof.

Meanwhile the *Deus ex machinâ*, the good angel who was to evoke order out of chaos, had descended out of heaven in a balloon. M. Gambetta, after some decidedly sensational aerial adventures, arrived safe at Tours ; and his irrepressible energy, sanguine enthusiasm, and undoubted talent for organisation, soon galvanised into fresh and vigorous life what appeared to be the latest throes of the national resistance.

Gambetta, combining in his own person the functions of the Ministers of War and of the Interior, was now virtually dictator of France. Flying about the country like a meteor, he gave such

such energy to defensive measures that the formation of three new armies was commenced and rapidly effected, viz. :—

1. The Army of the North, under Bourbaki, with head-quarters at Lille.
2. The Army of Brittany, under the Count de Kératry, a Breton noble of ancient lineage and large local influence.
3. The Army of the Centre, with head-quarters at Vendome.

On the 27th October there occurred, in the surrender of Metz, perhaps the most calamitous event for France of this most calamitous war, since it now appears certain that if Bazaine had been able to hold out until the French victory of Bapaume, that is, just fifteen days longer, the Germans must have raised the siege of Paris. The capitulation must always form a dark page in the history of the French army. Our space does not admit of any detail of the siege; but the statement of Marshal Bazaine, if correct, that when he surrendered he had only 65,000 men available for offensive operations, supplies, when collated with the numbers comprised in the capitulation, at once the strongest condemnation of the soldiery and an undeniable excuse for their commander.

The German soldiers treated the inhabitants of Metz with great kindness and consideration, and on the day after the surrender the entire German army voluntarily gave up their bread rations to feed the French prisoners—an instance of generosity we have all the greater pleasure in recording, that we feel it our duty to refer to the behaviour of the rest of the German troops in very different terms.

The surrender of Metz weighted the adverse scale of France's destiny with 225,000 additional enemies. Of the seven corps composing the investing force, the 2nd marched straight to reinforce the besiegers of Paris; the 7th was detailed to garrison Metz and to assist in reducing Longwy and Thionville; the 1st and 8th were led by Manteuffel towards Lille; while the 3rd, 9th, and 10th Corps were led by Prince Frederick Charles towards Orleans,* with the intention of filling the gap between Von der Tann on the Prince's right, and Von Werder, at Dijon on his left, and of afterwards pushing forward their long line systematically to the subjugation of the South.

The 9th October, which witnessed the surrender of Verdun, brought to the French as a compensation in another quarter their first gleam of success. After the battles before Orleans, Von der Tann, reduced to his own corps by the recall of the 22nd division to Paris and the detachment of Prince Albrecht's cavalry to

* It was a marching detachment of Prince Frederick Charles's army that was surprised at Chatillon by Ricciotti Garibaldi.

Chartres, remained inactive on the Loire. A force of 20,000 men, including Prince Albrecht's horsemen, was at Chartres on the 21st October, to hold in check the army of Brittany; and Von der Tann's right flank was covered by a detachment at Chateaudun. Columns of various strength, detached from the investment on the different roads, occasionally suffering a reverse, formed a large semicircle round the west of Paris from Compiègne on the north, by Montdidier, Breteuil, Beauvais, Evreux, Chartres, and Chateaudun, to Orleans on the south.

In the beginning of November the French army of the Loire, divided in four corps, numbered 120,000 men—a fair proportion, comprising Papal Zouaves, Foreign Legion, &c., being old soldiers. The energy of Gambetta had provided it with a respectable field artillery, and the merciful severity of General D'Aurelle had succeeded in establishing a discipline to which French troops had lately been strangers. One corps had been left at Mer, on the north bank of the Loire, to cover Tours; and on the 6th November the remaining three corps, moving from their head-quarters at La Ferté (twelve miles south of Orleans), crossed the river at Beaugency and formed, with the corps from Mer, a general line extending from the Loire, on the right, to Marchenoir, behind the forest of that name, on the left. The communications, with Paris, of Von der Tann who was about Orleans with 25,000 men, being threatened by this disposition, that General on the 7th sent a body of 6000 men to dislodge the French from the forest of Marchenoir, who were repulsed with loss. On the 9th the French advanced to attack Von der Tann, who had meanwhile taken up a position covering his line of retreat towards Paris.

After an obstinate defence, prolonged throughout the day with varying fortune, the Bavarians, greatly outnumbered, fell back on the 10th in good order to Toury, where they were reinforced by 20,000 Germans, who had been summoned from Chartres on the first alarm. On the 11th this force was raised to 60,000 by the arrival of the 13th Corps, under the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, who then assumed the command of the whole. Two guns, a number of provision and ammunition waggons, and about 1000 prisoners—many of the latter being sick and wounded Germans taken in Orleans—were captured by the French. The victory of 'Bacon' came in good time to revive the spirit of Paris and of the Provinces. The history of the siege, from the first investment up to the period at which we have arrived, must be briefly summarised.

On the 30th September the French made their first sortie against Chevilly and l'Hay towards the south, drove in the

enemy's outposts, and penetrated to Thiais and Choisy, where they found strongly-entrenched positions, mounted with field-guns. Being encountered at these places by the German reserves, the French retired in creditable order, having suffered considerably greater losses than they inflicted.

On the 10th October, an attempt made by Gustave Flourens, at the head of the National Guards of Belleville, to transfer the organisation of the defence to the *Commune* of Paris, was frustrated by the firm attitude of the remainder of the National Guard in support of the *de facto* Government.

The spirit of the city was now thoroughly aroused. Large guns were cast for arming the new earthen batteries constructed between the forts, which last were mounted with powerful ship-guns, many of them ranging to a distance of nearly five miles. Field-guns were being turned out in large numbers, and the women of Paris were making a million cartridges daily. Surgeon-Major Wyatt, writing at this time from within the city, says:—

‘The zealous patriotism of all ranks is remarkable, and no exceptions are asked for, the Rothschilds taking their turn of duty on the ramparts, equally with all the other citizens, as privates in the Garde Mobile. The Prussians have now certainly lost all chance of success by assault, for delay has rendered the place almost impregnable.’

The garrison made a second sortie on the 13th October, in three columns, against the besiegers' works on the heights of Clamart, Chatillon, and Bagneux, on the south of the city. Great improvement was apparent in the manner of handling and serving their field-guns, as well as in the manœuvring of their troops.

On the 21st the French, sallying from Valérien, attacked the enemy's lines from Bougival to Garches, and withdrew after four hours' fighting, which was very honourable for the young French troops.

On the 29th, a few battalions of Mobiles, sallying from St. Denis, surprised some companies of Prussian Guards in the village of Le Bourget (about one mile and three-quarters from Fort Aubervilliers, on the road to Brussels). The French held this post until the following day, when, an order having been received by the General commanding the Prussian Guards to retake it *at any cost*, it was recaptured after a desperate resistance, in which both sides suffered heavily. This operation was undertaken without authority from the Governor of Paris, and was altogether a piece of mismanagement, since, if it was desirable to leave a small French force in so advanced a position, it should have been solidly supported.

While the negotiations for an armistice, commenced at Versailles

sailles by M. Thiers on the 4th November, were still in progress, Paris was electrified by the news of the victory of Bacon; and the apprehension that the Government was about to conclude an armistice unfavourable to the defence of Paris, excited a popular tumult, headed by Flourens and his partisans, in the course of which General Trochu and his colleagues were for some hours held prisoners in the Hôtel de Ville. As a consequence of that tumult, the powers of the Government were ratified by a plébiscite of the inhabitants by a vote of five to one; and, armed with this authority, General Trochu announced that disturbers of the public peace, who had been treated up to that time with great indulgence, would be dealt with summarily. From this period until the 29th November the Paris garrison gave no sign of life beyond the fire of the forts and the daily exercise of large bodies of men on the slopes of Valérien.

There is reason for supposing that means of communication beyond balloons and pigeons existed between Paris and Tours, and it is certain that in some manner arrangements on a grand scale were concerted for a combined attack on the investing army, which culminated in the last days of November.

Since the battle of Bacon the opposing French and German armies on the Loire had remained in observation. Recruits flocked daily to the standard of General D'Aurelle. His army was numerically very superior to that which alone barred the road to Paris, and was highly elated by its recent success. But 60,000 Germans, under their best General, were hastening from Metz to reinforce the Duke of Mecklenburg, and their arrival would alter the situation materially to the disadvantage of the French. For reasons not yet wholly apparent, General D'Aurelle allowed the opportunity to pass from him without making a forward movement, and, after some fruitless manoeuvring towards his left, limited his operations to the entrenchment of strong defensive positions before Orleans, which he caused to be armed with heavy ship-guns brought from the arsenal at Rochefort.

Meanwhile great uneasiness had been caused at Versailles by the appearance of bodies of French troops on the roads leading to Paris from Rouen, Evreux, and Dreux, suggesting the belief that the French armies of the North and of Brittany were about to make a convergent movement on Paris in combination with the advance of the Army of the Loire. The direction of Prince Frederick Charles's army, which had been intended to operate against the rear of General D'Aurelle, was accordingly changed towards Fontainebleau and Étampes; while Manteuffel, likewise coming from Metz, whose leading columns had reached Tergnier, the junction of the railways branching to Lille and Amiens,

was directed to march with all speed to the latter place: the general plan being to cover the armies investing Paris with a cordon of troops extending from Beauvais on the north, by Mantes, Dreux and Chartres on the west, to Etampes and Fontainebleau on the south. The northern portion of this line was to be held by Manteuffel's two corps, the western portion by the army of the Duke of Mecklenburg, and the southern portion by the three corps of Prince Frederick Charles; the two last armies being under the chief command of the Prince.

On the 17th and 18th November partial engagements took place along the western front at Evreux, Dreux, and near Chartres. The leading corps (9th) of Prince Frederick Charles arrived on the 19th near Etampes, and was, therefore, in communication with Von der Tann's corps forming the left of the Duke of Mecklenburg's army. The remaining corps of the Prince were, the 3rd one march, the 10th two marches behind.

The French front at this time extended from Marchenoir on the left, across the Paris and Orleans road south of Artenay, to the Gien and Montargis road on the right. The French 16th Corps (General Chanzy) and 17th Corps (Sonny) formed the left; the 15th (Pallière) was behind Artenay; the 20th (Crouzat) about Ladon (9 miles due west from Montargis and 7 south-east from Beaune la Roland); finally the 18th (Bourbaki removed from Lille, but not yet arrived) 4 miles south from Montargis. These five corps constituted the Army of the Loire under the chief command of General D'Aurelle.

Near Le Mans were 25,000 Bretons commanded by Count Kératry, as well as the 21st Corps; and the necessary measure of placing both bodies under the orders of the General in command of the 21st Corps gave such offence to Kératry that he resigned his command in an intemperate letter, which showed more regard for his personal dignity than for the general interests of France.

On the German side, the Duke of Mecklenburg's head-quarters were at Chartres; those of Prince Frederick Charles at Pithievers; their general line curving round from Senonches on the right to Beaune la Roland on the left. Von der Tann's Corps was between Bonneval (9 miles north from Chateaudun) and the Paris and Orleans road: the 9th Prussian Corps was across that road in front of Toury: the 3rd Corps was in front of Pithievers, and the 10th corps, forming the extreme left, was at Beaune la Roland.

The French general position was far the more compact, affording, therefore, superior facilities of concentration. Of these D'Aurelle availed himself to direct, on the 28th, his 20th and 18th Corps from Ladon, and from near Montargis respectively,

tively, against the 10th Prussian Corps at Beaune la Rolande. The battle raged six hours, and the Germans would have suffered defeat but for the arrival of Prince Frederick Charles with part of the 3rd Corps from Pithievers just as the battle seemed lost. If his arrival had been delayed only one hour he would have met the 10th Corps in full retreat; and the two victorious French corps might then have marched to Paris by Fontainebleau, thereby striking the rear of the investing position held by the Würtembergers about Bonneuil.

This attack of the 28th, which was concerted with General Trochu in Paris, throws a clear light on the object proposed to himself by the latter in his sorties of the 29th, on which day Ducrot's attack on Villiers, postponed to the 30th on account of the rising of the Marne, was to have been made simultaneously with the demonstrations against Choisy and other points of the investing circle. Trochu's plan was evidently limited to effecting a lodgment on the further side of the Marne, close to the besiegers' lines, and holding it until the arrival of the 60,000 French who fought at Beaune, which, had the latter succeeded, might have been looked for on the 1st of December. General Trochu entirely fulfilled his part of the programme, as will be shown farther on; and it is obvious that if an attack had been made on the rear of the Würtembergers by the troops coming from Beaune, at the same time that Ducrot assailed them in front, the Germans must have raised the investment for the purpose of concentrating to fight a great battle.

On the evening of the 30th, news having been received of Ducrot's success before Paris, it was determined by M. Gambetta to make a great effort to give effect to the plan above sketched by a general forward movement of the Loire army.

Meanwhile Prince Frederick Charles, warned by his narrow escape at Beaune, had directed the Duke of Mecklenburg to close in towards the centre. Before this could be effected, however, the 16th and 17th French Corps under Chanzy and Sonnis attacked and defeated Von der Tann at Patay, occupying at nightfall all the positions held by the latter in the morning. Had they pushed on somewhat further, the communication between Von der Tann and the Duke of Mecklenburg would have been severed. But the latter, having joined Von der Tann during the night with large reinforcements, on the 2nd delivered the *contre-coup*, regained the positions captured by the French on the previous day, and interposed between the two French corps engaged and Pallières's 15th Corps, which, in consequence of the exposure of its left flank, fell back before the Prussian 9th Corps to Chevilly.

On

On the 3rd, Prince Frederick Charles directed his 9th Corps against Pallières's 15th French Corps at Chevilly, and his 3rd Corps from Pithievers against Crouzat's 20th Corps at Chilleureau-bois (due east from Artenay on the road from Orleans to Pithievers). His 10th Corps was advanced from Beaumont so as to interpose between the French 18th Corps at Ladon, and the 20th about to be attacked at Chilleure. Both German attacks were successful. The 15th French Corps retreated on Orleans ; the 20th Corps, prevented from gaining Orleans by the turning of its left, retreated across the Loire at Jargeau towards Vierzon. The 18th French Corps, thus isolated, retired to Sully on the Loire (about midway between Jargeau and Gien), and thence by Gien towards Bourges. These two corps then pursued their retreat separately, and were ultimately united at Bourges, with the 15th Corps coming direct from Orleans, under Bourbaki. On the other flank the 16th and 17th French Corps had been forced to retire in the direction of Meung ; and hence it resulted that the 15th Corps under Pallières was alone available for the defence of Orleans, which, notwithstanding its entrenchments armed with heavy guns, was entered by the Germans at 2 A.M. on the 5th, after a battle which had lasted from 3 P.M. until after dark on Sunday the 4th.

The 15th Corps, after crossing the river at Orleans, retreated on Vierzon.

The German armies now separated, to follow the French on the two divergent lines of their retreat. The Duke of Mecklenburg moved against General Chanzy along the north bank. That of the 9th Prussian Corps marched against Blois by the south bank ; and according to a telegram from Versailles occupied the suburb of the city on that side after an engagement with the French troops, who appear to have crossed over to Blois, breaking the bridge behind them, on the 9th. The bulk of the 9th and the 3rd Prussian Corps pursued the retreating 18th and 20th French Corps towards Gien and Vierzon ; while the 10th Prussian Corps was left to garrison Orleans.

On the 7th the Duke of Mecklenburg attacked Chanzy in front of Beaugency, but the latter held his ground.

On the 8th the Germans renewed the attack, and claimed to have captured six guns and 1000 prisoners, allowing however that 'our losses are not inconsiderable.'

On the 9th the French, who, according to German accounts, had been badly defeated on the previous day, took the offensive. The Duke of Mecklenburg, in humble imitation of his illustrious master, telegraphed to his wife with reference to this engagement :—' The enemy attacked us violently, but was victoriously repulsed

repulsed by the advance of the 17th and 22nd divisions. God was with us. Our losses were smaller than yesterday.'

On the 10th the Grand Duke, who, by his own account, had intended to give his army a day of much-needed repose, was again violently attacked by Chanzy.

On the 11th the Bavarian Corps of Von der Tann, being relieved by the 10th Corps from Orleans, was sent back to garrison that city. This splendid military body, which had been marching and fighting incessantly for thirty days, and which left Germany 30,000 strong, was now reduced, according to a statement of the 'Times' Correspondent writing from Meung on the 9th December, to 5000 effectives.

After the retreat from Orleans, General D'Aurelle was succeeded in the command of the army of the Loire by General Chanzy. The time has hardly arrived, nor have we much space, for criticizing his operations. In view of the technical inferiority of the French, by reason of which two German soldiers may be moderately estimated as being equal to three French, the arrangement by which corps was opposed to corps during the actions before Orleans gave to the Germans practically that superiority of concentration on which all success in war must depend. It would have been more prudent to draw in the French corps, spread out like the circumference of an open fan across the different roads centering on Orleans, so as to cover that city on a shorter line, thereby bringing the several corps into closer communication, and preventing that separation which proved fatal to the defence of Orleans. The fact that the 18th Corps on the right was obliged to retire excentrically across the Loire without striking a blow, seems an instance of bad generalship on the part of General D'Aurelle, which from his antecedents we should have judged impossible; but we reserve our opinion on this point until in possession of accurate details.

That the French army should have been fighting in the open field at all when we recall the helpless condition of France after Sedan, is not a little surprising. But that they should have fought, within thirteen days, ten such battles as Beaune la Rolande, Patay, Bazoches, Chevilly, Chilleure, Orleans, and the four battles about Beaugency, on terms so nearly equal, sometimes superior, against the best German troops, effecting their retreat on all but one occasion without serious loss or confusion—is little less than a miracle, and reflects the highest honour on General D'Aurelle and the subordinate Generals who organised and commanded the army of the Loire.

We now turn to the stirring events meanwhile occurring before Paris.

On

On Sunday, 27th November, General Trochu began to concentrate his troops towards the points destined for attack. During the whole of the 28th, the streets were filled with armed men marching towards the south and south-western quarters of the city. At eleven the same night Forts Charenton and Ivry opened a fearful fire, which was caught up by Bicêtre, Montrouge, Vanves, and Issy, and by the formidable redoubts recently constructed at Moulin Saquet, and Hautes Bruyères; and aided by gunboats, which from a position above Port à l'Anglais on the Seine, joined in the infernal concert. The plan of operations was to make a real attack against the position held by the Würtembergers and Saxons, between Bonneuil and Noisy-le-Grand; at the same time that demonstrations, more or less serious, were made on the south side against l'Hay and Choisy; and on the west from Valérien against Bougival. On the morning of the 29th, the troops being at their allotted posts, a sudden rise in the waters of the Marne carried away the bridges over which the force led by General Ducrot must pass to the real attack, which was, in consequence, postponed until the subsidence of the waters. But at the appointed hour a strong column sallying from Valérien threatened the German position west of that fortress; while two columns issuing from behind Bicêtre and Ivry, under General Vinoy, made a vigorous attack on l'Hay and Choisy. The last operation was all the more easy that the whole road between Sceaux and Choisy passing by l'Hay and Chevilly was untenable on account of the fire from the newly constructed French redoubts of Hautes Bruyères, and Moulin Saquet. Both places were carried, and just as the German reserves were coming up to retake them, the French, in obedience to an order from General Trochu who found it impossible to execute the more serious part of the programme, retired. The German reserves, on approaching l'Hay and Choisy, suffered great loss from the two new batteries above alluded to, as well as from gunboats on the Seine; and from a new sort of battery, consisting of guns mounted on ironclad carriages run out on the Orleans railroad towards Choisy.

During the succeeding night eight pontoon bridges were thrown over the Marne at Joinville, close under the guns of the double redoubt of Gravelle and la Faisanderie; and at Nogent. As soon as it was light, two strong columns under Generals Renault and Blanchard, with their artillery, rapidly executed the passage of the river at those points, and, covered by the fire of the double redoubt above named, of the Forts of Vincennes, Nogent, and Rosny, and of the newly constructed batteries on Mont Avron in front of the latter, advanced and carried the

villages

villages of Champigny and Brie, which the French held in spite of the enemy's efforts to dispossess them. Meanwhile a third French column marched up the Marne as far as Neuilly, there crossed the river, and co-operated with their comrades from Brie in an attack on Villiers, an important post in the investing line, which was carried after a fierce contest. Having been once taken by the French, all that was wanting to hold it was men coming on in rapid succession. The French supply of men was practically unlimited, and we conclude, therefore, that the maintenance of this post so far in advance did not enter into General Trochu's plan. However that may be, the Germans ultimately regained possession of Villiers; and the French at the close of day held solidly the villages of Champigny and Brie, which in the morning had been German posts, and which in possession of the French were a standing menace to the safety of the main line of investment, only 2000 yards distant. While the fight was raging in these quarters, another French column debouching by Charenton, attacked and carried Mont Mesley in front of Creteil at noon, but were unable to maintain it against the attack of the German reserves in the after part of the day.

On the north, columns sallying the same day from St. Denis carried the villages of Le Bourget, Stains, and Epinay, but retired, after accomplishing their object of alarming the Germans in that quarter, and so preventing them from weakening that part of their lines by the detachment of troops.

After leaving the French in quiet possession of their gains during the 1st December, arrangements were made in the succeeding night, in obedience to orders from the German leaders to retake Champigny and Brie *at all hazards*, for the attack of those places on the morning of the 2nd. It is a singular fact that, although the French had every reason to expect such an attack, they were surprised in both villages at seven in the morning, while engaged in making their eternal *soupe*, and driven out with the loss of 300 prisoners captured in Brie. And now commenced a fire from Nogent, Rosny, and Mont Avron, which is described by experienced soldiers as more tremendous than any they had ever before witnessed. No shelter could be found from Noisy down to the near end of Champigny. Houses were battered to ruins, trees were smashed into fragments, and men fell dead and wounded everywhere. It is not, therefore, surprising that the French regained possession of Brie and Champigny, although the Germans still continued to hold a post at their extreme end of the latter village.

The slaughter on both days was great. On the 30th the French probably suffered equally with their enemies, since they were

were the assailants, the fire of their forts restoring the balance of loss which must otherwise have been against them. But on the 2nd the German losses must have far exceeded those of the French. The accounts furnished from Versailles are quite untrustworthy; but the partial correspondent of a very partial journal has estimated the loss of the Germans in the two days' fighting at a minimum of 8000. The loss of the French has been officially stated at 1008 killed and 5022 wounded.

On the afternoon of the 3rd the mass of the French withdrew across the Marne unmolested to the shelter of Vincennes, leaving garrisons in the villages which had been the occasion of so much slaughter; and these garrisons were finally withdrawn on the evening of the 4th.

The time and direction of these sorties were plainly concerted with General D'Aurelle, and the final evacuation of the villages was only determined by the intelligence that the latter had missed his blow.

With reference to the operations of the 30th November, it was first of all denied by most of the writers in the English papers that the French had obtained any success at all. When that position was untenable, the French were represented as having obtained possession of 'two trumpery villages, whatever good that might do them;' and 'the general result only proved that any attempt to break the investing line must be hopeless.'

Now, in fact, the advantages achieved by the French were very decided, morally and physically.

Morally, on account of the immense encouragement derived by the garrison and population of Paris from the result of the two days' fighting, and from the conviction founded thereon that they could break the investing line whenever they might attempt it. Villiers, an important post in that line, having been captured, the most difficult part of the operation was accomplished: to maintain that post was merely a question of numbers. The French general could easily concentrate at Vincennes and Nogent, only three miles in the direct rear, 100,000 men, to feed the defence of Villiers after its capture by the French; whereas the Germans, to feed the attack, supposing them entirely to denude their lines of troops to a distance of three miles on each side, which they could not venture to do, could only bring together 30,000 men. As a matter of fact, on the 30th, when they received attack, they were able to concentrate only 18,000 men for defence; and on the 2nd December, when about to deliver attack, after preparing and marching troops throughout the whole previous night, the utmost they could bring up was 25,000 men.

We

We are convinced by these considerations that if General Trochu had really intended to break out of Paris, without reference to the circumstances and position of the army of the Loire, he would have directed such a stream of troops on Villiers after its capture by the French as would have defied all attempts of the enemy to retake it. The reinforcements could come up in rear, exposed only to casualties from distant field-guns, which, revealing their position by their fire, would be engaged by the forts.

The physical advantage gained by the French on the 30th consisted in effecting two *lodgments* for ulterior operations, covering the passage of the river and on the enemy's side of it, and affording points of concentration for large bodies of troops, within twenty minutes' march of the investing line. Although these lodgments have been abandoned, they may be considered as practically in the hands of the French, since they can again occupy them at will; and the proof that this is the case is one of the advantages derived from the experience of the great sortie.

While these events were occurring before Paris and on the Loire, General Manteuffel was overrunning the Northern provinces. On the 27th November he defeated the French army of the North in front of Amiens, entered that town as a conqueror, thence marched to Rouen, and, after exacting from it, according to the 'Gazette de France,' a fine of fifteen millions of francs, divided his army into three bodies, one of which made a demonstration against Havre, while another occupied Dieppe, but retired again after two days; a third appeared at Evreux as if with the intention of marching on Cherbourg; an operation, however, which Manteuffel is far too good a general to attempt with the French Army of the North daily receiving accessions in his rear.

It will be easy to gather from the foregoing pages that we consider the success of France at the present time, in so far as concerns the conquest of an honourable peace, as by no means hopeless. All depends on the temper of the French people, which, however, would seem to be rather rising than depressed. A very remarkable statement appears in the 'Daily News,' said to be on the authority of Captain Hozier, that the two armies of Prince Frederick Charles and the Duke of Mecklenburg, now operating towards Bourges and Tours, do not exceed 90,000 men. They possess, however, a great advantage in their four divisions of excellent cavalry, and in the numbers and efficiency of their field artillery. Yet they have gone perilously deep into the country, and the tide of resistance is rising around them. The three entrenched camps said to have been formed by the French on the

the coast, of which Havre is one, may exercise a signal influence on the final result; since they afford secure points of retreat for the French armies if beaten, and since the new levies therein assembled may, before Paris is ready to yield, be in a condition to reinforce the field armies for an advance to relieve it.

The Landwehr portions of the German armies are heartily tired of the war, which is not surprising, when we hear of one regiment, 2400 men, who have left 7000 children in their villages to pray for their return.

The non-Prussian German people, too, are becoming restive, and at Dresden and Frankfort discontent is openly expressed at the continuance of the war for purposes of Prussian aggrandisement.

Add to this the hourly increasing difficulty of keeping open the communication with Germany, and the prospects of the invaders on the eve of the New Year are by no means unclouded.

We have already expressed in no doubtful language our reprobation of the continuance of the war after the fall of Sedan for the conquest of territory. But we cannot close this article without protesting against the mode in which that war has been waged by the Germans—a mode of which the assertion, that the French would have behaved as badly in an enemy's country, is no extenuation. Up to the battle of Sedan the conduct of the victorious troops did honour to 'Fatherland,' and we gladly bore testimony, in the last number of this Review, to the general good behaviour of the German troops.* But, since Sedan, we regret to see that a great change has taken place; and the conclusion is irresistibly forced upon us that the soldiers are only obeying orders from above in practising a calculated refinement of pillage, and ruin, and general brutality, for the purpose of cowing all resistance on the part of the French people.

The exorbitant fines levied on unresisting towns, of which 15 million francs exacted from Rouen is the latest instance; the shooting of peasants and Francs-tireurs in cold blood by the score; the burning of villages, as Bazeilles, Ablis, Chérizy, Falaise, Beaurepaire, and others—thus visiting on a helpless population the justifiable acts of resistance on the part of Mobiles and Francs-tireurs which the villagers had no power to prevent, are unhappily but too well established.

Mr. Bullock, writing from Falaise to the 'Daily News,' on November 9th, says that the burning of Bazeilles, with the revolting details of which we are familiar, was an act of vengeance wreaked 'on victims of whose innocence I have

* See 'Quarterly Review' for October, 1870, page 451.

been at the utmost pains to convince myself.' He then refers to 'Beaurepaire, which nine days ago was a hamlet containing thirty families, but is now a little Bazeilles with a single family lodging in the single outhouse that remains.' This village was burnt by German troops sent for that purpose by the Commandant of Grand Prè, because the Germans had been fired at by Francs-tireurs from the neighbouring woods. From these burnt villages the women and little children were unhoused at the beginning of winter, 'besides losing the bulk of their linen, clothes, and bed furniture, which is, as a rule, plundered in the first instance by the German soldiers, and then sold by them to the Jews and others who are reported to follow the camp in waggons.'

A French pastor, for whose credibility we can vouch, writing in the 'Times' under the heading of 'A Cry from Dreux,' describes the barbarity with which the Germans, *acting by order*, burnt the village of Cherizy, by sprinkling furniture and wood-work with a composition of petroleum which they carry for incendiary purposes, in revenge for their having been repulsed by Francs-tireurs a few days before in an attack on Dreux :—

'On their way back to Houdan, they set fire to all the detached houses they found on their way, and having reached the hamlet of Mezangère, they entered the first farm, a magnificent agricultural establishment, the monumental entrance gate of which attracts the attention of passers-by. The farmer, terrified by the fate of Chérizy, sought to escape it by offering all that he possessed. The soldiers accepted refreshments, but showed none the less their sinister intentions of executing the barbarous orders they had received. When the farmer saw them quietly taking up the matches from the mantelpiece he entreated them with tears, for the sake of his wife and of his five children, to spare him. Vain supplications, useless tears; they went, without manifesting either emotion or regret, to set fire to the barns, full of the products of the year's peaceful labours. I saw from my windows, in the space of three kilometres, four dwellings which reddened the sky with gloomy light. It was a scene which filled the mind with an indescribable sadness. I went, twenty-seven hours after, into the hamlet, the houses of which were reduced to heaps of ruins. Having entered the farm once so prosperous, I saw in one of the buildings to the left an enormous fire, which I perceived on approaching was consuming the last remains of the stores of corn.'

Again, the same writer,—

'The requisitions of the Prussians are without measure; they do not leave a village till they have carried off everything. So great is the terror they inspire that we hear on all sides of suicides, of women throwing themselves into wells, of old men hanging themselves, of whole families suffocating themselves. A great number of people have become mad.'

Another

Another writer in the 'Daily News,' dating from Thionville, describes the condition of Haute Yutz, a neighbouring village distinguished by its wretched state :—

' It has lost everything. Early in the war the inhabitants were driven from it by Prussian orders, and had to take refuge in the country round ; in some cases it was only at the point of the bayonet that the people were forced to leave their once happy homes. In the wars of Napoleon I. this village was burnt by the Prussians. In the present instance the houses were left, but the people were forbidden to touch the potatoes in their fields. In disobedience to these orders, one man, Jean Klupp, and two children, were shot in the fields while trying to get some of their own potatoes. By this ruthless act seven orphan children have been left destitute. On their return to the village, after the fall of Thionville, the people found every house stripped to the bare walls, the furniture, doors, and windows and cupboards broken up and burnt for firewood by the soldiery. Three houses are burnt entirely, and the village altogether is in a sad state of destitution, two hundred souls requiring immediate relief.'

Mr. Thomas, writing to the 'Pall Mall Gazette' from Marly, near Versailles, on October 8th, after describing the condition of many villages on the road which he traversed from Chalons to Versailles, thus continues :—

' But things got worse as we proceeded. At the village of Boissy St. Leger most of the inhabitants had fled. Here the place was entirely sacked, as also the town of Villeneuve St. George, close by. The wanton destruction is beyond description. The soldiers seemed to take a savage delight in breaking everything they could not carry away or make use of. The horses were accommodated in the cafés, and the tables, chairs, cooking utensils, and beds carried into the fields for the soldiers who were encamped there. All the live stock and the contents of the gardens are taken wholesale. I went into a very good house about fifteen kilometres from Boissy, on the road to Versailles. There was not a whole or sound thing in the house except the piano, which was uninjured. Every cupboard, drawer, and desk had been smashed open, and the contents heaped together in endless confusion. In the bedrooms the contents of the wardrobes were lying about, the clothing of the family who inhabited the house being scattered all over the place. Even the children's toys were destroyed, the chimney ornaments and the looking-glasses sharing the same fate. At the Château of Gros Bois, the residence of the Prince of Wagram, I saw an officer carry off one of the carriages and some harness, although he had been entertained by the steward left in charge of the place. All the horses had been taken, as well as the sheep and other animals. We stopped for two hours at a very large farmhouse and distillery on the north side of Paris. It was in a lamentable condition. Everything that man could do to destroy the place was done, except burning it. From the dwelling-house to the

the distillery literally everything was smashed and destroyed ; in the distillery the machine-work was all broken up, the wheels and pipes being rendered useless ; and the staves of the barrels driven in. There was a pond in the middle of the farmyard, and into this the carts and waggons had been upset.'

Space would fail to recount one tithe of the barbarities of the same nature which have been perpetrated by the servants of the pious King of Prussia :—

‘Sed nullis ille movetur
Fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit.’

But a darker indictment remains behind, in respect to the wholesale executions of peasants found with arms, and of Francs-tireurs, whose offence is that they have practised against an invader in their own country precisely the same means of injury and annoyance as are prescribed by authoritative instructions for the guidance of the Prussian Landsturm or sedentary militia in the event of Prussia being invaded, as has been pointed out by the ‘Pall Mall Gazette.’ By those instructions the men of the Landsturm are to wear no uniform but a military cap and belt ; they are to shoot at their enemies from behind hedges, haystacks, houses ; to inflict every possible injury upon them ; and ‘if the enemy should appear in superior strength, the arms, caps, and belts are to be hid, and the men appear as simple inhabitants.’

By the ‘Landsturm Ordnung,’ published in 1813, and still in force, in the event of Prussia being invaded, every able-bodied man not serving with either the line or the landwehr, is required to join the landsturm battalion of his district to assist in that sacred struggle against an invader which sanctions every means. ‘The clergy of all denominations are to be ordered, as soon as the war breaks out, to preach insurrection, to paint French oppression in the blackest colours, to remind the people of the Jews under the Maccabees, and to call upon them to follow their example. . . . Every clergyman is to administer an oath to his parishioners that they will not surrender any provisions, arms, &c., to the enemy until compelled by actual force.’

As a Commentary on these instructions we copy the following from the ‘Pall Mall Gazette’ :—

‘The Berlin ‘Börsen Courier’ reports, under date Versailles, Nov. 20 :—“Yesterday the first wounded and prisoners arrived from the action near Dreux, on the 17th. Short work was made with the Francs-tireurs, and an example was made of them ; they were placed in a row, and one after the other got a bullet through his head. A general order

order for the whole army has been published, forbidding most expressly to bring them in as prisoners, and ordering to shoot them down by drumhead court-martial wherever they show themselves. Against these disgracefully cowardly brigands and ragamuffins [Lumpengesindel] such a proceeding has become an absolute necessity." Again, the Vienna 'Tagespresse' says, under the same date:—"In the forest of Villeneuve you could have seen, for the last week, four Francs-tireurs strung up for shooting at our Uhlans from the woods."

'These are but a few instances which might be multiplied almost infinitely, so that it appears a settled purpose with the Prussians to carry on these brutalities up to the end of the war.'

We are aware that the accepted military code has always been severe on guerillas and armed peasants; and the danger to which small parties of troops are exposed from enemies who exercise the acts of soldiers, without any distinctive military mark from which their hostile intent may be assumed, must in ordinary cases be held to create a deplorable necessity for severe measures. But the Francs-tireurs certainly do not come under the above description. They are all uniformed, in many different fashions indeed, but distinctly and unequivocally. They are regularly commissioned and brigaded, they are attached to the armies of the districts in which they operate, and if captured cannot conceal or disavow their character.

After the fall of Sedan the French people would have accepted any terms the Germans might have offered short of what they considered national degradation. Such terms being denied them, and not possessing a single body of regular troops in the field; are we to approve the sentiment which appears to pervade the military council of Versailles, that while it is quite a proper thing for them to conquer France, it is insufferably insolent on the part of the French to defend their country? and shall we acquiesce in the high handed doctrine that the resistance of the latter in the only manner left them is justly punishable with death?

We can readily believe that the Prussian monarch who, we are informed by Dr. Russell, is so sensitive 'that the sight of a military funeral produces a deep melancholy, and that his medical advisers have been obliged to forbid His Majesty's visits to the wounded,' did not foresee all the consequences which have resulted from the continuance of the struggle. He imagined that after a triumphant promenade through France his armies would enter Paris unresisted; and he could not deny either to himself or to the German people the gratification of that culminating triumph. Too late he perceived the gigantic blunder both political and military of the step to which he was committed,

mitted, from which retreat was by that time impossible without great sacrifice of prestige: and we confess to a feeling of natural satisfaction at the discovery, that the strategist, who is responsible for the military part of the blunder, is not quite infallible.

Whatever may have been the motives or anticipations of the German leaders, the public opinion of Europe has stigmatised their war since Sedan as one of conquest; and has pronounced that the French people are only in their rights in resisting by every means in their power. The plea of self-preservation therefore, by which the Germans could alone justify their mode of warfare, fails entirely.

'An inhabitant of Chamdôtre writes thus to one of his friends at Lyons: "I am sixty-two years of age; I have three sons in the different levies; I am about to shoulder my rifle as a Franc-tireur. How can we make peace after such sights? They will last us a hundred years. Next spring I shall be dead or in Germany. Good night, the house is burnt."

Who, indeed, can foresee the time when the tradition of these atrocities—

'Steaming up a lamentation and an ancient tale of wrong'—

shall cease to be handed down in France from father to son as a solemn legacy of vengeance?

The events of the war have been of a nature to outrun all anticipation and to discredit all forecast. That without any pressure from terrorism all classes of French should unite their efforts in obedience to a Committee of Management possessing neither inherent power nor authority; that Legitimists, Orleanists, socialists; Catholics and freethinkers; priests and peasants; nobles and artisans; should be fighting shoulder to shoulder under a banner most of them repudiate, deferring all questions of difference until after the soil of France should be cleared of its invaders;—is surely an instance of good sense and patriotism almost unexampled in history, and one that must inspire her well-wishers with the liveliest hopes for the future of France. The efforts of the 'Reds' at Lyons and Marseilles have only served to demonstrate by the completeness of their discomfiture the resolute good sense of the people at large. Even the horrible tragedy of the murder of Monsieur de Moneys has proved by its isolation the immense advances made by the French peasantry in their capacity for self-government. It would be absurd to attribute the spirit and constancy manifested by the French people to a republican form of government which three-fourths of their number repudiate and detest.

And what shall be said of Paris, the luxurious city that

lived deliciously with the great ones of the earth, where gaud and glitter, vanity, frivolity, and vice, lay so thick upon the surface, as to obscure the existence beneath them of the sterling qualities which have thus far sustained the people under the pressure of an overwhelming crisis. Among the many startling surprises of the war, this is the greatest : that it has been found possible to control and even to elevate to the height of patriotic self-sacrifice, a population so vast, so various, so excitable ; and, as proved by past experience, so ungovernable under the influence of revolutionary passions ; a population whose proletariat has long possessed the unenviable supremacy of turbulence and ferocity ; and whose upper classes seemed thoroughly saturated with frivolity and selfishness. The confidence inspired by the military skill and quiet resolution of General Trochu, and by his Spartan purity of character, has been doubtless the principal agent in this consummation. But his success would have been impossible in the absence of those elevated sentiments among the people themselves which he has shaped to subserve his great ends.

All honour then to the French people whose attitude has redeemed the national character. History affords no instance of so sudden a regeneration under the chastening influence of adversity. And can it be pretended that a people who have given such proofs of patience and heroism, whose spirit is so indomitable, whose resources are so vast, are to be blamed for refusing conditions of peace involving, as they believe, national degradation ? The war has now fairly become one of nation against nation. The French fighting at their own doors can afford to lose three men where the Germans lose one. They possess fortified harbours for the protection, and the sea for the supply, of their different armies : and unless they abate their spirit, after struggling on through the pitchy darkness, just as light seems dawning on their efforts, we hold it as, at least, not impossible that the nation which is fighting in defence of its own hearths will ultimately prevail.

Let us contrast the present position of France with that of another European power described by Lord Macaulay at the end of the fourth year of a desperate struggle for existence :—

‘ At the beginning of November the net seemed to have closed completely round him [Frederick]. The Russians were in the field, and were spreading devastation through his eastern provinces. Silesia was overrun by the Austrians. A great French army was advancing from the west under the command of Marshal Soubise. Berlin itself had been taken and plundered by the Croatians.

‘ It seemed impossible that the Prussian territories, repeatedly devastated by hundreds of thousands of invaders, could longer support the

the contest. But the King carried on war as no European Power has ever carried on war, except the Committee of Public Safety during the great agony of the French Revolution. He governed his kingdom as he would have governed a besieged town, not caring to what extent property was destroyed, or the pursuits of civil life suspended, so that he did but make head against the enemy. As long as there was a man left in Prussia, that man might carry a musket ; as long as there was a horse left, that horse might draw artillery. The coin was debased ; the civil functionaries were left unpaid ; in some provinces civil government altogether ceased to exist. But there were still rye-bread and potatoes ; there were still lead and gunpowder ; and while the means of sustaining and destroying life remained, Frederick was determined to fight it out to the very last.'

We think the most faint-hearted Frenchman might derive from the above quotation encouragement to prolonged resistance when he reflects that Prussia, whose desperate condition in the Seven Years' War it describes, continued the struggle for two years after the period referred to and came out victorious in the end.

If Von Moltke should ever realise that conception, the details of which, reduced to paper, are said to have been deposited until required for use in the pigeon-hole labelled '*Invasion of England*', would the English Eliphazes and Bildads, who with unwrung withers now preach patience and submission to much afflicted France, dare to offer similar counsels to England in her hour of military adversity ? And supposing London captured and their armies driven north of the Trent, would the English people be content to purchase peace by the cession of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight ? 'If I were an American,' said the great Lord Chatham, 'as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country I would never lay down my arms, never—never—never !' Why should we feel surprise and anger because France, actuated by a like sentiment, has proclaimed that solemn 'pact with victory or death' which has furnished occasion, in her agony, for the sneers of cold-blooded writers ? The prolonged resistance of France is amply justified by her resources and by the spirit of her children ; and in the sacred struggle in which she is now engaged, we here, in the name of all that is generous, manly, and honourable, wish her from our heart 'God speed !'

ART. VI.—*The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Queen Victoria.* By J. Roderick O'Flanagan, M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law, Author of 'Recollections of the Irish Bar,' the 'Bar Life of O'Connell,' &c. In two volumes. London, 1870.

IT has been wittily said that bad books make good reviews, as bad wine makes good vinegar. If this were true, the critics ought to be grateful to Mr. O'Flanagan for the opportunity afforded them by his 'Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland.' It is a bad book, although, with judicious correction and curtailment, it may eventually take rank as a useful compilation. Notwithstanding the amount of anxious labour bestowed upon the composition, we cannot say *materiam superabat opus*; for the conception is better than the execution, and the materials rise superior to the arrangement and the style. Till within living memory, owing to political causes, the Irish Woolsack was practically reserved for Englishmen. The lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland, therefore, are almost exclusively the lives of English lawyers; so that the nicest discrimination was required in selecting such portions as relate to their judicial career in Ireland and compressing or rapidly glancing over the rest. Not marking this peculiarity of his subject, Mr. O'Flanagan has overloaded it with general history, English and Irish. But he is rich in traditions and reminiscences; he is well versed in Irish Memoirs and Biographies: he is trustworthy, if not always apposite in his citations; and he blunders honestly when he blunders (which he does very often) in his dates. In a word, despite of its manifold defects, we have found the book capital gleaning ground, and we hope by means of it to illustrate and place in broad relief the most eventful passages of the forensic annals of Ireland—annals forming the brightest pages of her history, the pages of which she has most reason to be proud, almost the only pages which she might write without a blot and read without a tear.

Thomas Moore was wont to relate how, some time after the publication of the first volume of his 'History of Ireland,' a literary lady was kind enough to suggest to him the 'History of Ireland' as an appropriate subject for his pen; and he frankly admitted the suggestion to be a fair test of the limited circulation of his book, which (so far as he had then gone) was exclusively conversant with rude traditions, apocryphal heroes, and mythical events, which read better in poetry than prose. Warned by his example, we have nothing to say to person-

ages

ages like Cormac Mac Art, monarch of Ireland, A.D. 227, who, we are assured by Mr. O'Flanagan, 'was distinguished for his devotion to literature, and is said to have regained his ancestral throne by his intellectual powers ;' nor do we care to meddle in detail with the Chancellors who flourished in the dark ages, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, when the office was more political than judicial, and was indiscriminately bestowed on lawyers, churchmen, powerful nobles, and men of the sword. Thus, in 1449, Richard, Duke of York, being appointed Viceroy of Ireland, made his son, Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Rutland, Lord Chancellor. In 1483 the Great Seal was entrusted to Sir Thomas Fitz Gerald (brother of the Earl of Kildare, Lord-Deputy), who, on the civil war breaking out anew, resigned it for the battle-axe, and fell fighting valiantly in the command of a division at the battle of Stoke. Nicholas, Lord Howth, led the billmen on foot at the well-named battle of Knocktough (hill of slaughter), fought on August 10, 1504, and was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1509.

Archiepiscopal Chancellors abounded on each side of the Irish channel ; and we so repeatedly find the Great Seal in the possession of an Archbishop of Dublin, that the dignities seem to have had an affinity to each other at these early stages of civil and ecclesiastical administration. One of the most remarkable instances was that of John Alan, Wolsey's chaplain, whom, in 1528, the then all powerful cardinal made Archbishop and Lord Chancellor at once. This double elevation took place in open defiance of that famous Earl of Kildare of whom so many strange stories are related. One, tolerably well known, that on a Lord of the Council saying—'All Ireland cannot govern that Earl,' the King (Henry VIII.) declared 'Then that Earl shall govern all Ireland,' and forthwith made him viceroy. Another, that when he was accused before the same council of having set fire to a cathedral, he excused himself on the ground that he believed the archbishop was in it at the time. And here arises the grave question, whether the archbishop whom he meant to roast, was or was not the cardinal's hated nominee. We find that one of Kildare's first acts as Lord-Deputy was to take away the Great Seal from Alan, and confer it on the Archbishop of Armagh. It further appears that the feud between Alan and the Fitz Gerald's led to his death by violence. During one of their insurrectionary movements against the constituted authorities, after vainly trying to escape to England, he was seized in his bed by a party of the Geraldines, and dragged half-naked before Lord Offaly, the son of his dreaded foe. He fell on his knees and besought the young lord to forget former injuries and respect

respect his calling. Lord Offaly, meaning to spare him, exclaimed in Irish—*Beir naim an bodach* (Take away the churl), which his followers unfortunately misinterpreted, and immediately beat out the Archbishop's brains.

'The Chancellor,' remarks Mr. O'Flanagan, 'in these primitive days, had very extensive jurisdiction, and a proportionate sphere of duty. Besides presiding in the Court of Chancery, attending Parliament, and assisting the Lord-Deputy with his advice; ministering to the wants of his diocese, and the important functions of an archbishop or bishop, he presided as Judge of Assize, and disposed of the business civil and criminal. The absence of the Chancellor in England, in 1380, caused the assizes which were to be holden before him to lapse.'

The mixed character of the office may account for the novel description of duty undertaken by the Lord Chancellor (Trimles-town) in 1537, 'who, with the Archbishop and other members of the council, undertook a converting circuit, which jumbled preaching, hanging, law, and religion, varied by feasting and visiting, in a most extraordinary manner.' Their proceedings at Wexford, as officially reported, may suffice for a specimen:—

'There, the Sunday, my Lord of Dublin preached, having a very great audience, when also were published the King's injunctions. The day following we kept the Sessions there both for the city and the shire, where was put to execution four felons, accompanied with another, a friar, whom, among the residue, we commanded to be hanged in his habit, and so to remain upon the gallows for a mirror to all his brethren to live truly.'

The salary at the institution of the office (1214, *temp. Henry III.*) was forty marks a year, exclusive of fees and perquisites; out of which was to be maintained a special body guard of six men-at-arms and six archers fully equipped for the protection of the Great Seal. It would appear from an application of Alan's to Lord Cromwell in 1531, that the salary, besides being retained at this low figure, was somewhat irregularly paid:—

'And here with us I cannot have the forty mark fee of the Chancellorship, now two years and a half past in arrear, nor yet such money as I laid out [upon the King's letters, as well for ships and mariners' wages, as for reparation done in the King's Chancery, also his castle. Sir, afore God I desire none translation, nor any manner of benefice of cure, or yet of dignity, but only (if it might please the King's highness to have some compassion upon me) a prebend which should cause no murmur of absenty from thence, whereby I might keep a dozen yeomen archers in wages and livery, when I lie in the marches upon the Church lands, to keep me in the King's service from his Irish enemies and English rebels. So knoweth God, who may send you

(when

(when I am out of half my debt) this next year, one hobby, one hawk, and one Limerick mantle, which three things be all the commodities for a gentleman's pleasure in these parts.'

The last of the archiepiscopal Chancellors of Ireland was Boyle,—Archbishop of Dublin in 1663 when he received the Great Seal, and Archbishop of Armagh in 1678. He continued in uninterrupted possession of the office for the unprecedented period of twenty-two years, and it was as an octogenarian, no longer equal to the work, that he was displaced in 1685, on the accession of James II. He was succeeded by Sir Charles Porter, an English lawyer of note, who not complying fast enough with the anti-protestant requisitions of the new regime, was replaced by Sir Alexander Fitton, one of the numerous victims of Lord Macaulay's rhetorical exaggeration. Describing the sweeping subversion of the Protestant interest in Ireland, he says:—

'The highest offices in the State, in the Army, and in the Courts of Justice, were, with scarcely an exception, filled by Papists. A pettifogger named Alexander Fitton, who had been detected in forgery, who had been fined for misconduct by the House of Lords at Westminster, who had been many years in prison, and who was equally deficient in legal knowledge and in the natural good sense and acuteness by which the want of legal knowledge has sometimes been supplied, was Lord Chancellor. His single merit was that he had apostatised from the Protestant religion; and this merit was thought sufficient to wash out even the stain of his Saxon extraction. He soon proved himself worthy of the confidence of his patrons. On the bench of justice he declared that there was not one heretic in forty thousand who was not a villain. He often, after hearing a cause in which the interests of his Church were concerned, postponed his decision, for the purpose, as he avowed, of consulting his spiritual director, a Spanish priest, well read doubtless in Escobar.'

The appointment of this man was so clearly indefensible that Lord Macaulay might have been content to state the plain truth concerning him. The term 'pettifogger' conveys the impression of a low, mean, and sharp practitioner. Now, it nowhere appears that Fitton, although bred to the bar, ever practised at all, and it was in pushing his claims as the undoubted representative of an old family of knightly rank, that he fell under the imputation of forgery. A document produced on his behalf in the course of a prolonged litigation with his relative Lord Brandon, was pronounced spurious; but the evidence was conflicting, and the House of Lords, who (the case not being judicially before them) committed him and his witnesses for contempt, notoriously acted on the instigation of his noble antagonist, under the

the pretence of upholding the dignity of their order. His real offence in their eyes was the implied reflection on a peer. Mr. O'Flanagan, who defends Fitton with the excusable zeal of a co-religionist, plausibly urges his favourable reception by the Irish bench and bar, who were not so wanting in spirit or sense of honour as to associate with or plead complacently before a pettifogger or a gaolbird, and he bears strong testimony to Fitton's comparative efficiency as a judge:—‘There are nearly a hundred Chancery decrees, made during the reign of James II., enrolled. I have looked carefully through those made while Lord Gawsorth (Fitton) held the Great Seal, but could observe nothing to mark ignorance of his duty or incapacity to perform it. He confirms reports, dismisses bills, decrees in favour of awards, grants injunctions, with the confidence of an experienced Equity Judge.’

The chances are that Fitton knew quite as much of law and equity as the common run of preceding Irish Chancellors, or as Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Chancellor of England in 1672, who had no legal training at all. The ‘spiritual director’ whom Fitton was wont to consult about his decisions was Dr. Stafford, a Doctor of the Civil Law and a Master in Chancery, who was in high esteem for learning and probity, whether he had or had not been ‘a Spanish priest, well read, doubtless, in Escobar.’ Fitton, compelled to beat a hasty retreat after the battle of the Boyne, was attainted and fled to France, where he died. ‘Whether’ (adds Mr. O’Flanagan, quoting Ormond’s ‘History of Cheshire’) ‘the conduct of Fitton before he was made Chancellor was criminal or innocent, God only can judge, but His hand fell heavily upon the representatives of the Fittons of Gawsorth. In less than half a century the husbands of its two co-heiresses, James Duke of Hamilton and Charles Lord Mohun, were slain by each other in a murderous duel, arising out of a dispute relative to a partition of the Fitton estates; and Gawsorth itself passed into an unlineal hand by a series of alienations complicated beyond example in the annals of this county.’

On the forced retreat of Fitton, Sir Charles Porter was re-appointed, and quitted with reluctance his quiet chambers in the Temple to resume the anxious duties of the post. He seems to have had an instinctive foreknowledge of the trials in store for him, for, having the misfortune to differ with the Viceroy (Lord Capel) touching the Treaty of Limerick, he fell under the ban of the more violent of the dominant party, and articles of impeachment were moved against him by Colonel Ponsonby in the Irish House of Commons, for partiality, corruption,

ruption, arbitrary proceedings above the law, and (the pith of the whole) favouring Papists against Protestants. A quarrel between the two Houses, touching the attendance of peers as witnesses, offered him a plausible opportunity for evading inquiry; but, conscious of his innocence, he manfully presented himself at the bar of the Lower House, where (according to the journals) 'being admitted with the purse, a chair being placed for him on the right hand, within the bar, he laid down the purse and his hat, and, at the back of the chair, uncovered, was heard what he could say on the articles exhibited against him.' What he said (of which there is no record) was so much to the purpose that the articles were rejected by a majority of 121 against 77. But the affair was not destined to end here. As he was driving home his coach tried to pass another:—

This was the coach of Rochfort, Speaker of the House of Commons and Attorney-General, a violent enemy of the Lord Chancellor. A stray glare of light happening to fall upon the Chancellor's equipage, as the two vehicles were nearly in collision, the Speaker instantly called aloud for the Chancellor's coachman to keep back. This peremptory mandate being either unheard or unheeded, *the Speaker, in his robes, darted from his coach, and disregarding danger and dirt, seized hold of the reins of the Chancellor's horses, and brought them on their haunches.* With a petulance and littleness unworthy such an occasion, he ordered his mace to be produced from his coach, and thrust it before the Chancellor's coachman, declaring "That he would be run down by no man, and would justify what he did."

'The Lord Chancellor, with wise discretion, took no personal part in this street rencontre. He made no attempt to drag his mace through the mire, and was content to allow the Speaker's carriage precedence while their route lay in the same direction.'

It would have been quite in keeping with the manners of the period had the Lord Chancellor called out the Speaker and decided the question of privilege by an exchange of shots; but Porter's English breeding preserved him from the contagion of Irish folly, and he adopted the more reasonable step of complaining to the Lords of the personal affront put upon him and them. They were nowise reluctant to back him up and formally demanded an explanation; but all the answer they got was, that 'as the matter was purely accidental, it could not be looked on as a designed affront to their Lordships in the person of their Speaker.' It is recorded (by Mr. H. Roscoe in 'Westminster Hall') of a Lord Chancellor of England (Northington), whose state-coach was impeded by a carman, that 'he swore by God, that if he had been in his private coach, he would have got out and beat the d—d rascal to a jelly.'

Porter

Porter died of apoplexy on June 15, 1677, and was succeeded by John Methuen, who, though called to the Bar, had diverged into diplomacy, and was actually accredited envoy to Portugal, when, happening to be in London on leave, he was selected to hold the Irish Great Seal. His qualifications, which were rather of the negative sort, are stated in Vernon's letter of recommendation to the Duke of Shrewsbury :—

‘ It will not be judged fit, I suppose, to take any of the Irish lawyers, both as to the country and the factions they are divided into, and one to be sent from hence should not be merely chosen for his abilities at the bar ; and when Sir Charles Porter was sent, I think he might as little have pretended to it as this gentleman, who to his knowledge in the law has added his experience abroad, and his commendable behaviour in the House of Commons.’

He was also, after some short hesitation, taken up by the Lord Chancellor of England, and ‘ the fact,’ remarks Mr. O’Flanagan, ‘ of Lord Somers recommending Methuen to the King, shows that he considered him well qualified for the office.’ It shows, to our mind, that Lord Somers had formed an extremely low estimate of the professional qualifications for the dignity, and the lack of them in this instance proved too glaring to be overlooked. The duties Methuen performed so ill became proportionally irksome to him, and after trifling with them for three or four years, his old post of envoy was opportunely placed at his disposal :—

‘ He gladly accepted the offer made him, and, without a sigh, saw the once coveted Great Seal of Ireland transferred to his veteran successor, Sir Richard Cox. He filled the important office of Ambassador at the Court of Lisbon, and was responsible for the Treaty which bears his name. This Methuen Treaty was so distasteful to the Portuguese, that it is said, when, in 1701, it was carried to King Pedro II. for his signature, he vigorously set to and kicked it about the room. It is likewise related the Ambassador himself was so little pleased with his own work, that he privately advised Queen Anne not to ratify it. The Ambassador died at his post in Lisbon in the year 1706. His death was sudden, and his loss much lamented by the politicians of the time.’

This passage is worthy of Sir Nathaniel Wraxall ; and the most extraordinary confusion of facts and dates prevails throughout in Mr. O’Flanagan’s account of the Methuens. At page 459 we are told that Porter died on June 15, 1697, and was succeeded by Methuen ; at page 491, that Methuen was declared Chancellor of Ireland at a Council held in January, 1696-7 ; at page 495, that Methuen returned to England in December, 1701, and did not again resume his judicial duties in Ireland ; at page 512, that Cox, appointed on Methuen’s resignation, was nominated in July, 1703.

1703. The Methuen Treaty, which Mr. O'Flanagan tells us was made by the ex-Chancellor and kicked about the room by the King of Portugal in 1701, was made by his son Paul, and is dated December 27, 1703.

Hardly any of the early Chancellors of Ireland who rose above the common level, or followed an independent course, escaped an impeachment or a vote of censure by one or other of the two Houses ; and Sir Constantine Phipps (the ancestor of the Marquis of Normanby) must be considered fortunate in finding his case, when prejudged by the Commons, warmly taken up by the Lords. The charge against him was the common and popular one of having injured the Protestant interest by undue liberality towards Papists, and he had given great offence by refusing to join in a procession for celebrating an anniversary held in high honour by the Orangemen. An address to the Queen for his removal was carried in the Lower House on December 13, 1713, which was met and counteracted by addresses of a diametrically opposite tendency from the Upper House and the Convocation. The Lords also directed the prosecution of one of his assailants for saying that 'the Lord Chancellor was a canary bird, a villain, and had set this country by the ears, and ought to be hanged.' He was the friend of Prior and the correspondent of Swift, who, in a letter to Dr. King, relating to the rival addresses, dwells on the inexpediency of giving a triumph to either party. That the assailants obtained none, is patent from the fact that Phipps held his ground till the accession of George I., when a general change of Government took place, and, ceasing to be Lord Chancellor, he resumed his practice at the English Bar, where (we are told) he was much employed by Jacobites and Tories—a fact which goes far to justify the instinctive antipathy of the Irish Williamites.

Phipps was succeeded in 1714 by Sir Alan Brodrick, whose accession to the Irish Woolsack is hailed by the biographer as the commencement of a new era for the Irish Bar, because, although it had rarely been wanting in eminent members, Brodrick was the first on whom the highest prize of the profession had been bestowed—the honour being enhanced by his being at the same time raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Middleton. It must be admitted, however, that the appointment was not altogether the recognition or reward of forensic distinction, although he had risen to the rank of Solicitor-General ; for he was Speaker of the Irish House of Commons from the second year of Queen Anne till his elevation to the Chancellorship—an uninterrupted period of more than eleven years. A principal complaint against the line of alien Chancellors being their affection for their native land and their frequent absence from the proper sphere of their duty,

duty, it was provoking in the extreme to Irish patriots to find the Green Isle no better treated by the most highly favoured of her sons. Onewhile, on the plea of ill-health, and then again on the pretence of private or public business, Lord Midleton was in the habit of paying frequent visits to England, one of which he prolonged to the extraordinary duration of sixteen months. The subject was taken up by the Lords, who appointed a Committee of inquiry, and the result was a resolution to the effect that there had been a failure of justice, owing to the delay of business in the equity courts. His Lordship had gone the length of reducing to writing his fixed determination to resist, come what come might :—

‘ 1. My resolution is never to make it my own act to lay down, but rather to be laid aside, without any cause given by me, as I have been ill-used without any.

‘ 2. Never to decline serving the King while I can be serviceable to him.

‘ 3. Not to make any application to be continued, or to express any willingness to my being so, unless I may do it with honour, which cannot be, in my opinion, till I have reason to think I shall not be so neglected, slighted, and so ill-represented and thanked for my services as I apprehend I have been for some time.’

But his courage oozed away as the impending cloud blackened, and, having offended instead of conciliated the Viceroy, he anticipated the threatened address for his removal by resigning.

The auspicious æra when the Irish Great Seal began to be deemed the appanage of the Irish bar has clearly been antedated by Mr. O’Flanagan ; for the next five Chancellors—West, Wyndham, Jocelyn, Bowes, and Hewitt (Lord Lifford)—were Englishmen, and only one of them, Bowes, earned his promotion in the Irish Courts. The manner in which Hewitt obtained the Irish Great Seal sufficiently shows that Irish claims and feelings were still altogether overlooked or set aside in the disposal of it. He was an English barrister, who had obtained the rank of Serjeant and a seat in Parliament. ‘ The style of his oratory’ (says Mr. O’Flanagan) ‘ may be surmised by the anecdote that Charles Townshend, on leaving the House while Serjeant Hewitt was pounding away on some dull legal question, was asked “ whether the House was up ? ” “ No,” he replied very gravely, “ but the Serjeant is.” From this we may infer that his speeches were regarded as a bore ! ’

The inference is just ; but the anecdote is traditionally told of Burke, who, despite his wonderful powers, was called the Dinner-bell. Hewitt, we need hardly say, did not rise by oratory.

oratory.* He rose by the patronage of Lord Camden, his particular friend, who, on becoming Lord Chancellor of England, immediately intimated that a seat in the King's Bench, about to become vacant, was meant for him. Hewitt hesitated ; he thought he could do better for his family by sticking to politics : in other words, by continuing to bore the House of Commons and the Ministry till they paid him his price for being rid of him. 'He added that Bowes, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was upwards of seventy years of age, and if his Lordship's friendship guaranteed that office, the place of puisne Judge would be accepted as an intermediate step to the expected elevation.' According to our present notions, the consummate coolness of this stipulation is startling ; but Lord Camden acquiesced and gave the promise, conditioned on the Irish Great Seal becoming vacant while he held the English. It thus appears that the Irish Chancellorship stood upon the same footing as the puisne Judgeships in England, which have always been in the gift of the Lord Chancellor when strong enough to insist on his traditional privileges.

Hewitt, created Lord Lifford, held the Irish Great Seal twenty-two years, under nine successive Viceroys, with corresponding changes of Government ; and though the emoluments of his office were then estimated at 12,000*l.* a year, he was the frequent object of Parliamentary bounty in the shape of grants, amounting altogether to 34,000*l.* His tenure of office embraced the brightest and most turbulent period of Irish history,—the Volunteer movement and the Declaration of Independence. It was in his time that Grattan and Flood emulated each other in stirring appeals to the latent energies of their country, whilst Hussey de Burgh painted the situation in the celebrated apostrophe which is the sole authenticated fragment of his oratory : 'Talk not to me of peace ! Ireland is not in a state of peace : it is smothered war. England has sown her laws like dragons' teeth, and they have sprung up armed men !'

How did Hewitt demean himself in this emergency ? We learn from his biographer that, 'while the affairs of Ireland were thus critical, the Lord-Lieutenant was deprived of the advice and assistance of the Lord Chancellor, who was prevented from attending the deliberations of the Castle officials by his indisposition.' His model was the fox, who, when questioned by the

* There was another Serjeant Hewitt, of whom Curran said : 'His speech put me exactly in mind of a familiar utensil called an *extinguisher* : it began at a point, and on it went widening and widening, until at last it fairly put out the question altogether.'

sick lion, had lost the sense of smelling by a cold : he kept in the background whenever the political storm was raging, and a sagacious contemporary has cited him as a marked example of two maxims which are recommended to political aspirants :—

‘ *Be always an actor.* A man who would establish a great character with the world must be a constant actor ; and the best rule to adopt for that purpose is to consider every dress you put on, every time you change cloaks, every change of company or situation, as a new scene in which you have a part to act for praise. Siddons is as great a model as ever I saw on the stage. Mr. Burgh, Ch. Baron, Mr. Perry, and L. Lifford the best off the stage.

‘ *Never give offence to any man ; he will have power to resent.* Almost the only thing by way of observation I ever heard Lord Lifford say worth remembering, though he was one of the wisest practitioners with the world I ever knew, was upon the subject of moderation, which is a branch of temper, *i. e.* dissimulation, of which he was a great master, “ For such a Government as ours,” said he, “ there is scarcely any individual so obscure but may be one time or other sufficiently connected with power to do any man mischief ; no man should, therefore, give offence ; no man is fit for great affairs who has not a total mastery of his temper.” N.B.—Fear was the prudence of his life, caution his shield, and temper his fort.’

These passages are taken from the Diary of Scott, Earl of Clonmel, Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, who was not deficient in the pliability which he commends. He accepted the Attorney-Generalship, offered him by Lord Lifford, with the significant words, ‘ My Lord, you have spoilt a patriot.’

It is difficult to imagine a greater contrast to Lord Lifford than his successor, Lord Clare ; the proudest and haughtiest of men, the most uncompromising of politicians, careless of offence, reckless of consequences, and certainly the greatest of the long list of Lord Chancellors of Ireland ; by which we mean the one who exercised the most commanding influence in that capacity, although equalled or excelled by many in eloquence and law. He was also the first who fairly broke down and discredited the practice of confining the Irish Great Seal to Englishmen ; for he was an Irishman of the most obnoxious sort, belonging by descent to the subject race and faith. His grandfather was a Roman Catholic farmer, and his uncle a priest, at whose suggestion his father was educated at the Irish College in Paris. Whether the future Lord Chancellor was brought up or subsequently turned Protestant, is left in doubt. As his father had made a large fortune at the Bar, John Fitz Gibbon started with every advantage except birth and connection. He obtained, concurrently with Grattan, the highest honours at Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards graduated at Oxford. He was called

called to the Bar in Trinity Term, 1772. The fees at the Irish Bar have been always comparatively low—less by more than a half than what are ordinarily marked on English briefs. When, therefore, we find from Fitz Gibbon's fee-book that he received 343*l.* the first year after his call, it is obvious that he sprang into practice at a bound; and we are compelled to dismiss the statement of a political opponent (Barrington) that he was idle and dissipated, or neglectful of business, as a junior. He joined the Munster Circuit, 'which (according to Mr. O'Flanagan) has always numbered names high in the legal annals of Ireland; and at this period Barry Yelverton, John Philpot Curran, and Hugh Carleton, were acknowledged leaders.' Curran was called to the Bar three years later than Fitz Gibbon, who presented him with his first bag for good luck.*

'Fitz Gibbon was soon a great favourite with the discriminating attorneys of the Munster Circuit. Of slender figure, not very robust health, and rather delicate features, he had the haughty air, the imperious glance, and despotic will of a Roman emperor. He was an able and ready advocate, exceedingly painstaking, always master of his case, and these qualifications ensured him abundance of briefs.'

His college reputation, combined with his successful conduct of the College Election Petition of 1778, led to his being chosen Member for the University of Dublin in 1780; and he speedily established a parliamentary reputation by a style of speaking which made him dangerous as an opponent and eminently useful as an ally. Bold, rapid, aggressive, and incisive, he supplied the want of high eloquence and close argument by forcible invective or stinging personality, and often gave an air of success to a bad or losing cause by the arrogant affectation of superiority. Strange to say, it was a Liberal Government that first engaged his services, and it was, in a great measure, owing to the recommendation of Grattan that he became Attorney-General for Ireland (overleaping the intermediate step of Solicitor-General) in 1783. Mr. George Ponsonby disapproved the appointment, and Mr. Daly replied to a friend who spoke of Fitz Gibbon's patriotic tendencies, 'You are quite mistaken, that little fellow will deceive you all.' And so he did, but not with malice prepense, not in a way to justify a charge of treachery or dissimulation. Officially bound to uphold law and order, it stands to reason that a man of his temper must, sooner or later, break with a party which pleaded for liberty in a tone bordering on licentious-

* 'Life of Curran, by his Son,' vol. i. p. 168, second edition. Mr. O'Flanagan gives the date, 1775, of Curran's call in a note to the same page in which he mentions Curran amongst the acknowledged leaders when Fitz Gibbon joined the circuit! This is what we call blundering in good faith.

ness and not unfrequently insulted or defied authority. One of the earliest occasions when they learnt what they had to expect at his hands, was when Mr. Flood brought forward the Reform Bill adopted by the Volunteer Delegates, attired in his Volunteer uniform, as if to intimate the nature of the propelling influence at his back.

‘I did hope,’ said Fitz Gibbon, ‘that some new proof of the necessity of reform would be urged, and that we should not be entertained with the flights of visionary speculatists, with the vagaries of theory and absurd hypothesis; but we endure all this because the wise men of 1783 cannot reconcile certain abstract ideas of irrational system-mongers in England with the free and happy constitution of this country. I do not oppose the introduction of the Bill, because it is *a farrago of nonsense, a compound of constitutional absurdities*, and directly contrary to the first response of the great Dungannon oracle. No, I will oppose it because it comes under the mandate of a turbulent military congress.’

His daring spirit was conspicuously displayed when (September, 1784) a meeting was held in Dublin, under the presidency of the High Sheriffs, at which it was moved and carried that delegates should attend a National Congress. The first step taken by the Attorney-General was to address a letter to the Sheriffs, warning them that they had been guilty of a most outrageous breach of duty, and that, if they proceeded to call any such election, he should hold it his duty to prosecute them. The next, to attend when his letter was read and in the midst of the menacing uproar produced by it, to persevere in addressing the meeting and dare the Sheriffs to take the chair. The Sheriffs shrank from the responsibility, and the project of a National Congress was abandoned; but the Attorney-General, not satisfied with his triumph, proceeded against the most active Sheriff by attachment in the King’s Bench, thereby treating the mere act of convening the meeting as a contempt of court. The King’s Bench found the Sheriff guilty, and sentenced him to a small fine, by way of establishing the illegality of his conduct. The affair was brought before the Irish House of Commons (February 24, 1785), and led to an angry altercation between Fitz Gibbon and Curran, from which may be dated their deadly and lifelong feud. When Curran rose, Fitz Gibbon was slumbering or pretending to slumber on the ministerial bench:—

‘I hope,’ Curran began, ‘I may be allowed to speak to this great question without disturbing the sleep of any right honourable Member; and yet perhaps I ought rather to envy than to blame his tranquillity. I do not feel myself so happily tempered as to be lulled to

rest

rest by the storms that shake the land, but if they invite rest to any, that rest ought not to be lavished on the guilty spirit.'

When, in the English House of Commons, a member who had been making a tedious harangue suddenly paused and remarked that the Minister, Lord North, was asleep—'I wish to God I was!' was the only notice he provoked. Fitz Gibbon was not given to pleasantry of any sort, much less good-humoured pleasantry, and his reply was in his bitterest and most contemptuous style. In the course of it he said, in reference to Curran's comments on the judgment of the King's Bench, that 'it was vain for any puny babbler with vile calumny to blast the Judges of the land.' This called up Curran again:—

'The gentleman has called me *babbler*. I cannot think that this is meant as a disgrace, because in another Parliament, before I had the honour of a seat in this House, and when I was in the gallery, I have heard a young lawyer called *babbler*—the Attorney-General. I do not indeed recollect that there were sponsors at the baptismal font, nor was there any occasion, as the infant had promised and vowed so many things in his own name. Indeed, Sir, I find it difficult to reply, for I am not accustomed to pronounce a panegyric on myself. I do not well know how to do it; but since I cannot tell the House what I am, I will tell what I am not. I am not a young man whose respect in person and character depends on the importance of my office.' I am not a man who thrusts himself into the foreground of a picture which ought to be occupied by a better figure. I am not a man who replies by invective when sinking beneath the weight of argument. I am not a man who denied the necessity of Parliamentary reform at a time when I proved the expediency of it by reviling my own constituents, the parish-clerk, the sexton, and the gravedigger: and if there is any man who can apply what *I am not to himself*, I leave him to think of it in the Committee, and contemplate it when he goes home.'

The retort is not felicitous, and suggests a second parallel with Lord North, who, on Fox referring to him as 'that thing, termed a Minister,' replied: 'The right honourable gentleman has called me "a thing," and an unshapely thing I am'—patting his round stomach—'taken by itself, the term would have been neither polite nor parliamentary; but when he called me "that thing, termed a Minister," he called me that which he himself is most anxious to become, and therefore I take it as a compliment.'

In the 'Life of Curran by his Son,' it is stated that 'although he appears here to have commenced hostilities, he was apprised of Fitz Gibbon's having given out in the ministerial circle that he should take an opportunity in this debate of *putting down the young patriot*. The Duchess of Rutland and all the ladies of the

Castle were present in the gallery to witness what Mr. Curran called, in the course of the debate, "this exhibition by command." According to the same authority, this debate led to the duel. Mr. Charles Phillips, who had made a similar statement in the first edition of 'Curran and his Contemporaries,' states in the edition of 1850 that he had been mistaken; that the duel resulted from an attack made by Fitz Gibbon during the discussion on Orde's propositions in August, 1785; that the exhibition by command took place then, and that the challenge was provoked by Curran's animadversion upon a sentence of Fitz Gibbon's—'Ireland is a nation easily roused, and easily appeased.' Now this sentence was notoriously uttered by Fitz Gibbon four years afterwards, during which he had been in constant conflict with Curran; and the occasion (to which we shall come presently) was too memorable to leave the smallest doubt upon the point.

One of the strongest arguments for the Union was based upon the split between the English and Irish Parliaments on the Regency question. The Irish Parliament adopted the view taken by the English Whigs, and the utmost efforts of the Irish officials proved unavailing to carry out the wishes and policy of Mr. Pitt. Fitz Gibbon took the lead with characteristic energy and intemperance, and on the motion for an address to the Prince of Wales requesting His Royal Highness to assume the government of this realm, declared the proposed address to be not only improper but treasonable, adding that 'such was the opinion of the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justice, and every lawyer whose approbation could give weight to his (Fitz Gibbon's) opinion.' Ponsonby quietly replied, 'Whatever respect I have for the right honourable gentleman's talents, I never relied much on his assertions, and as I never myself use assertions for arguments, I hope he will excuse me from believing his.' Curran went further, as if resolved never to be distanced in personality:—

'I have heard strange language from the Attorney-General. It was more like the language of an attorney than that of an Attorney-General: it was that kind of silly fatuity that, on any other subject, I would leave to be answered by silence and contempt; but when blasphemy is uttered against the Constitution, it would not pass under its insignificance, because the essence should be reprehended, though the doctrine could not make a proselyte.'

At the dictation of the Attorney-General, who was now strong enough to dictate, fifteen men of the highest rank, beginning with the Duke of Leinster, were summarily dismissed from places and pensions to the amount of 20,000*l.* a year; and Mr. Pitt

wrote

wrote him a letter of thanks, concluding, 'Allow me to add how happy I feel personally at such a moment in being embarked in the same boat with you.'

In a debate in August, 1789, on Mr. Flood's resolution declaratory of the rights of the Irish Parliament, the quarrel between Fitz Gibbon and Curran came to a crisis. It was after Curran had spoken that Fitz Gibbon uttered his offensive apothegm: 'If Ireland seeks to quarrel with Great Britain, she is a besotted nation. Great Britain is not easily aroused, nor easily appeased; Ireland is easily aroused, and easily put down.' He was here called to order by Flood, who declared 'he had never heard more mischievous or more inflammatory language, nor more saucy folly.' Flood was called to order in his turn, and the Attorney-General continuing, turned fiercely round on Curran:—

'The politically insane gentleman (Mr. Curran) has asserted much, but he only emitted some effusions of the witticisms of his fancy. His declamation, indeed, was better calculated for the stage of Saddler's Wells than the floor of a House of Commons. A mountebank, with but one half the honourable gentleman's theatrical talent for rant, would undoubtedly make his fortune. However, I am somewhat surprised he should entertain such a particular asperity against me, as I never did him any favour. But, perhaps, the honourable gentleman imagines he may talk himself into consequence; if so, I should be sorry to obstruct his promotion; he is heartily welcome to attack me. One thing, however, I will assure him, that I hold him in so small a degree of estimation, either as a man or a lawyer, that I shall never hereafter deign to make him any answer.'

The traditional story is that Curran rose and stung Fitz Gibbon to the quick by retorting 'what the right honourable gentleman had said of his country is true of himself: *he* is easily roused and as easily appeased.' The point is weakened by dilution in the report:—

'I have been told by the right honourable gentleman, that I have poured forth some effusion of fancy. That is a charge I shall never be able to retort upon him. He has said I am insane. For my part, were I the man who, when all debate had subsided—who, when the Bill had fallen to the ground, and was given up, had risen for the purpose of pronouncing an inflammatory speech against my country, I should be obliged to any friend who would excuse my conduct by attributing it to insanity. Were I a man possessed of so much arrogance as to set up the ideas of my own little head against the opinion of the nation, I would thank the friend who would say, "Heed him not, he is insane;" nay, if I were such a man, I would thank the friend who would send me to Bedlam. If I knew one man who was easily roused and as easily appeased, I would not give his character as that of the whole nation. The right honourable gentleman says he

never came here with written speeches. I never suspected him of it; and I believe there is not a gentleman in this House, who, having heard what has fallen from him, will ever suspect him of writing speeches. But I will not pursue him further. I will not combat with a young fencer. When a pass is made at me by a young arm, I will content myself with warding it off. I will not enter into a conflict in which victory can gain no honour. The right honourable gentleman should have known that on former occasions I was merciful in my resentment.'

Directly after the debate Fitz Gibbon challenged Curran; and the combatants, after being duly placed, were left to fire when they chose. Curran fired first and missed. 'I never,' he told Phillips, 'saw anyone whose deliberation was more malignant than Fitz Gibbon's. After I had fired, he took aim at me for more than half-a-minute; and on its proving ineffectual, I could not help exclaiming to him, "Mr. Attorney, you certainly were *deliberate enough*."'*

Scenes of violent altercation leading to duels were of constant occurrence; but the duels were generally bloodless, and the personalities were to a singular and unaccountable extent harmless or inappropriate. It was simply absurd for Fitz Gibbon to speak of Curran as a puny babbler, or for Curran to treat Fitz Gibbon, in the maturity of age, reputation, and authority, as a "young fencer" with whom it was beneath him to cross swords. The warfare of the English House of Commons was marked by a more generous spirit and a more elevated tone. That there was no wish to depreciate is shown by the frequent use of a quotation which was successively applied by Walpole to Chatham, by Pitt to Fox, and by Canning to Brougham—

‘Stetimus tela aspera contra,
Contulimusque manus: experto credite, quantus
In clipeum assurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam.’

The fashionable attendance in the gallery of the Irish House of Commons encouraged unseemly exhibitions in two ways: by stimulating the desire for display and by preventing the interference of the Speaker, who would have fallen into marked dis-

* The precise circumstances of this duel are as difficult to fix as the date. Mr. H. Grattan, who places it in August, 1785, says:—'Mr. Ogle was second to the Attorney-General. He was a man of courage, certainly. But the matter terminated in a manner by no means creditable to his friend. The parties were to fire by signal: Fitz Gibbon did not do so; but, reserving his fire, he took deliberate aim at Mr. Curran, and, having missed him, walked off the ground without receiving or even asking for an apology, or firing a second time, although he had been the challenger, in a case where the object had been to obtain satisfaction' (*Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan*). This is incredible. No seconds would have permitted it, and Curran made no complaint of unfairness.

favour with the fair portion of the audience if he had balked them of their promised entertainment. The privilege of speaking a second time (except in Committee) is strictly confined to explanation. Yet in the well-known scene of crimination and recrimination between Flood and Grattan, they were permitted to make several speeches each, exclusively composed of invective and abuse.

Fitz Gibbon's social success kept pace with his political ascendancy. He rivalled General St. Leger in devotion to the beautiful Duchess of Rutland; and a supper given by him in her honour after an amateur performance at the Shaw's Court Theatre was the grand event of the spring season of 1786. Private theatricals were then the rage, and so many of the performers at this theatre were members of the House of Commons that the first representation was postponed till Parliament was prorogued. On one occasion when the performance of scenes from 'Macbeth' at a private house was to be followed by a supper, a real banquet with well-filled dishes and decanters was laid out for the scene in which Banquo's ghost appears, and the intended guests were seated round the table. The part of Macbeth was acted by Flood, that of the ghost by Sir Hercules Langrishe, who, seeing a bottle of claret temptingly within reach, coolly helped himself to a bumper and drank it off. This was too much for the risible faculties of the gravest: all tragic emotion was at an end; and Flood, vowing that the incident had been meditated to destroy the effect of what he deemed his masterpiece, called out Sir Hercules, and the affair was forthwith referred to Bushe and another senator; who, after more than one conference, arranged that Sir Hercules should apologise, which he did by saying that he 'was sorry for what had happened; but, being tired and thirsty, if he had given up the claret, he should have given up the ghost.' Sir Hercules Langrishe was the patriot to whom Burke's Letters are addressed, and the *bon vivant* who, being asked whether he had drunk four bottles of claret (the empty bottles were on the table before him) without assistance, replied, 'No, I had the assistance of a bottle of Madeira.'

When the Irish Lord Chancellorship was vacated by the death of Lord Lifford, Fitz Gibbon's claims were so high that it seemed a matter of course for the succession to devolve upon him. He was the master-spirit of the Irish Administration; he had earned and received the warm approval of the Prime Minister; the Lord-Lieutenant (the Marquis of Buckingham) and the Chief Secretary threatened to resign if he was passed over. Yet an obstacle was raised which for a time seemed insurmountable. Thurlow stood upon his prescriptive right as Lord Chancellor of England to nominate

nominate the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and he rested his *veto* upon the almost unbroken practice of never bestowing the office on an Irishman. Mr. O'Flanagan states (what we should be slow to believe without unimpeachable authority) that, after resisting the Prime Minister and the Lord-Lieutenant, the iron-hearted Thurlow yielded to the persuasions or cajoleries of the widowed Duchess of Rutland. Contrary to his usual practice, he condescended to explain his opposition, and did it with a good grace. He wrote a congratulatory letter to Fitz Gibbon, in which he says:—

‘ If it were clear that the precedent of relaxing the rule, out of attention to so much merit, would never be repeated till a similar occasion should offer, the exception would, probably, not hurt the rule. But if it must be repeated, as often as similar merit is claimed, probably the exception eats up the rule.’

Thurlow and Fitz Gibbon were congenial spirits; they were both bold, unbending, arrogant, and insolent: Thurlow being the bluntest and most unprincipled of the two. There is no part of Fitz Gibbon's career, not even that relating to the Union, so open to reproach as Thurlow's double dealing during the king's illness, coupled with the speech (‘ When I forgot my king,’ &c.) which provoked the crushing and profane repartee of Wilkes. Neither the English nor the Irish Chancellor possessed the required amount of learning or practical knowledge. Most of Thurlow's decrees were drawn up by Hargrave, who went by the name of the lion's provider. Fitz Gibbon's method of doing business is thus illustrated by the biographer:—

‘ While Lord Clare was Chancellor, a native of Limerick, who wandered from the banks of the Shannon to those of the Liffey, after watching the progress of an equity cause in the Court of Chancery, and returned to the place whence he came, was asked on his return, “ How the Chancellor got on as a Judge ? ”

“ ‘ Chancellor, indeed ! ’ repeated the Garryown boy; “ ‘ tis he has the asy sate of it. He doesn't speake a word; but when the Counsellors are done argufying, he leans over the desk, and gives a nod to Jack Dwyer, who tells him what to do. ‘ Tis Jack Dwyer ought to be Chancellor, *for he makes all the decrees.*’ ”

This is partially confirmed by Tone in his diary:—

‘ Wolfe is the Chancellor's private tutor in legal matters. Fitz Gibbon has read ‘ Coke upon Littleton’ under his papa. He has a very intelligent clerk to write his papers; he has Boyd to hunt his cases, and he has some talents, great readiness and assurance, and—there is Fitz Gibbon.’ ”

The rancorous enmity with which he pursued his old adversary,

sary, Curran, from the judicial bench, was utterly indefensible. So soon as it became clear that the advocate had not the ear of the Court, no solicitor could employ him without compromising the client's interest: his annual loss of professional income from the ban set upon him is computed by his son at 1000*l.* a year, and he, himself, in a letter to Grattan, wrote:—

‘ I made no compromise with honour. I had the merit of provoking and despising the personal malice of every man in Ireland who was the known enemy of our country. Without the walls of the Courts of Justice my character was pursued with the most persevering slander, and within those walls, though I was too strong to be beaten down by any judicial malignity, it was not so with my clients; and my consequent losses in professional income have never been estimated at less, as you have heard, than 30,000*l.*’

On the rare occasions when he was employed in Lord Clare's Court, he caught eagerly at every opportunity of resenting the ungenerous treatment to which he was systematically exposed. Lord Clare had a favourite dog which was permitted to follow him to the bench. One day, during an argument of Curran's, the Chancellor turned aside and began to fondle the dog, with the obvious view of intimating inattention or disregard. The counsel stopped; the Judge looked up: ‘ I beg pardon,’ continued Curran, ‘ I thought your Lordships had been in consultation; but, as you have been pleased to resume your attention, allow me to impress upon your excellent understandings,’ &c. This half-humorous sally was a fleabite to the bitter revenge he took before a tribunal in which he could command a fair hearing and a sympathising audience. In 1790 one of the most stirring Irish questions was whether the election of the Lord Mayor of Dublin lay with the Aldermen or the Common Council. It came before the Lord-Lieutenant and Privy Council, forming an open and crowded Court, at which the Lord Chancellor presided. Curran appeared as counsel for the popular candidate, and insisted on arguing the case as one involving constitutional rights of the broadest and most important kind. Under the thin disguise of commenting on the line taken by a former Chancellor, Sir Constantine Phipps, on an analogous occasion, he taxed the resources of his fertile fancy for images to insult and stigmatise Lord Clare. Then occurred one of the most remarkable scenes ever exhibited in a court of justice:—

‘ In this very Chamber did a Chancellor and Judges sit, with all the gravity and affected attention to arguments in favour of that liberty and those rights which they conspired to destroy. But to what ends, my Lords, offer arguments to such men? A little peevish mind may be exasperated, but how shall it be corrected by refutation? How

How fruitless would it have been to represent to that wretched Chancellor that he was betraying those rights he was sworn to maintain ; that he was involving a Government in disgrace and a kingdom in panic and consternation ; that he was violating every sacred duty and every solemn engagement that binds him to himself, his country, and his God ! Alas ! my Lords, by what argument could any man hope to reclaim or dissuade a mean, illiberal, and unprincipled minion of authority, induced by his profligacy to undertake, and bound by his avarice and vanity to persevere ? He probably would have replied to the most unanswerable arguments by some cant, contumelious and unmeaning aphorism, delivered with the fretful smile of irritated self-sufficiency and disconcerted arrogance ; or even if he could be dragged by his fears to a consideration of the question, by what miracle could the pigmy capacity of a stunted pedant be enlarged for the reception of the subject ? To endeavour to approach it would have only removed him to a greater distance than he was before, as a little hand that strives to grasp a mighty globe is thrown back by the reaction of its own efforts to comprehend. It may be given to a Hale or a Hardwicke to discover and retract a mistake. The errors of such men are only specks that arise for a moment on the surface of a splendid luminary—consumed by its heat, or irradiated by its light, they soon disappear ; but the perverseness of a mean and narrow intellect are like the excrescences that grow upon a body naturally cold and dark ; no fire to waste them, and no ray to enlighten, they assimilate and coalesce with those qualities so congenial to their nature, and acquire an incorrigible permanence in the union with kindred frost and kindred opacity. Nor indeed, my Lords, except when the interests of millions can be affected by the vice or folly of an individual, need it be much regretted that, to things not worthy of being made better, it hath not pleased Providence to afford the privilege of improvement.

Lord Chancellor.—Surely, Mr. Curran, a gentleman of your eminence in your profession must see that the conduct of former Privy Councils has nothing to do with the question before us. The question lies in the narrowest compass,—it is, whether the Commons have a right of arbitrary and capricious rejection, or are obliged to assign a reasonable cause for their disapprobation ? to that point you have a right to be heard, but I hope you do not mean to *lecture the Council.*

Mr. Curran.—I mean, my Lords, to speak to the case of my clients, and to avail myself of any defence which I conceive applicable to that case. I am not speaking to a single Judge, to a dry point of law, and on a mere forensic subject. I am addressing a very large auditory, consisting of co-ordinate members, of whom the far greater number is not versed in law. I am aware, my Lords, that truth is to be sought only by slow and painful progress ; I know also that error is in its nature flippant and compendious ; it hops with airy and fastidious levity over proofs and arguments, and perches on assertion which it calls conclusion.'

Here

Here the Chancellor interposed again by moving that the Council-chamber be cleared, and when the argument was resumed, Curran made no further attempt to use it as the vehicle of invective or irony. There is no denying that this attack is distinguished by felicitous imagery and extraordinary powers of language, but, like most other ebullitions of the same kind, it is overdone. Lord Clare could afford to smile at being twitted with 'the pigmy capacity of a stunted pedant,' or 'the perverseness of a mean and narrow intellect.'

In pronouncing sentence, as spokesman of the House of Lords, on the Honourable Samuel Butler, a barrister, for signing a political document which their Lordships held to be a seditious libel, Lord Clare said that the offender 'could not plead ignorance, as his noble birth and his professional rank at the Bar—to both of which he was a disgrace—had aggravated his crime.' Butler was sentenced to pay a fine of 500*l.*, and to be imprisoned for six months. As soon as he was released he commissioned Archibald Hamilton Rowan to demand an apology or satisfaction from the Lord Chancellor. Lord Clare calmly referred to his official position and bowed Rowan out, but was not satisfied till he had taken counsel with a military friend, Colonel Murray, who undertook to see Rowan:—

"A pretty piece of work you have made of it, Hamilton," said the Colonel, "taking a challenge to the Chancellor."

"How came you to know what passed between us?" asked Rowan.

"I breakfasted with Fitz Gibbon this morning, and he told me the whole affair," answered the Colonel.

The Irish biographer states that this is the only instance he could find of a challenge to a Lord Chancellor. We are not aware of one of an actual challenge to a judge; but Lord Norbury, when Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, is recorded to have checked a learned brother by the significant hint, that he (Lord N.), in becoming a judge, had not ceased to be a gentleman. It was a favourite boast of his that he began the world with fifty pounds and a pair of hair-trigger pistols. The Provost of Dublin University (Hutchinson) fought Doyle, a Master in Chancery; and so late as 1812 a judge of the old school, Mr. Justice Fletcher, summed up as follows, on the trial of a duellist for murder:—

'Gentlemen, it's my business to lay down the law to you, and I will. The law says the killing a man in a duel is murder, and I am bound to tell you it is murder: therefore in the discharge of my duty I tell you so; but I tell you, at the same time, a *fairer* duel than this I never heard of in the whole *coorse* of my life.'

Rowan,

Rowan, who carried Butler's message to Lord Clare, retained his chivalry to the last. In 1827, at the age of seventy-five, he travelled to London to demand an apology or a meeting from the late Sir Robert Peel, for some expressions used in debate. The affair was amicably adjusted and (we may take it for granted) according to the strictest notions of honour; for the Right Honourable Baronet uniformly acted on the maxim which Grattan, on his death-bed, is said to have impressed on his sons: 'Always be ready with your pistol.' Early in the century the late Sir Alexander Grant, of gastronomic fame, was engaged in an affair of honour, in which the penultimate Marquis of Hertford (then Lord Yarmouth) acted as his friend. It was settled amicably, but Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel remarked, on being told of it by Grant: 'You are well out of the scrape. Yarmouth is the last man I should have chosen; he is a selfish fellow who for his own sake would never permit a meeting. I should take Daly (the fighting opponent of Martin of Galway), who would be sure to bring you off with flying colours, or make you fight.* Sir Robert was the challenger in three affairs which ended peaceably, through no fault of his or his second's, Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Hardinge. One of the three was with O'Connell, who, despite of the vow registered in heaven, accepted the challenge. An Irish newspaper (inspired, it was said, by the Agitator) announced, first, his departure from Dublin, and next 'his arrival at Slaughter's Coffee-house, on his way to a hostile meeting with the Secretary for Ireland' (Peel). The announcement attracted the attention of the authorities; O'Connell was apprehended, and the further prosecution of the affair was stopped. Shortly afterwards, O'Connell was arguing a case in the Irish Common Pleas, and, on the Chief Justice (Norbury) assuming a puzzled look, paused and said: 'Possibly, your lordship does not *apprehend* me.' 'Oh, yes, Mr. O'Connell,' was the reply, 'no one is more easily *apprehended* when he wishes it.'

The taunt was unmerited. O'Connell was personally as well as morally and politically brave. Calling Mr. Charles Phillips aside, just before taking his ground at the meeting with D'Esterre (a dead shot), he said: 'I am obnoxious to a party, and they adopt a false pretence to cut me off. I shall not submit to it. They have reckoned without their host; I promise you I am one of the best shots in Ireland at a mark, having, as a public man, considered it a duty to prepare against such unprovoked aggressions as the present. Now, remember what I say to you. I may be struck myself, and then skill is out of the question;

* Daly was Martin's opponent at the election for the county of Galway, when being asked which would be returned, Martin replied, 'the survivor.'

but,

but, if I am not, my antagonist may have cause to regret his having forced me into this conflict.' The parties were placed at twelve paces' distance, with a case of pistols *each*, and directions to fire when they chose on a given signal. They fired almost together, and D'Esterre fell mortally wounded.

The practice of duelling is so interwoven with the forensic annals of Ireland, that any sketch of them, omitting it, would be incomplete, and these illustrative incidents can hardly be considered a digression.

Unluckily for his reputation, Fitz Gibbon had committed himself decidedly against the Union. It is related that one day, after dinner, a fit of enthusiasm possessed him. 'Talk not to me,' he exclaimed, 'of a union: if a Minister dared to do so, I would fling my office in his face;' and he flounced grandly out of the room. 'Now, mark,' said Daly, 'that is the very man who would support it. That *little* man who talks so *big* would vote for an union—aye, to-morrow.' Immediately on the measure being suggested by the English Ministry, he vehemently urged it on, with objects essentially distinct from theirs, unless, indeed, he very much misunderstood Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Pitt. He wrote thus from London to Lord Castlereagh in Dublin:—

* Grosvenor Square, Oct. 16, 1798.

'I have seen Mr. Pitt, the Chancellor, and the Duke of Portland, who seem to feel so sensibly the very critical situation of our *damnable* country, and that the Union alone can save it. I should have hoped that what has passed would have opened the eyes of every man in England to the insanity of their present conduct with respect to the Papists; but I can very plainly perceive that they were as full of their Popish projects as ever. I trust and hope I am not deceived; that they are fairly inclined to give them up, and to bring the measure forward unencumbered with the doctrine of Emancipation. Lord Cornwallis has intimated his acquiescence on that point, and Mr. Pitt is decided on it, and I think he will keep his colleagues steady.'

All Mr. Pitt could have been decided on was to postpone Emancipation till the Union was completed; for he resigned in 1801, because he was not permitted to satisfy the expectations he had held out to the Catholics.

We described and exemplified in a review of the 'Cornwallis Correspondence' * the extraordinary expedients to which the Government resorted to carry the Union; and it is no secret that the most unscrupulous and highhanded proceedings were especially favoured by Lord Clare. As soon as the measure was carried, he was made a peer of the United Kingdom and eagerly took

* 'Quart. Rev.', No. 209, January, 1859, Art. 1.

part in the debates of the House of Lords, where he rashly attempted to indulge his characteristic arrogance and irritability. On his very first appearance he was twice called to order, and persevering in the alleged irregularity, provoked what reads very like a rebuke from the Woolsack. On another occasion, he was unceremoniously put down by the Duke of Bedford; and he had the ill luck or indiscretion to quarrel with the Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Eldon, with whose anti-Catholic convictions he perfectly agreed. His demeanour on these occasions, indiscreet as it was, belied the character given of him by Grattan, who on its being observed that he was a dangerous man, added, —‘A very dangerous man —to run away from.’ His hostility was not limited to those who were likely to run away from him. Fortunately for his fame, his career on this new and uncongenial stage was brief. He died in January, 1802, at his house, Ely Place, Dublin; and the feelings with which he was regarded by the bulk of the Irish nation broke out with revolting violence at his funeral. The mob which followed the hearse, yelling and shrieking, with curses loud and deep, were with difficulty restrained from heaping filth and mud upon the richly ornamented coffin; and dead cats were hurled at it in memory of a threat attributed to the deceased ‘that he would make the Irish people as tame as domestic cats.’

His unpopularity was the merited result of his besetting sins and bad qualities: his pride, his insolence, his ungovernable temper, his tyrannical disposition, his avowed contempt for his country and his countrymen. But a calm review of his conduct will bring to light actions, views, and sentiments which should go far to mitigate the harshness of the national judgment. During the Irish Rebellion of 1798, far from seeking to entrap the misguided leaders of birth and education, such as Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the Sheares, Emmet, and Lord Edward Fitz Gerald—he caused ample warning to be given to them. ‘Will nobody,’ he wrote to a connection of Lord Edward’s, ‘reason with that rash young man? Will nobody induce him to leave the kingdom? I pledge myself every port shall be left open to him.’ Whilst Lord Edward lay in Newgate (Dublin) delirious from his wound, his aunt, Lady Louisa Connolly, applied in vain to the Lord Lieutenant (Lord Camden) and the Chief Secretary (Lord Castlereagh) for an order to see him. In her despair, she thought of the Lord Chancellor and drove to his house. He had a large dinner-party, and dinner was hardly off the table. He went to her directly and heard her request. ‘Lady Louisa,’ he said, after a pause for reflection, ‘to grant the order is impossible. We have decided in council that none shall be given.

given. But you are a woman, and a near relative. I know of no decision which prohibits my taking you with me.' He went with her at once, and remained three hours in an outer apartment during her interview with her nephew.

In Moore's 'Life of Lord Edward Fitz Gerald,' the most unfavourable impression is conveyed of the (so-called) harsh and cruel conduct of the Irish officials, including the Lord Chancellor, in refusing Lord Edward's family access to him till three hours before his death. On the appearance of the first edition, Catherine Countess of Charleville, who had repeatedly heard the exact particulars related by Lady Louisa Connolly, her intimate friend, sent a note of them to Moore, who seems to have received it in the spirit of the Abbé Vertot when he exclaimed (on the arrival of fresh facts for his History of Malta), '*Mon siège est fait!*' In the third edition of the Life, now before us, there is not the slightest notice of the part taken in procuring the interview by Lord Clare, who still comes in for his full share of the reproaches levelled at the authorities.

When Lord Clare was told that he was dying, he sent for his wife: 'I have but one request to make of you; it is that you will burn all my papers; should they remain after me, hundreds may be compromised.'

On accepting the British peerage, which required frequent absence from his Court, he adopted some judicious measures for preventing the delay of justice; and, enslaved as he was by the spirit of party, he had scruples (too easily silenced) about elevating a mere partisan, notoriously incompetent, to the judgment seat. When Toler (Lord Norbury) was first named, he exclaimed: 'Make him a Chief Justice! Oh, no; if he must mount the bench, make him a bishop, or an archbishop, or—anything but a Chief Justice.'

There is only one witicism recorded of Lord Clare, and we agree with Mr. Phillips that it is good enough to make us wish for more. When Yelverton, then Chief Baron, went over to England on the occasion of George III.'s illness, his companions were Curran, Egan,* and a Mr. Barrett, reputed to be fond of play. 'He travels,' said Fitz Gibbon, 'like a mountebank, with his monkey, his bear, and his sleight-of-hand man.'

'It feels like a relief (observes Mr. O'Flanagan) to turn from the turbulent and fretful career of Lord Clare to the calmer and

—* Egan was a very large man and very hirsute. 'Did you ever see such a chest as this?' he exclaimed, striking his breast. 'A *trunk*, you mean, my dear Egan,' replied Curran. It was Egan, on whom Curran, when they were about to fight a duel, proposed to chalk out his own size, upon an understanding that any shot outside the chalk lines should go for nothing.

more

more equitable course presented by the life of his successor on the woolsack, Lord Redesdale, one of the most eminent, and, certainly, with the exception of Lord St. Leonards, the most distinguished Equity Judge who ever held the Great Seal of Ireland.' Unfortunately the charm of a biography is often in an inverse ratio to the quiet unobtrusive virtues of the man, and an equable course is necessarily less productive of incident than a turbulent one. Excellent lawyer as he was, Lord Redesdale is now principally remembered in Dublin by the jokes made at his expense. An amusing description of his first dinner with the Irish judges and king's counsel is given by Barrington, from which it would seem that his Lordship had himself to thank for the running fire of pleasantries opened on him. He took it into his head to be light and facetious, which was not his forte. After two or three failures, he remarked that, when he was a lad, cock-fighting was the fashion, and that both ladies and gentlemen went full dressed to the cock-pit, the ladies being in hoops. 'I see now, my Lord,' said Toler, 'it was then the term *cock-a-hoop* was invented.' A little disconcerted, the Chancellor produced another reminiscence of his youth, namely, that when people learnt to skate, they carried blown bladders under their arms, to buoy them up if the ice broke. 'Ah, my Lord,' said the same tormentor, 'that is what we call *bladderum skate* in Ireland.' In the hope of effecting a diversion, he next turned to a king's counsel whom he just knew by name: 'Mr. Garrett O'Farrell, I believe you are from the county of Wicklow, where your family have long held considerable property and are very numerous. I think I was introduced to several during my late tour in that county.' 'Yes, my Lord,' replied Mr. O'Farrell, 'we *were* very numerous; but so many of us have lately been hanged for sheep-stealing, that the name is getting rather scarce.' The scene in which Plunket played him off about the kites has been frequently in print.

Although more puzzled than pleased with the habits and peculiar humour of his new associates, Lord Redesdale got on tolerably well with them on the whole; he made valuable additions to their stock of equity, and O'Connell declared before Parliament, 'Lord Redesdale was the best Chancellor I ever saw.'

Lord Redesdale was summarily displaced by the Fox and Grenville Government in 1806, and Mr. George Ponsonby was appointed his successor. This was a strong measure, for Mr. Ponsonby's claims were almost exclusively political; and Mr. O'Flanagan's brief notice of him dwells more on his parliamentary than on his forensic or judicial exploits. His tenure of the Great Seal lasted less than a year; and, retiring on the usual

usual pension, he became for a time leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. His appearance in that capacity is commemorated by one of the cleverest papers in 'The New Whig Guide': 'The Trial of Henry Brougham, for calling Mr. Ponsonby an Old Woman.' In the verses on 'The Choice of Leader,' we find :—

'What boots our debate?'—thus the rebels began ;
'What avails the discussion of topic or plan ?
No plan can succeed and no party can thrive
With a leader who neither can lead us nor drive.

* * * * *

For six mortal years, as rhetorical graces,
We truisms cheer'd, and extoll'd commonplaces ;
Wash'd over with praise every folly and flaw,
And smil'd at his jokes, and look'd grave at his law,
(Could friendship do more?) while indifferent folks
All smil'd at his law and looked grave at his jokes.'

Whatever his legal attainments, he had every title to personal consideration and esteem. He was high born, high bred, and highly connected. His manners were courteous, his integrity unimpeachable, his talents and acquirements above par. It is therefore remarkable that he should have been the chosen butt of the political satirist in England, and that the fiercest dia-tribe and coarsest personalities ever uttered in the Irish House of Commons should have been levelled at him. Toler once answered him thus :—

'What ! was it come to this—that in the Irish House of Commons they should listen to one of their own members degrading the character of an Irish gentleman by language that was but fit for hallooing on a mob ? Had he heard a man out of doors using such language as that by which the honourable gentleman had violated the decorum of Parliament, he would have seized the ruffian by the throat and dragged him to the dust.'

Martin, of Galway, spoke as follows, Mr. Ponsonby's sister being, with some other ladies, in the gallery :—

'These Ponsonbys are the curse of my country. They are prostitutes, personally and politically—from that toothless old hag who is now grinning in the gallery, to that white-livered scoundrel who is now shivering on the floor.'

A duel, a bloodless one, followed. When Martin was asked how he knew that Miss Ponsonby was in the gallery, he replied, 'Oh, I walked down to the House with Ponsonby, and he told me his sister was coming to hear him.'

Reluctant as we are to pass over Lord Manners and Sir Anthony Hart,

Hart, who come next, we really have no alternative; for our remaining space is only just sufficient for a compressed tribute to the memory of Plunket, to whom must be awarded the first place amongst Irish orators, if reason and logic, as well as fancy, wit, humour, and imagination, are to be the tests. Curran's imagination has been compared to virgin gold crumbling from its own richness. Grattan's mind was pre-eminent for fertility and force. But neither of them equalled Plunket in the combination of chasteness and purity with splendour, intensity, and power. His loftiest flights and boldest bursts were tempered and restrained by the severest taste: he never risked an apostrophe, the most dangerous of rhetorical figures or artifices, until the audience were thoroughly warmed for its reception: he was never stiltish, like Sheridan in the most applauded passages of the Begum speech, nor melodramatic, like Burke in the dagger scene: he was never gaudy or flowery; in a word, he was wholly free from the faults popularly attributed to the Irish school of eloquence; and this is the reason why some of his greatest triumphs were won in the English House of Commons, in which Flood failed and Grattan obtained only a qualified success. It was a favourite aphorism of Fox, that if a speech read well, it was not a good speech. Plunket's speeches do read well, and they are emphatically good speeches. It was the opinion of a man steeped to the lips in classic lore, the lamented Sir George Cornewall Lewis, that Plunket came nearer to the Demosthenic model than any other modern orator: awarding the palm for Ciceronian excellence to Pitt.

Plunket has not been fortunate in his biographers. The Life in two volumes, by his grandson, is an imperfect and unsatisfactory work: being especially deficient in accurate reports of the best speeches: * and Mr. O'Flanagan has vainly endeavoured to make up by admiring enthusiasm for his incapacity to grasp so varied and expansive a subject, or to keep to it. As if he had not enough upon his hands without meddling with irrelevant topics, he introduces (*apropos* of Thurlow's being Lord Chancellor when Plunket was a student) Thurlow's well-known reply to the Duke of Grafton; and, *apropos* of Plunket's father having 'found a congenial spirit in a fair daughter of the town washed by the beauteous Lough Erne,' he tells us how the said town (Enniskillen) was once inhabited by 'the Maguires and their tributaries, amongst whom were 'my ancestors the O'Flanagans, Chiefs of Tara, now the barony of Magherabory.' The upshot is that the

* 'The Life, Letters, and Speeches of Lord Plunket. By his Grandson, the Hon. David Plunket. With an Introductory Preface. By Lord Brougham.' In two volumes. London, 1867. There is little in the Introductory Preface which had not already appeared in Lord Brougham's 'Historical Sketches.'

Reverend

Reverend Thomas Plunket, a Presbyterian minister of Enniskillen, married Mary daughter of Mr. Redmund Conyngham of that ilk, and had by her six sons and two daughters, the youngest son being William Conyngham Plunkett, born July 1, 1764. The family removed to Dublin in 1768, where the father died in 1776; leaving little or no fortune beyond a good name, to which the future Chancellor was mainly indebted for his education. The requisite funds were provided by the members of the paternal congregation, and were honourably repaid by him in after life with interest.

He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1779, obtained a scholarship in 1782, and in the course of the same year joined the Historical Society, that nursery of Irish eloquence, in which so many of his most distinguished countrymen have, like him, first assayed their powers and laid the foundation of their fame. As the audiences were not limited to the resident students, the celebrity acquired in it soon spread beyond its walls; and the distinguished position won in this Society was no inconsiderable recommendation to Plunket when (in 1787) he commenced his attendance in the Irish Courts with a view to practice. He had spent the two years preceding his call to the Bar in England reading hard, and his biographer attributes the superiority of tone and judgment of which he gave proof at starting in the conduct of cases, to the opportunities he had enjoyed of studying the best examples of English advocacy, which, it is suggested, was of a less digressive and more sober or prosaic character. 'The English barrister would deem venturing on a flight of impassioned eloquence while discussing a legal proposition as nothing short of absurdity, while an Irish barrister of this period would not have hesitated to indulge in such disporting. We have instances in which the learned counsel reminded the chief of the Court he was addressing of the banquets which they shared—the friends they lost—the tears they mingled.'

He next proceeds to give instances of the Irish fondness for metaphor:—'As for example, one member of the Bar implored the jury not to be influenced "by the dark oblivion of a brow." Another, whose clients had instituted proceedings against a false witness, said—"Gentlemen, my clients are not to be bamboozled. They adopted a bold course. They took the bull by the horns, and *indicted him for perjury*." A third, anticipating the case of his opponents—"I foresee what they are at. I see the storm brewing in the distance, I smell a rat, but *I'll nip it in the bud*." If Mr. O'Flanagan were equally well up in the traditions of the English bar, he would know that sentimental or poetical digressions, with mixed metaphors running riot, have been by no means

peculiar to his countrymen. Erskine was quite as discursive as Curran, and even more egotistical—witness the introduction of the savage with the bundle of sticks in the speech for Stockdale, or the appeal to the probable opinion of his ancestors on a kneebuckle.* We have heard a learned counsel and law author (Archbold) pathetically adjuring the judge of the Bail Court to consider ‘the agonising effects of a *rule nisi*;’ and another (of literary and legal eminence) conclude a dry technical argument before the Common Pleas by reciting from the ‘Merchant of Venice’ the entire passage beginning: ‘The quality of mercy is not strained.’ A quondam leader of the Western Circuit and Vinerian Professor (Philip Williams), in a law lecture at Oxford, spoke thus: ‘The student, launched on an ocean of law, skips like a squirrel from twig to twig, vainly endeavouring to collect the scattered members of Hippolytus.’ Moreover, there was nothing extraordinary or exceptional in an Irish student’s two years’ residence in England for the purposes of legal study; and all things considered, we should be disposed to account for Plunket’s sobriety of fancy and sense of fitness by the inborn qualities of his mind.

Such being the advantages and peculiar merits with which he started, it surprises us to find that his early eminence at the Bar was acquired in criminal cases on the North-Western Circuit; where his keen insight into the humours and habits of the peasantry enabled him to deal with them most effectively in the witness-box. His defence of a horse-dealer made him so popular with the fraternity that one of them was heard exclaiming, ‘I tell you what boys, if I’m lagged for the next horse I steal, by Jabels I’ll have Plunket.’

A prevaricating witness under cross-examination complained that the counsellor had bothered him ‘entirely,’ and given him the *maigrims*. ‘*Maigrims*,’ said Lord Avonmore, ‘I never heard that word before.’ ‘My Lord,’ interposed Plunket, ‘the witness says I have given him the megrims, a bilious affection, merely a confusion of the head arising from the corruption of the heart.’

It was after his talents had been thoroughly tested and appreciated in the higher walks of business, that the leaders of the Opposition became anxious to secure his services as a parliamentary debater, and in the spring of 1798 Lord Charlemont sought an interview for the purpose of offering him a seat. But Lord

* This was in a patent case. In the course of his address to the jury, Erskine held up the buckle and exclaimed theatrically, ‘What would my ancestors have said, could they have seen this miracle of ingenuity!’ ‘You forget,’ remarked Garrow, ‘that your ancestors were unacquainted with the garment for which it was intended.’

Charlemont was opposed to Catholic Emancipation, and they separated with an expression of regret by Plunket, that 'while holding the same political opinions on almost every other topic, on one subject they were not of one mind, and he therefore declined to be a nominee of his Lordship for fear of being obliged to act against his wishes.' He was too valuable a recruit to be let slip in this fashion. Lord Charlemont requested another visit, which ended satisfactorily to both parties, and the patriot Earl afterwards confessed to his son that 'Plunket prevailed over his old prejudice.'

Plunket took his seat for the borough of Charlemont on February 6th, 1798, and almost immediately came into collision with Lord Castlereagh on the all-absorbing topic of the Union. No adversary of that noble Lord assailed him with so much keen sarcasm, so much vehement invective, so much biting personality. Yet Lord Castlereagh bore up against it with his habitual fearlessness and his usual imperturbable mien: never once suffering his temper to be ruffled, nor attempting to bring the Castle system of intimidation into play. Indeed Plunket's occasional vehemence (not to say violence) of language never brought on a duel; nor, so far as we can learn, ever provoked a challenge; the most plausible explanation being that the loftiness of his language redeemed or mitigated its offensiveness, and that a man of his earnest temperament, wrapped up in his subject, neither gives nor takes affronts like one who is evidently aiming at applause and wounds the self-love of others to gratify his own. Certain it is that he took the first opportunity of delivering a meditated diatribe against Lord Castlereagh, which stands unsurpassed for polished bitterness, after giving distinct notice that he was about to stretch the privileges of debate to the uttermost verge. On Barrington's being called to order by Corry and Beresford for denouncing the means which the Government were employing to carry their measure, Plunket rose and said:—

'I have no idea that the freedom of debate shall be controlled by such frequent interruptions. I do not conceive that my honourable friend is out of order, and when my turn comes to speak, I shall repeat these charges in still stronger language, if possible, and indulge gentlemen on the other side of the House with an opportunity of taking down my words, if they have any fancy to do so.'

When his turn came, after forcibly recapitulating the charges of intimidation and corruption, he fell, with the full weight of indignant patriotism and outraged public virtue, on Lord Castlereagh:—

‘ The example of the Prime Minister of England, inimitable in its vices, may deceive the noble Lord. The Minister of England has his faults; he abandoned in his latter years the principles of reform, by professing which he obtained the early confidence of the people of England, and in the whole of his political conduct he has shown himself haughty and intractable; but it must be admitted that he has shown himself by nature endowed with a towering and transcendent intellect, and that the vastness of his moral resources keeps pace with the magnificence and unboundedness of his projects. I thank God it is much more easy for him to transfer his apostasy and his insolence than his comprehension and sagacity, and I feel the safety of my country in the wretched feebleness of her enemy. I cannot fear that the Constitution which has been formed by the wisdom of ages, and cemented by the blood of patriots and of heroes, is to be smitten to its centre by such a *green and sapless twig* as this.’

In reference to the term *sapless*, coupled with ‘impotent instrument’ in the same speech, Mr. O’Flanagan says: ‘There was terrible force in this allusion. It is also said that, when Teeling’s mother was refused pardon for her son, implicated in the rebellion of 1798, she said to Lord Castlereagh: “You cannot comprehend my feelings, my Lord; I remember, you have no child.”’ We fully acquit Plunket of intending any allusion of the sort. Under the show of apologising for vehemence, he grows more vehement:—

‘ But, Sir, we are told that we should discuss this question with calmness and composure. I am called on to surrender my birthright and my honour, and I am told I should be calm and should be composed. National pride! Independence of our country! These, we are told by the Minister, are only vulgar topics fitted but for the meridian of the mob, but unworthy to be mentioned to such an enlightened assembly as this; they are trinkets and gewgaws fit to catch the fancy of childish and unthinking people like you, Sir, or like your predecessor in that Chair, but utterly unworthy the consideration of this House, or of the matured understanding of the noble Lord who condescends to instruct it! Gracious God! We see a Perry ascending from the tomb raising his awful voice to warn us against the surrender of our freedom, and we see that the proud and virtuous feelings, which warm the breast of that aged and venerable man, are only calculated to excite the contempt of this young philosopher, who has been transplanted from the nursery to the Cabinet to outrage the feelings and understanding of the country.’

This fine apostrophe is impaired by the same incongruity which we noted in the railing matches between Curran and Fitz Gibbon. Lord Castlereagh was in his thirtieth year in 1798, and his appearance and manner must have been singularly youthful to give even temporary effect to these sarcasms against his youth.

He

He was, however, always distinguished by his firm, manly, aristocratic bearing, and his self-control. There was not a particle of boyish vivacity or petulance in his composition. No public character has made so perceptible an advance in public estimation as his, in exact proportion as it has become known; and it is clear, from his Correspondence, that the same statesman-like views which he carried out in after life animated him when he was denounced as the narrow-minded foe of his native country on the floor of the Irish House of Commons.

The tendency to make facts subordinate to effects is not peculiar to rhetorical historians; vehement speakers are equally subject to it. Nor are they uniformly discreet. In this same speech Plunket was hurried into a declaration or vow of which he had ample reason to repent:—

‘For my part, I will resist it (the Union) to the last gasp of my existence, and with the last drop of my blood; and, when I feel the hour of my dissolution approaching, I will, like the father of Hannibal, take my children to the altar, and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country’s freedom.’

This is the passage on which Cobbett harped with annoying pertinacity, nicknaming the children the young Hannibals, and periodically reminding the father that, instead of swearing his sons to eternal hostility against the British Government, he had sworn them into good places under it. In the cold, calm, and often chilling atmosphere of the English House of Commons, the orator who soars into the sublime does so at the imminent risk of a collapse. The wings of Mr. Bright’s angel of death, when (in the debate on the Crimean War) ‘You might almost hear their rustling,’ were within an ace of being clipped. But the most excited speaker in the closing days of the Irish Parliament, combating for its existence, was addressing an audience little less excited than himself. Metaphors gathered from every branch of art, science, and literature, were profusely lavished and enthusiastically applauded. Plunket’s answer to the popular argument for an union is an example:—

‘The two Parliaments may clash! So in Great Britain may King and Parliament; but we see they never do so injuriously. There are principles of repulsion! yes; but there are principles of attraction, and from these the enlightened statesman extracts the principle by which the countries are to be harmoniously governed. As soon would I listen to the shallow observer of nature, who should say there is a centrifugal force impressed on our globe, and therefore, lest we should be hurried into the void of space, we ought to rush into the centre to be consumed there. No—I say to this rash arraigner of the dispensations of the Almighty, there are impulses from whose wholesome opposition

opposition eternal wisdom has declared the law by which we revolve in our proper sphere, and at our proper distance. So I say to the political visionary,—from the opposite forces which you object to, I see the wholesome law of imperial connexion derived—I see the two countries preserving their due distance from each other, generating and imparting heat, and light, and life, and health, and vigour; and I will abide by the wisdom and experience of the ages which are passed, in preference to the speculations of any modern philosopher.'

It is no deduction from the oratorical splendour of this passage that the wisdom and experience of the age which had passed told a different story: that the two legislatures could never be made to harmonise, except by keeping the one dependent on the other.

Plunket's excellence in a lighter style was displayed in his reference to the suggestion in the Speech from the Throne, that the carrying of the Union would be a great satisfaction to the Lord Lieutenant in his old age:—

‘I must, for one, beg to be excused from making quite so great a sacrifice, from mere personal civility, to any Lord-Lieutenant, however respectable he may be. The independence of a nation, I must own, does not appear to me exactly that kind of a bagatelle which is to be offered, by way of compliment, either to the youth of the noble Lord (Lord Castlereagh), who honours us by his presence in this House, or the old age of the noble Marquis (Cornwallis), who occasionally sheds his setting lustre over the other. To the first I am disposed to say, in the words of Waller,—

“I pray thee, gentle boy,
Press me no more for that slight toy;”

and to the latter I might apply the language of Lady Constance:—

“That's a good child; go to its grandam—give grandam kingdom, and its grandam will give it a plum, a cherry, and a fig—there's a good grandam.”

‘I hope, therefore, Sir, I shall not be thought impolitic if I decline the offer of the Constitution of Ireland either as a garland to adorn the youthful brow of the Secretary, or to be suspended over the pillow of the Viceroy.’

The Irish lawyers had the strongest personal interest in opposing the Union. Attendance in the British House of Commons was incompatible with their professional duties; and the parliamentary career of Plunket, who could not afford the required sacrifice, was temporarily closed. This did not prevent him from being made Solicitor-General in 1803, and Attorney-General in 1805; the Irish law officers not being required to engage in politics unless they thought fit. He sat for Medhurst during the short Parliament of 1807; and in 1812,

having

having in the mean time secured an independence, was a successful candidate for the University of Dublin, which he represented till he was elevated to the peerage in 1827. He was out of Parliament from 1807 to 1812, and the first speech by which he came fairly before the British House of Commons was on Grattan's motion (February 25, 1813) for Catholic Emancipation. It was more than equal to his fame. It not only excited the warmest admiration, but actually gained votes; a rare, almost unprecedented,feat in the days of the unreformed House, when members were less hampered by constituencies, and party discipline was unrelentingly enforced. Ferguson of Pilfour (the friend of the celebrated Duchess of Gordon), boasted that he had heard many a speech which altered his conviction, never one that had the slightest effort upon his vote. This was the common sentiment; at least amongst members for the northern division of this island; and it materially enhances Plunket's triumph that two of his converts (or perverts, as their friends called them) were Scotch!* Another occasion on which he played a prominent part was on the introduction of the Six Acts in 1819, in the course of which he dwells on the evils of a licentious press, and the danger of discussions which subjected the arcana of Government to the superficial judgment of the masses. Forceful as were his arguments and appropriate his illustrations, we find nothing among them equal to Curran's on the same subject:—‘There are certain fundamental principles which nothing but necessity should expose to public examination; they are pillars, the depth of whose foundation you cannot explore without endangering their strength.’

In reference to Plunket's speech on the press, the late Lord Dudley wrote to the Bishop of Llandaff: ‘Plunket's speech, in answer to Macintosh, was amongst the most perfect replies I ever heard. He assailed the fabric of his adversary, not by an irregular fire that left parts of it standing, but by a complete radical process of demolition that did not leave one stone standing on another.’ The same may be said of his speech in

* The most remarkable instance of gaining votes by a speech was Lord Macaulay's speech on the late Lord Hotham's Bill for excluding the Master of the Rolls and other persons holding judicial offices from the House of Commons. On this occasion the anticipated decision of the House by a large majority was reversed. The late Sir Robert Peel told a member of the present Cabinet that the three speeches most effective for the proposed object which he had ever heard were—Plunket's speech (in 1813) on Catholic Emancipation, Canning's Lisbon Embassy speech, and the speech of Mr. T. C. Smith (afterwards Master of the Rolls in Ireland) in defence of the Irish prosecutions instituted by him as Attorney-General for Ireland. Mr. O'Flanagan places Plunket's first great speech in the Session of 1807; during which, if Hansard has treated him fairly, he never addressed the House at all.

answer to Copley (Lord Lyndhurst) in the Emancipation debate of February, 1825 : although it was not until Copley had spoken for fifteen or twenty minutes that Canning gave up the intention of replying on the instant, and requested Plunket to speak next. We were present, and we could almost fancy that the author of 'The New Timon,' who has painted a lifelike portrait of Plunket, was also present, during the delivery of this speech :—

'Now one glance round, now upwards turns the brow,
Hushed every breath : he rises—mark him now !
No grace in feature, no command in height,
Yet his whole presence fills and awes the sight.
Wherefore ? you ask. I can but guide your guess,
Man has no majesty like earnestness.'

* * *

Tones slow, not loud, but deep drawn from the breast ;
Action unstudied, and at times supprest :
But as he neared some reasonings' massive close,
Strained o'er his bending head his strong arms rose,
And sudden fell, as if from falsehood torn
Some gray old keystone and knocked down with scorn.'

Yet what he displayed on this occasion was not so much what is commonly called eloquence, as the perfection of debating power. He never once warmed into declamation ; it was hard, cold hitting, or pitiless tearing, throughout. He took up Copley's studied sophistries one after the other, crushed them together, broke them to bits, and then flung them aside like rubbish. The powers which he here displayed at the bidding and on the behalf of his political leader and friend, had been called forth once before with a similar result in self-defence, when (in 1823) a vote of censure was moved on him for instituting, as Attorney-General for Ireland, a prosecution for conspiracy against the rioters in the Bottle Riot, so called because the main overt act was throwing a bottle at the Lord-Lieutenant (Lord Wellesley) in the theatre. As Plunket walked down Parliament Street, on his way to meet this attack, he said to Mr. Blake : 'I feel like a man going to execution under an unjust sentence.' From the grandson's account it would appear that his apprehensions were by no means groundless : 'The House received him with indifference, almost with coldness ; gradually, as he commenced his defence, and his spirit was fired by a sense of this unwonted distrust, he rolled forth mass after mass of unanswerable reasoning. The audience could not deny the justice of the cause ; they believed the honesty of the man, and when, at length, he closed with these simple words—"My public conduct I consign to the justice of this House, my private character I confide to

to its honour," it was felt that he had completely vindicated himself.'

On Canning becoming Premier, Plunket was raised to the peerage, and first the Great Seal of Ireland, and then the English Mastership of the Rolls, were intended for him; when he wrote, April 20, 1827, to a friend: 'Things have taken a turn, to me very distressing—the result, in short, is, I am a peer, and for the present without office. The Rolls I declined, not being able to reconcile myself to act against the feeling of a great number of the profession against the appointment of an Irishman, or rather an Irish barrister. Tell my friends not to question me or be surprised.' The double disappointment was somewhat mitigated by the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas in Ireland, Lord Norbury having been induced to retire in his favour, and in January, 1830, he at length reached the Irish Woolsack, which he retained till June, 1841, when he was literally jockeyed out of it by the Whigs to make way for Lord Campbell, or (as the late Sir Robert Peel put it) 'to gratify the vanity of, certainly, an eminent and distinguished lawyer by a six weeks' tenure of office.' The series of manœuvres by which this undeniable job was carried might not have been attempted, or might have been met and counteracted, if Lord Plunket's judicial career had been as successful as his forensic and political. The contrary is confessedly the fact. His admirers are compelled to admit that he discharged the duties of his high office in a hasty and perfunctory manner. 'He would not stoop to the mechanical drudgery of writing out his judgments whenever he could possibly avoid it; and he was indifferent as to their revision and correction; nor, so far as appears from his own judgments, did he take much trouble to acquaint himself with the decisions of contemporary judges.' This negligence has been injurious to his reputation; and little or nothing beyond fragments and scattered sayings—*disjecta membra*—has been preserved of what fell from him on the Bench.

A ruffian, wrought up to the verge of madness by drink and temper, was brought before the Court of Chancery for insulting and threatening the officers. The Lord Chancellor addressed him in these words:—

'You offer, sir, in your own person, an apt illustration of the legal term *furious*, which defines the condition of mind that a man attains by the long and uncontrollable indulgence of a brutal and savage temper, till at length he stands on the narrow isthmus—the thin line of demarcation—which separates the end of ruffianism from the beginning of insanity.'

The

The most celebrated of his images is that of Time with the hourglass and the scythe, which he employed to illustrate the effect of the Statute of Limitations. We give what strikes us to be the best among several versions:—

‘If Time destroys the evidence of title, the laws have wisely and humanely made length of possession a substitute for that which has been destroyed. He comes with his scythe in one hand to mow down the immunity of our rights; but, in his other hand, the lawgiver has placed an hour-glass, by which he metes out incessantly those portions of duration, which render needless the evidence he has swept away.’

This passage was introduced with striking fitness and effect by Lord Lytton in one of his admirable House of Commons speeches. When Plunket, having become a reformer in 1831, was twitted with having been an anti-reformer at an antecedent period, he replied:—

‘Circumstances are wholly changed. Formerly Reform came to our door like a felon—a robber to be resisted. He now approaches like a creditor: you admit the justice of his demand, and only dispute the time and instalments by which he shall be paid.’

There is no satisfactory definition of wit. We cannot accept Sydney Smith’s, which makes it consist in surprise or unexpect edness, and Barrow’s description is too full and discursive to be precise. But Plunket had wit in every sense of the term, from the flash which lights up an argument or intensifies a thought, to the fanciful conceit or comic suggestion which plays round the heartstrings—*circum præcordia ludit*—and aims at nothing higher than to raise a good-humoured laugh.

A very ugly old barrister arguing a point of practice before him, claimed to be received as an authority. ‘I am a pretty old practitioner, my Lord.’ ‘An *old* practitioner, Mr. S.’

The treasurer of a party returning from a dinner at the Pigeon House on the Liffey, found he had got a bad shilling, and said he would throw it as far as possible into the water to put it beyond the possibility of circulation. ‘Stop,’ cried Plunket, ‘give it to Toler,’—Lord Norbury was remarkable for penuriousness,—‘he can make a shilling go farther than any one.’

On Lord Essex saying that he had seen a brother of Sir John Leech, whom he almost mistook for Sir John himself,—so much did the manner run in the family,—Plunket remarked: ‘I should have as soon thought of a wooden leg running in the family.’

All the great Irish orators of the last generation were devoted to the Greek and Roman classics. Grattan said of Plunket that ‘the

'the fire of his magnificent mind was lighted from ancient altars.' After his retirement from office he visited Rome. On his return, when a new work of merit was recommended as a companion of his journey from London to Ireland, he said he had promised Horace a place in his carriage. 'Surely you have had enough of his company at Rome, where he was your constant companion.' 'Oh, no. I never am tired of him. But then, if he don't go, I have promised the place to Gil Blas.' Curran read Homer once a year, and has been seen wrapt up in Horace in the cabin of a Holyhead packet with everybody else sick around him. Lockhart records that amongst the things to which Sir Walter Scott reverted with the highest admiration after his visit to Ireland in 1825, were the acute logic and brilliant eloquence of Plunket's conversation.

The luminous career of this boast and ornament of his country was destined to close in darkness and gloom. He shared the fate of Marlborough and Swift: his fine intellect became overclouded; and his fame exclusively belonged to history, being, so to speak, a thing of the past, before his death. He died in his ninetieth year, January 5th, 1854.

Of the six eminent men* who have held the Great Seal of Ireland since Lord Plunket's compelled retirement, four are still living. Mr. O'Flanagan has consequently thought right to conclude his series with Lord Plunket: and nothing remained but to take a pathetic leave of his book, bid it good speed, and commend it to the charitable construction of his readers. This he does much in the manner of Gibbon, who says in his *Memoirs* that, after writing the last sentence of the 'Decline and Fall' on his terrace at Lausanne, 'a sober melancholy spread over my mind by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, and that, whatever might be the fate of my History, the life of the historian must be short and precarious.' Mr. O'Flanagan's hopes and fears, pleasures and affections, have been similarly bound up in his *Lives*; which he almost endows with vitality as he parts from them:—

'I cannot part with those who have been my companions for nearly half a life-time, without deep anxiety as to how they shall be received by the extensive acquaintances to whom I now entrust them, happily under the best possible auspices. . . . These lives have formed my most agreeable occupation, morning and evening, for a great many years, while my days were passed in the monotony of official routine, in nearly the same labours for twenty years, uncheered by the prospect of promotion; or, if a hope still clung to Pandora's box, it was hitherto

* Lord Campbell, Lord St. Leonards, the Right Hon. Maziere Brady, the Right Hon. Francis Blackburn, the Right Hon. Abram Brewster, and Lord O'Hagan. doomed

doomed to speedy and certain disappointment. As my official duties have been to the best of my ability most *honestly and punctually* discharged, so, I hope, my literary labours partake of the same character; and, however modified by the creed I profess, and the love of country which has grown with my life, I trust a favourable opinion may be entertained of the *way* in which I have written the "Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland."

Of the *spirit* certainly, although doubts may be entertained of the *way*. Good intentions do not make good writing; and Mr. O'Flanagan is only a fresh instance of the best-natured man with the worst-natured Muse. The Muse of History (her province includes biography) has been decidedly cold to his advances; and, as might have been expected from her sex, she was not to be won by mere honesty and punctuality; excellent titles (as we hope they will yet practically prove) to official promotion; none whatever to literary fame. An Irishman and a Roman Catholic, he has been constantly treading on dangerous ground; yet his candour and impartiality, his sense of justice and soundness of principle, are without a flaw: we rise from the book with the most favourable impression of the author as an enlightened patriot; and we can cordially congratulate him on having done good service to his beloved country by compelling attention to the best specimens of her virtue and genius, her gallantry, eloquence and wit.

ART. VII.—1. *Chansons Nationales et Populaires de France.*
Dumersan et Noel Ségur. Paris, 1866.

2. *Le Chansonnier Patriote.* Paris, An I. de la République.

IT is an old saying that 'l'ancien gouvernement de la France était une monarchie absolue tempérée par les chansons'; and a more recent French writer has observed that, 'the French sang while the English were dismembering France, through the civil war of the Armagnacs, during the League, the Fronde, and the Regency; and it was to the sound of songs by Rivarol and Champcenetz that the monarchy fell to pieces at the close of the eighteenth century.'

This passage points to a peculiarity which distinguishes French patriotic songs from those of most other nations, namely, that they generally owe their origin to civil dissensions or party conflicts. Hence it has come to pass that the songs which express the patriotism of to-day, often symbolise the treason of to-morrow. They thus become of historical value, and we propose to confine our attention at present to those connected with

with the history of the revolutionary governments of France from the end of last century, first devoting a few words to one of an earlier date.

It would seem natural that the French should possess some poem equivalent to our National Anthem, when most nations of Europe have some one song, whose words are on every tongue and whose sounds are in every ear, ready to break forth in a hearty chorus whenever any occasion of national interest arises. The Austrians have their 'Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser'; the Prussians, 'Heil dir im Siegerkranz'; the Belgians, their 'Brabançonne'; Russia and Poland, each their national song; and every one of these is wedded to music of a grand heart-stirring character, while the words are certainly in most instances (as in our own National Anthem) easily convertible to the occasional changes of rulers' names, unless indeed (as in the case of Poland), they apostrophise the native country once for all. But the nearest approach in France to any ancient song of this kind is the 'Vive Henri Quatre.' The words which we subjoin will also illustrate a peculiarity which we shall have to notice in several later French songs, which have obtained in their day a great political importance. This peculiarity lies in the fact that the words of the song may have no sort of political importance at all; but either a passing reference to an individual, or the supposition that some particular person composed the words or music of the song, or even had some special pleasure in hearing it, has been sufficient to endow it either with a party or patriotic importance. The first stanza of 'Vive Henri Quatre' is the only one really dating from his time. The second was added at the commencement of the reign of Louis XVI., and the third and fourth were written a little later by Collé, when his play, 'Le Partie de Chasse de Henri IV.', was performed for the first time in Paris. The song itself became of such royalist importance as to be proscribed during the Revolution and reinstated at the Restoration. The air is that of a dance, of which Henri IV. himself is said to have been especially fond. The first and second stanzas will suffice by way of specimen:—

VIVE HENRI QUATRE.

Vive Henri Quatre!
Vive ce roi vaillant!
Ce diable à quatre
A le triple talent
De boire et de battre
Et d'être un vert galant.

Chantons l'antienne
Qu'on chant'râ dans mille ans:
"Que Dieu maintienne
En paix ses descendants,
Jusqu'à ce qu'on prenne
La lune avec les dents."

Another song became a sort of royalist war-cry, from the part it played in exciting, by its remarkable opportuneness, the passions

sions of the King's party at the great banquet given by the Guards in the theatre of Versailles, on the 1st of October, 1789. This was the famous air from Grétry's opera of 'Richard Cœur-de-Lion.' The words are by Sedaine :—

O Richard, O mon roi !
 L'univers t'abandonne :
 Sur la terre il n'est donc que moi
 Qui m'intéresse à ta personne ?
 Moi seul dans l'univers
 Voudrais briser tes fers,
 Et tout le monde t'abandonne.

The performance of this song, as the King and royal family left the theatre, wound up the enthusiasm of the guests to a pitch of almost frantic fanaticism, the report of which, on reaching Paris, had the immediate result of causing the march of the Poissardes, with Maillard at their head, to Versailles, and the deplorable scenes which followed it.

Another of the royalist songs, which obtained its vogue from the fact of its being a favourite with Marie Antoinette, owes as little to its words or music as 'Vive Henri Quatre.' This is the song of 'Pauvre Jacques,' which originated in the following little incident of the Court of Versailles :—

When the grounds of the Queen's favourite residence—the Petit Trianon—were laid out anew, in the year 1776, according to the so-called English style, then very fashionable, a portion of the centre was planned to represent a Swiss mountain scene. It was called 'la petite Suisse,' and provided not only with a Swiss châlet, a Swiss dairy and Swiss cows, but even with a pretty Swiss dairymaid, 'pour animer le paysage.' The whole arrangement appeared complete to all parties but one, the dairymaid herself, who fell ill almost to death of nostalgia, which in her case was aggravated by her having left her heart in the keeping of a peasant of whom she was always talking, as her 'pauvre Jacques.' The incident supplied a subject of both verse and melody to a court lady, the Marquise de Travanet, who produced the following song :—

PAUVRE JACQUES.

Pauvre Jacques, quand j'étais près de
 toi,
 Je ne sentais pas ma misère ;
 Mais à présent que tu vis loin de moi,
 Je manque de tout sur la terre.
 Quand tu venais partager mes tra-
 vaux,
 Je trouvais ma tâche légère ;
 T'en souviens il ? tous les jours étaient
 beaux.
 Qui me rendra ce temps prospère ?

Quand le soleil brille sur nos guérets,
 Je ne puis souffrir la lumière :
 Et quand je suis à l'ombre des forêts,
 J'accuse la nature entière.
 Pauvre Jacques, quand j'étais près de
 toi,
 Je ne sentais pas ma misère ;
 Mais à présent que tu vis loin de moi,
 Je manque de tout sur la terre.

— We

We may add that the Queen, moved by the story and doubtless also by the song, the music of which is very touching, had the peasant sent for and the poor girl made happy with a sufficient portion to allow of her marriage. The words and air she heard many a time afterwards sung and played with a loyal reference to herself, and, unhappily, with all too true an application to her own circumstances.

It was different with another air of which the hapless Queen was very fond, and which she frequently used to play upon the harpsichord. This was the famous 'Carillon National,' the air of which was adapted to the celebrated revolutionary song of 'Ca ira,' composed in 1790, when the preparations for the Fête de la Fédération were being made in the Champ de Mars. She was destined to hear her favourite air sung too often as a cry of rage and hatred against herself; it pursued her from Versailles to Paris; pierced its way to her haunted ears through the walls of the Conciergerie; startled her on her way to trial, and probably was the last sound she heard as she lay bound on the fatal guillotine.

CA IRA.

Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
Le peuple en ce jour sans cesse répète :
Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
Malgré les mutins, tout réussira.

Nos ennemis confus en restent là,
Et nous allons chanter *Alleluia*—
Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira.

En chantant une chansonnette,
Avec plaisir on dira :
Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira.
Le peuple en ce jour sans cesse répète :
Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
Malgré les mutins, tout réussira.

Quand Boileau, jadis, du clergé parla
Comme un prophète il prédit cela.
Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
Suivant les maximes de l'Évangile ;
Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
Du législateur tout s'accomplira :

Celui qui s'élève, on l'abaissera ;
Et qui s'abaisse, on l'élèvera.
Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,

Le peuple en ce jour sans cesse répète :
Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,

Malgré les mutins, tout réussira.

Le vrai catéchisme nous instruira
Et l'affreux fanatisme s'éteindra ;
Pour être à la loi docile,
Tout Français s'exercera.

Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
Le peuple en ce jour sans cesse répète :
Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
Malgré les mutins, tout réussira.

Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira ;
Pierrot et Margot chantent à la guinguette,
Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira.

Réjouissons-nous, le bon temps reviendra.

Le peuple français jadis à *quia*,
L'aristocrate dit : *Mea culpa*.
Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,

Le clergé regrette le bien qu'il a,
Par justice la nation l'aura ;

Par le prudent Lafayette,
Tout trouble s'apaisera.
Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira, etc.

Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
Par les flambeaux de l'auguste assemblée,

Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
Le peuple armé toujours se gardera.
Le vrai d'avec le faux l'on connaîtra,
Le citoyen pour le bien soutiendra.

Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
Quand l'aristocrate protestera,
Le bon citoyen au nez lui rira ;
Sans avoir l'âme troublée,
Toujours le plus fort sera.

Ah !

Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
 Le peuple en ce jour sans cesse répète :
 Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
 Malgré les mutins, tout réussira.
 Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
 Petits comme grands sont soldats
 dans l'âme.
 Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira, etc.
 Pendant la guerre, aucun ne trahira.
 Avec cœur tout bon Français com-
 battra ;

S'il voit du louche, hardiment parlera.
 Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
 La Liberté dit : Vienne qui voudra,
 Le patriotisme lui répondra,
 Sans craindre ni feu ni flammes,
 Le Français toujours vaincra !
 Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
 Le peuple en ce jour sans cesse répète :
 Ah ! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
 Malgré les mutins, tout réussira.

The poetry of the song is as poor as the tone is triumphant, filled with a certain insolent defiance of all authority and rule, and containing here and there light adaptations of Scripture to political ideas sufficient to shock English ears at least. But at the time it came so much into vogue the phrenzied hatred against royalty had not reached the pitch which it afterwards attained, and high hopes were still centered upon the so-called 'citizen king.'

The facility of the measure and the swing of the music in the 'Ça ira,' of course rendered it a vehicle for many imitations and parodies—if we can designate as parodies sets of words which, after all, were but variations of the original, adapted to the changes and circumstances to which almost every successive day gave rise in a time so stirring as 1790. There are various versions of it in the little book of the period, whose title stands second on our list, the most notable probably being one by Deduit, the singing of which produced the following scene :—

'On Sunday, July 18, 1790,* M. Gourdin, deputy for Bethune, in Artois, heard Deduit sing this song in the *Café des Arts*, boulevard du Temple. Carried away by his enthusiasm, he sprang into the orchestra and thus addressed the audience : "Brothers in arms and brave citizens, M. Deduit has just been crowned by your applause ; I move that he be declared the patriot author and national poet (*chansonnier*)."
The proposal was carried with enthusiasm, and Deduit, amidst thunders of approbation, returned thanks for his appointment.'

It was in 1792, when matters had become much worse, that the atrocious *Carmagnole* threw the *Carillon* more or less into the shade. It appeared in 1792, when Louis XVI. was consigned to the Temple, one of the stanzas expressly referring

* Our readers will note that this was the Sunday next following the famous *Fête de la Fédération*, held on July 14th ; the song makes special reference to the oath taken on that occasion by the king and queen, as well as by the whole nation.

to the fact. The air is a very inspiriting one, and became a popular military quick-step. The song was sung, interchangeably, with the 'Ça Ira' and the 'Marseillaise,' between the acts in the theatres, and but too often round the guillotine. The name of Carmagnole has given rise to many conjectures. That of Dumeresan and Ségur is but a weak one, namely, that the song was so called from the fact that about the time of its appearance the French troops had just entered Savoy and Piedmont, in which country the fortress of Carmagnola stands. It was most probably the name by which the air, to which these blood-thirsty verses were adapted, was generally known. We subjoin the whole song, with the exception of one stanza, which decency compels us to omit:—

LA CARMAGNOLE.

Madam' Veto avait promis De faire égorger tout Paris ;	(bis.)	La gendarmerie avait promis Qu'elle soutiendrait la patrie ;	(bis.)
Mais son coup a manqué, Grâce à nos canonniers.	(bis.)	Mais ils n'ont pas manqué Au son du canonnié.	
Dansons la carmagnole, Vive le son ! vive le son !		Dansons la carmagnole, etc.	
Dansons la carmagnole, Vive le son du canon !			
Monsieur Veto avait promis D'être fidèle à la patrie ;	(bis.)	Amis, restons toujours unis, Ne craignons pas nos ennemis ;	(bis.)
Mais il y a manqué, Ne faisons plus de quartier.	(bis.)	S'ils viennent attaquer, Nous les ferons sauter.	
Dansons la carmagnole, etc.		Dansons la carmagnole, etc.	
* * *			
Lorsque Louis vit fossoyer, A ceux qu'il voyait travailler,	(bis.)	Oui, je suis sans culotte, moi, En dépit des amis du roi,	(bis.)
Il disait que pour peu Il était dans ce lieu.	(bis.)	Vivent les Marseillais, Les Bretons et les lois.	
Dansons la carmagnole, etc.		Dansons la carmagnole, etc.	
Le patriote a pour amis Tous les bonnes gens du pays ;	(bis.)	Oui, nous nous souviendrons tou- jours	(bis.)
Mais ils se soutiendront	(bis.)	Des sans-culottes des faubourgs.	(bis.)
Tous au son du canon.		A leur santé, buvons ;	
Dansons la carmagnole, etc.		Vivent les bons lurons !	
L'aristocrate a pour amis Tous les royalistes de Paris ;	(bis.)	Dansons la carmagnole, Vive le son ! vive le son !	
Ils vous les soutiendront	(bis.)	Dansons la carmagnole, Vive le son du canon !	
Tout comm' de vrais poltrons.			
Dansons la carmagnole, etc.			

As with the 'Ça Ira,' so with the 'Carmagnole,' there were several versions made. We give a verse from 'La nouvelle Carmagnole,' written by Claude Royer in 1793, which will show

that the popular mind had not even then become any less truculent than before:—

Fuyez, fuyez, il en est temps!
 La guillotine vous attend.
 Nous vous raccourcirons,
 Vos têtes tomberont.
 Dansons la Carmagnole, etc.

The 'Carmagnole' was subsequent in point of time to the famous 'Marseillaise,' which may be regarded as first and chief in importance among the patriotic songs of France. It was not, however, originally a democratic and revolutionary production. The circumstances of its appearance, the feelings of its author, and, above all, the meaning of its words, prove it to be essentially a patriotic, as distinguished from a party, song.

As to its origin, Dumersan and Séjur make a singular error. They state that it was composed by Rouget de l'Isle, in honour of the entry of the Marseillais into Paris (July 30, 1792), misled, no doubt, by the name given to the song. But, in fact, it was not the author himself, but mere accident, which gave the song this name. The 'Marseillaise' had done great work before that date, and only received its title from the fact of the Marseillais making it generally known by singing it on entering Paris, and at the banquet of welcome which they received in the Champs Elysées. We have met elsewhere the erroneous statement that Rouget de l'Isle wrote and composed the song for the express purpose of displacing the 'Carmagnole,' the tone and spirit of which were repulsive to him as well as to many right-minded men. One other curious misconception we may note on the subject, namely, that the 'Chansonnier Patriote' states the stanza beginning

"Nous entrerons dans la carrière"

to have been specially added for the use of children, and that 'the name of Rouget, affixed to the street copies (*imprimés de deux liards*) of this song, is not that of the author.'

The real facts of its origin are as follows:—Rouget de l'Isle, born at Lons-le-Saulnier in 1760 (the same year, be it noted, which gave birth to Arndt, the greatest German patriotic singer), was stationed at Strasburg, as an officer of Engineers, at the time of the declaration of war by Louis XVI. against Austria, in April, 1792. We call attention to the date and the fact to show that the 'Marseillaise' was the work of one of the King's own officers, engaged in service against his master's presumable enemies, to whom the verses refer. We admit, of course, that the King had no choice, and that the force of circumstances compelled him thus to proceed against the few friends he had left; but it is no

wonder,

wonder, considering the fact of the real danger of France and the close proximity of the enemy to Strasburg (an army of observation being actually in the Breisgau, on the opposite side of the Rhine), that the fire of real patriotism should have been kindled fiercely even in the hearts of Frenchmen who were loyal to their King. Strasburg then, as now, was thoroughly French at heart, and one of the foremost in the national uprising against invasion. In this city, as everywhere, volunteer forces were raised, and it was with the object of encouraging this volunteering that Dietrich, the mayor of Strasburg, requested Rouget de l'Isle to compose a song for the occasion. He did it the same night, and hurriedly noted down at the same time the melody, which has ever since been its musical interpretation. This was rehearsed by a number of soldiers, played by a military band; and the words and music produced an astonishing effect when on the following afternoon the inhabitants were publicly invited to enrol themselves. The number required from Strasburg was six hundred men; but nine hundred presented themselves on the spot.

LA MARSEILLAISE.

Allons, enfants de la patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé;
Contre nous de la tyrannie
L'étendard sanglant est levé.

(bis.)

Entendez-vous dans nos campagnes

Mugir ces féroces soldats?

Ils viennent jusque dans vos bras
Égorger vos fils, vos compagnes!
Aux armes, citoyens! formez vos bataillons!

Marchons! (bis) qu'un sang impur
abreuve nos sillons.

Que veut cette horde d'esclaves,
De traitres, de rois conjurés?
Pour qui ces ignobles entraves,
Ces fers dès longtemps préparés?

(bis.)

Français, pour nous. Ah! quel outrage!

Quels transports il doit exciter!

C'est nous qu'on ose méditer
De rendre à l'antique esclavage!
Aux armes, citoyens! etc.

Quoi! ces cohortes étrangères
Feraient la loi dans nos foyers?
Quoi! des phalanges mercenaires
Terrasseraient nos fiers guerriers?

(bis.)

P 2

Grand Dieu! par des mains enchaînées

Nos fronts sous le joug se ploieraient!

De vils despotes deviendraient
Les maîtres de nos destinées!

Aux armes, citoyens! etc.

Tremblez, tyrans, et vous, perfides,

L'opprobre de tous les partis.
Tremblez! vos projets parricides
Vont enfin recevoir leur prix.

(bis.)

Tout est soldat pour vous combattre!

S'ils tombent, nos jeunes héros,
La terre en produit de nouveaux
Contre vous tout prêts à se battre!

Aux armes, citoyens! etc.

Français, on guerriers magnanimes,

Portez ou retenez vos coups:
Épargnez ces tristes victimes
À regret s'armant contre nous;

(bis.)

Mais ces despotes sanguinaires,
Mais les complices de Bouillé,
Tous ces tigres qui sans pitié

Déchirent le sein de leurs mères!

Aux armes, citoyens! etc.

Nous

Nous entrerons dans la carrière
 Quand nos ainés n'y seront plus ;
 Nous y trouverons leur poussière
 Et la trace de leurs vertus ! (bis.)
 Bien moins jaloux de leur survie
 Que de partager leur cercueil,
 Nous aurons le sublime orgueil
 De les venger ou de les suivre !
 Aux armes, citoyens ! etc.

Amour sacré de la patrie,
 Conduis, soutiens nos bras vainqueurs !
 Liberté, liberté chérie,
 Combats avec tes défenseurs ! (bis.)
 Sous nos drapeaux que la Victoire
 Accoure à tes mâles accents ;
 Que tes ennemis expirants
 Voient ton triomphe et notre gloire !
 Aux armes, citoyens ! etc.

The following stanza is to be found in later editions of the song :—

Que l'union, que la patrie,
 Fassent l'objet de tous nos vœux !
 Ayons toujours l'âme nourrie
 Des feux qu'ils inspirent tous deux.

Soyons unis, tout est possible
 Nos vils ennemis tomberont ;
 Alors les Français cesseront
 De chanter ce refrain terrible :
 Aux armes, citoyens, &c.

It is easy to see that a different hand has been employed upon this weak interpolation from that of Rouget de l'Isle, concerning whom we may be allowed to add a few words. No stronger proof of his loyalty could be given than that he submitted to be deprived of his rank for refusing to take the oath after the 10th of August ; that during the reign of Terror, and even at the very date when the Government commanded his song to form a part of every theatrical performance, he was imprisoned and in danger of his life ; and that but for his having happily been spared till the 9th Thermidor set him free with so many more, he would have heard his own song chanted, as the ordinary familiar dirge by the mob surrounding him on his way to the guillotine. He served at a later period in the army of the Republic ; was wounded at Quiberon ; was promised a reward from the Commission of public recompenses, but overlooked in its distribution ; was placed on half-pay under the Empire ; neglected at the restoration ; pensioned at last in 1830, when seventy years of age, by Louis Philippe ; and died in 1836.

The 'Chant du Départ' is the next of the songs which popular favour, if not poetic merit, has established as a French patriotic classic. Its appearance dates from 1794. It was written by Marie-Joseph Chénier, for the anniversary festival of the destruction of the Bastille, and, if we accept Dumersan's account, both the words by Chénier and the music by Méhul were *improvised* amidst the din and conversation of a crowded drawing-room. The success of both, the words which inspired the music, and the music which interpreted the words, was electrifying.

It was welcomed with a phrenzy of rapture hardly conceivable to us, men of another time and country, but still attested sufficiently by the fact, that in every one of the changes, insurrections, and revolutions which France has since experienced, this song has been, with the 'Marseillaise,' the first to spring to Frenchmen's ready lips.

Our readers who are familiar with the music will be best able to judge how much the song loses from its absence; but we nevertheless venture to offer a version of the whole.

LE CHANT DU DÉPART.

La victoire en chantant nous ouvre la barrière,

La liberté guide nos pas,
Et du Nord au Midi la trompette guerrière

A sonné l'heure des combats.

Tremblez, ennemis de la France !

Rois ivres de sang et d'orgueil !

Le peuple souverain s'avance :

Tyrans, descendez au cercueil !

Great Victory sings as she points us the way,
Our steps freedom guideth aright,
From the North to the South the war trumpet's loud bray

Hath sounded the signal of fight.
Now tremble ye foemen of France !
Kings whom pride and whom carnage unnerve,
As the sovereign people advance,

Down, down to the death ye deserve.

CHORUS OF SOLDIERS.

Then on, whether triumph or death be our lot

We'll obey the Republic's loud cry;
None is worthy of living for France, who is not

For France also ready to die.

A MOTHER SPEAKS.

From us shall all motherly weeping be far,

All craven regrets shall be still:
'Tis our triumph to see our sons rush to the war;

Let kings melt to tears if they will !

O sons, we have given you life,
It is vowed to the land of your birth;

For her sake be bold in the strife :

Ye have no greater mother on earth.

CHORUS OF MOTHERS.

Then on, &c.

TWO OLD MEN SPEAK.

Let the sword of their sires arm the hand of the brave;

Think of us, as the battle ye wage,
And drench with the life-blood of king and of slave,

The brand consecrated by age,

So with wounds and with glory you'll come
Back again when the combat is o'er,

Ere we die in a peaceable home,

When tyrants and kings are no more.

CHORUS OF OLD MEN.

Then on, &c.

UX

CHŒUR DE GUERRIERS.

La république nous appelle,

Sachons vaincre ou sachons périr;

Un Français doit vivre pour elle,

Pour elle un Français doit mourir !

UNE MÈRE DE FAMILLE.

De nos yeux maternels ne craignez pas les larmes,

Loin de nous de lâches douleurs !

Nous devons triompher quand vous prenez les armes ;

C'est aux rois à verser des pleurs !

Nous vous avons donnée la vie,

Guerriera ! elle n'est plus à vous ;

Tous vous jours sont à la patrie :

Elle est votre mère avant nous !

CHŒUR DES MÈRES DE FAMILLE.

La république nous appelle, etc.

DEUX VIEILLARDS.

Que le fer paternel arme la main des braves !

Songez à nous, au champ de Mars ;

Consacrez dans le sang des rois et des esclaves

Le fer béni par vos vieillards ;

Et important sous la chaumiére

Des blessures et des vertus,

Venez fermer notre paupière

Quand les tyrans ne seront plus !

CHŒUR DES VIEILLARDS.

La république nous appelle, etc.

UN ENFANT.

De Barra, de Viala, le sort nous fait envie;
Ils sont morts, mais ils ont vaincu.
Le lâche accable d'ans n'a point connu la vie ;
Qui meurt pour le peuple a vécu.
Vous êtes vaillants, nous le sommes ;
Guidez-nous contre les tyrans ;
Les républicains sont des hommes,
Les esclaves sont des enfants !

CHŒUR DES ENFANS.

La république nous appelle, etc.

UNE ÉPOUSE.

Partez, vaillants époux : les combats sont
vos fêtes ;
Partez, modèles des guerriers.
Nous cueillerons des fleurs pour enceindre
vos têtes ;
Nos mains tresseront des lauriers ;
Et, si le temple de mémoire
S'ouvrailà à vos mânes vainqueurs,
Nos voix chanteront votre gloire,
Et nos flancs portent vos vengeurs.

CHŒUR DES ÉPOUSES.

La république nous appelle, etc.

UNE JEUNE FILLE.

Et nous, sœurs des héros, nous qui de
l'hyméné
Ignorons les aimables nœuds,
Si pour s'unir un jour à notre destinée,
Les citoyens forment des vœux,
Qu'ils reviennent dans nos murailles,
Beaux de gloire et de liberté ;
Et que leur sang, dans les batailles,
Ait coulé pour l'égalité.

CHŒUR DES FILLES.

La république nous appelle, etc.

TROIS GUERRIERS.

Sur le fer, devant Dieu, nous jurons à nos
pères,
À nos épouses, à nos sœurs,
À nos représentants, à nos fils, à nos mères ;
D'anéantir les oppresseurs :
En tous lieux, dans la nuit profonde,
Plongeant l'infâme royaute,
Les Français donneront au monde
Et la paix et la liberté !

CHŒUR GÉNÉRAL.

La république nous appelle, etc.

A CHILD SPEAKS.

Of Barra, of Viala, we envy the lot ;
Triumphant they fought and they bled :
The craven, a century old, liveth not ;
The patriot never is dead.
We are boys, but a boy may be brave :
Lead us on to resist tyranny !
Let child be the name of the slave,
Let man be the name of the free.

CHORUS OF CHILDREN.

Then on, &c.

A WIFE SPEAKS.

Go, valorous husbands ! be war your
carouse ;
Go, warriors, men of renown,
While we gather garlands to circle your
brows,
And our hands weave the bright laurel
crown ;
And if in our country's bright story
Your names alone live, while we sing
Through our tears the proud tale of your
glory,
From our loins your avengers shall
spring.

CHORUS OF WIVES.

Then on, &c.

A YOUNG GIRL SPEAKS.

And we, sisters of heroes, to whom the
delight
Of wedlock's sweet bond is unknown,
Say to men who their fate with our fate
would unite
And are eager to call us their own,
"Come back from the battle-field gory,
Having bled for our land, and with pride
In your beauty of freedom and glory,
We'll welcome you back to our side."

CHORUS OF YOUNG GIRLS.

Then on, &c.

THREE WARRIOR SPEAK.

On our swords, before God, here we swear
our great oath
To our sisters, our sons, and our wives,
To our nation, our parents thus plighting
our troth
To fight till no tyrant survives ;
Till down to the darkness of night
Having infamous royalty hurled,
The French shall have conquered the right
Of freedom and peace for the world.

GENERAL CHORUS.

Then on, &c.

Marie-

Marie-Joseph Chénier, who produced many patriotic songs in the revolutionary period, was son of the French consul at Constantinople, where he was born in 1762. His first entry into life was as an officer in the army, which he soon abandoned to devote himself to literary pursuits. His first dramatic success was dedicated to the King, Louis XVI., for whose execution he afterwards voted. He became, in the Revolution, a prominent member of the Jacobin party, and is even said to have voted for the execution of his unhappy and gifted brother André, who was guillotined in 1794. But there seems to be no foundation for this atrocious charge, which Marie-Joseph answered in his 'Épître sur la Calomnie' (1797). In May, 1795, Marie-Joseph turned against the terrorists; in the following August he was made president of the Convention; on the 22nd September he was proclaimed the first of French poets! He became a member of the council of Five Hundred. He held prominent posts under the Directory, the Consulate, and the Empire, and died in the year 1811. The best known of his other songs are 'Hymn to Liberty,' 'Song of the 14th July,' 'Ode on the Death of Mirabeau,' 'Song of Victory' (one of his best), and the 'Chant du Retour,' which is but a very weak effort at providing a pendant for the 'Chant du Départ.'

The next song, which demands our attention, is the celebrated 'Réveil du Peuple,' to which the 9th Thermidor gave rise. It was composed in 1795, and may be regarded as the Marseillaise of the 'Muscadins,' having been constantly sung in the theatres and other places during the reaction produced by the tyranny of Robespierre and the Jacobins.

LE RÉVEIL DU PEUPLE.

Peuple français, peuple de frères,
Peux-tu voir, sans frémir d'horreur,
Le crime arborer les bannières
Du carnage et de la terreur?
Tu souffres qu'une horde atroce,
Et d'assassins et de brigands,
Souille de son souffle féroce
Le territoire des vivants!
Quelle est cette lenteur barbare?
Hâte-toi, peuple souverain,
De rendre aux monstres du Ténare
Tous ces buveurs de sang humain!
Guerre à tous les agents du crime!
Poursuivons-les jusqu'au trépas:
Partage l'horreur qui m'anime,
Ils ne nous échapperont pas!
Ah! qu'ils périssent, ces infâmes,
Et ces égorgeurs dévorants
Qui portent au fond de leurs âmes
Le crime et l'amour des tyrans!

Mânes plaintifs de l'innocence,
Apaisez-vous dans vos tombeaux:
Le jour tardif de la vengeance
Fait enfin pâlir vos bourreaux!
Voyez déjà comme ils frémissent!
Ils n'osent fuir, les scélérats!
Les traces du sang qu'ils vomissent
Bientôt déceleraient leurs pas.
Oui, nous jurons sur votre tombe,
Par notre pays malheureux,
De ne faire qu'une hécatombe
De ces cannibales affreux.
Représentants d'un peuple juste,
Ô vous, législateurs humains!
De qui la contenance auguste
Fait trembler nos vils assassins,
Suivez le cours de votre gloire;
Vos noms, chers à l'humanité,
Volent au temple de mémoire,
Au sein de l'immortalité!

We

We now pass on to a war song, probably dating a year or two after the peace of Bâle, when France was able to turn her attention towards England. It is impossible to give a translation of it, as its chief merit lies in the wit and pun lurking almost in every line.

LA DANSE ANGLAISE.

(Air du pas redoublé de l'Infanterie.)

Soldats, le bal va se rouvrir,
Et vous aimez la danse,
L'Allemande vient de finir,
Mais l'Anglaise commence.
D'y figurer, tous nos Français
Seront, parbleu, bien aises,
Car ils n'aiment pas les Anglais,
Ils aiment les Anglaises.

Les Français donneront le bal :
Il sera magnifique ;
L'Anglais fournira le local
Et paiera la musique.
Nous, sur le refrain des couplets
De nos rondes Françaises,
Nous ferons chanter les Anglais,
Et danser les Anglaises.

D'abord, par le pas de Calais,
On doit entrer en danse.
Le son des instruments français
Marquera la cadence ;
Et comme l'Anglais ne saura
Que danser les Anglaises,
Bonaparte lui montrera
Les figures Françaises.

Allons, mes amis, le grand rond,
En avant, face-à-face !
Français, là bas, restez d'aplomb,
Anglais, changez de place !
Vous, M. Pitt, un balancé,
Suivez la chaîne Anglaise,
Pas de côté, croisé, chassé . . .
C'est la danse Française.

The mention of Napoleon in this song, while affording a tolerably good hint as to its date, leads us on to the time when his increasing influence and power, and the ambition which stirred him to establish the empire, made it necessary for him, where he could not stifle republican feeling, at least to put down its public expression. The 'Marseillaise' had been ordered to be played in the theatres by a decree of the Directory, issued on the 18th Nivôse of the year IV., that is, on the 8th of January, 1795. This decree named other songs besides the 'Marseillaise,' notably the 'Veillons au Salut de l'Empire,'* and Chénier's 'Chant du Départ.' It also prohibited the song of 'Le Réveil du Peuple,' already quoted, which, by the way, must not be confounded with a later 'Réveil du Peuple,' by Festeau, which dates only from 1848.

Till Bonaparte's accession to power the songs we have named had free course, but no sooner was he able to suppress them than they were proscribed. They have always been resuscitated on occasions of insurrection or revolution, and relegated again to obscurity when the political crises which evoked them have passed away ; but they were in no respect regarded as national or patriotic songs under the first (or, for that matter, under the

* As this song was written in 1791, it is hardly necessary to remark that the word *empire* referred simply to the *nation*.

second) Empire. In fact a great gap exists from 1795 to 1814 in the list of French national songs. Nor is it to be wondered at. For however much the first Empire may have added to the glory of France, it tended to stifle patriotic songs. For such songs spring out of the fears and doubts, the love and devotion of a nation, and when that nation is great and prosperous, when no dangers menace and no uncertainties oppress its children, as there is no need for patriotism, so there is no audience for patriotic singers, no demand for, and no supply of, patriotic songs. When the first Napoleon fell, when the whole universe seemed leagued together against the nation with whose armies he had trampled victoriously over all Europe, then, as there were hearts to feel for him and for France, so there were singers also to lament his fall. Otherwise, we have nothing of the kind dating from the period of the Empire. This is, however, the proper place to say a word or two of what really became the Napoleonic Anthem, the song sometimes called 'Romance de la Reine Hortense,' but best known by its designation 'Partant pour la Syrie,' or rather, 'Le Départ pour la Syrie.' It is a mere jingle, as far as the poetry goes, of about the same class as 'The Troubadour'; and, like 'Vive Henri Quatre' and 'Pauvre Jacques' has not a word of reference to either politics, patriotism, or loyalty; but from the circumstance of Queen Hortense, the step-daughter of the first and mother of the third Napoleon composing the air to which it was set, it obtained first the vogue of fashion, and, finally, reached the character of a sort of National Anthem. We annex the words (attributed to Laborde), but they do not deserve a translation:—

PARTANT POUR LA SYRIE.

Partant pour la Syrie,
Le jeune et beau Dunois
Venait prier Marie
De bénir ses exploits :
Faîtes, reine immortelle,
Lui dit-il en partant,
'Que j'aime la plus belle
Et sois le plus vaillant.'

Il trace sur la pierre
Le serment de l'honneur ;
Et va suivre à la guerre
Le comte, son seigneur.
Au noble vœu fidèle,
Il dit en combattant :
'Amour à la plus belle,
Honneur au plus vaillant.'

On lui doit la victoire ;
'Vraiment,' dit le seigneur,
'Puisque tu fais ma gloire,
Je ferai ton bonheur.
De ma fille Isabelle
Sois l'époux à l'instant,
Car elle est la plus belle
Et toi le plus vaillant.'

À l'autel de Marie
Ils contractent tous deux,
Cette union chérie
Qui seule rend heureux.
Chacun dans la chapelle
Disait en les voyant,
'Amour à la plus belle,
Honneur au plus vaillant.'

Among the song-writers, after the fall of the First Napoleon,
Béranger

Béranger unquestionably holds the first place, not merely because he sang with such affectionate appreciation of the lost glory of the Empire, but because his songs are in themselves essentially poetical. Having, however, spoken at length of Béranger himself, and given numerous specimens of his songs in an earlier volume of this Review,* we now pass on to Émile Debreaux, another of the most popular minstrels of the period from the Restoration to 1830, to help the sale of whose works, on behalf of a young widow and orphans, Béranger wrote the 'Chanson-Prospectus,' which is one of the most feeling and touching of his works. Debreaux died in 1831, at the age of only thirty-three. He was author of a surprising number of songs of all kinds, so many that Béranger could say of them in the 'Chanson-Prospectus,'—

Ses gais refrains vous égalent en nombre,
Fleurs d'acacia qu'éparpilent les vents.

Of those specially referring to the lost glories of the Empire we may mention such songs as 'La Colonne,' 'La Redingote Grise,' 'Le Mont St. Jean,' 'Sainte-Hélène,' &c. To these we must add his splendid soldier's song 'Fanfan la Tulipe,' which its great length prevents us from putting before our readers. His 'Soldat, t'en souviens tu' is universally known; a copy of it lies before us as we write, in the muddy, trampled, tattered leaves of the repertoire of some *Café Chantant*, picked up as a piteous relic on the battlefield of Sédan.

We must content ourselves with giving but one specimen from Debreaux, as it leads us to another branch of our subject, the songs of the Conscription, but we can only find room for the first four stanzas:—

LE CONSCRIT.

J'avais à peine dix-huit ans
Qu'exempt de chagrin et d'affaire,
Gaiement je consacrais mon temps
À boire, à dormir, à rien faire;
Un beau jour survint une loi
Qui m'envoie au bout de la terre
Batailler pour je ne sais quoi:
Avez-vous jamais vu la guerre?

La souveraine du Brabant
Prétendait avec hardiesse
Avoir le pied plus élégant
Que le pied de notre princesse:
Pour soutenir des droits si beaux,
On rangea, grâce au ministère,
Cent mille hommes sous les drapeaux:
Avez-vous jamais vu la guerre?

THE CONSCRIPT.

When I was a lad of eighteen,
With no cares to compel me to think,
I had nothing to do but to spend
My time in sleep, eating, and drink,
Till one fine day a law must be passed
Which could send me to earth's
farthest end
To fight for the mischief knows what.—
Were you ever a soldier, my friend?
It appears that the Queen of Brabant
The opinion was bold to express
That her own was a prettier foot
Than the foot of our native princess.
The rights thus assailed to uphold
Five score thousand poor lads must
contend,
So we 'neath the flag were enrolled.—
Were you ever a soldier, my friend?

* See Vol. xlvi. p. 461, seq.

J'avais le regard louche et faux,
J'avais les jambes non pareilles ;
On ferma l'œil sur mes défauts,
On me promit monts et merveilles.
De moi, que rendait tout blasfère,
Le bruit du canon, du tonnerre,
On prétendit faire un César :
Avez-vous jamais vu la guerre ?

Amis, l'agréable métier
Que le noble métier des armes !
Le diable au fond d'un bénitier,
Trouverait, je crois, plus de charmes.
Doux navets, tendres haricots,
Bon pain noir, excellente eau claire,
Voilà le festin des héros :
Avez-vous jamais vu la guerre ?

The following, on the same subject, is by the brothers Cogniard :—

LES CONSCRITS MONTAGNARDS.

Partant avec courage
Deux conscrits montagnards,
Jetaient vers le village
De douloureux regards
Beau pays que voilà,
Leur amour était là !
Ah !
Il n'est pas de royaume,
Pas de séjour,
Qui vaille un toit de chaume
Où l'on reçut le jour.

Au milieu de la ville,
Et du luxe et de l'or,
Songeant à leur asile
Ils répétaienç encor :
Grand' ville que voilà,
Le bonheur n'est pas là !
Ah !

Il n'est pas de royaume,
Pas de séjour,
Qui vaille un toit de chaume
Où l'on reçut le jour.

Mais quittant leur bannière,
Un jour, libres, joyeux,
Revoyant leur chaumièr,
Ils s'écriaient tous deux :
Beau pays que voilà,
Tout notre amour est là !
Ah !

My eyes were both squinting and crooked,
My legs never matched as I walked,
All defects the inspectors overlooked ;
Of my wonderful prospects they talked ;
And I, whom the sound of a shot
Almost out of my senses would send,
They vowed should a marshal be-
come.—

Were you ever a soldier, my friend ?

O, my lads, what a happy pursuit
Is the noble profession of arms !
Why, Old Nick, I believe, at the foot
Of a church-font would find greater
charms.
Raw turnips and haricot beans,
Prime cold water, black bread with-
out end,
Make a banquet for heroes to feast.—

Were you ever a soldier, my friend ?

THE CONSCRIPT MOUNTAINEERS.

Two mountaineers marched
For the honour of France,
Casting back to their village
A sorrowful glace,
Full heavy at heart
From their sweet home to part.
'O there's never a kingdom
Nor realm upon earth
To compare with the cottage
That sheltered our birth.'

All the wealth of the city
To change them was vain ;
They repeated their ditty
Again and again :
'Though the city be fair
There's no happiness there ;
For there's never a kingdom
Nor realm upon earth
To compare with the cottage
That sheltered our birth.'

At length, from their service
Released, they espied
Once more their dear dwelling,
And joyously cried :
'Sweet home, in our thought
Thou hast ne'er been forgot ;

Il n'est pas de royaume
Pas de séjour,
Qui vaille un toit de chaume
Où l'on reçut le jour.

For there's never a kingdom
Nor realm upon earth
To compare with the cottage
Which sheltered our birth.'

The best known conscript's song is the one with the *Languedo* burden in the first verse, which cannot be omitted, though without the music it is nearly naught:—

LE DÉPART DU CONSCRIT.

Je suis un pauvre conscrit
De l'an mil huit cent dix; (bis.)
Faut quitter le Languedo,
Le Languedo, le Languedo,
Oh!

Adieu donc, chères beautés,
Dont nos coûrs son' z'enchantis;
Ne pleurés point not' départ, (bis.)
Not' départ, not' départ,
Art!

Faut quitter le Languedo
Avec le sac sur le dos.

Ne pleurés point not' départ,
Nous reviendrons tôt z'ou tard.

L'maire, et aussi le préfet,
N'en sont deux jolis cadets; (bis.)
Ils nous font tiré z'au sort,
Tiré z'au sort, tiré z'au sort,
Ort;

Adieu donc, mon tendre cœur,
Vous consolerés ma sœur; (bis.)
Vous y dirés que l'anfan,
Que Fanfan, que Fanfan,
An:

Ils nous font tiré z'au sort
Pour nous conduir' z'à la mort:

Vous y dirés que Fanfan
Il est mort z'en combattant.

Adieu donc, mes chers parents,
N'oubliez pas votre enfant; (bis.)
Crivés li de temps en temps,
De temps en temps, de temps en temps,
En:

Qui qu'a fait cette chanson,
N'en sont trois jolis garçons; (bis.)
Ils étions faiseux de bas,
Faiseux de bas, faiseux de bas,
Ah!

Crivés li de temps en temps
Pour lui envoyer de l'argent.

Ils étions faiseux de bas,
Et à c't'heure ils sont soldats.

We must now turn from these conscript songs to some of the historical ones which have sprung out of the later crises in the destinies of France. As representative of the Revolution of 1830 we may take the 'Parisienne,' by Casimir Delavigne, which is, however, a feeble imitation of the 'Marseillaise.' The first two stanzas will give a sufficient idea of the whole:—

LA PARISIENNE.

1830.

Peuple français, peuple de braves,
La liberté rouvre ses bras;
On nous disait: soyez esclaves,
Nous avons dit: soyons soldats.
Soudain Paris dans sa mémoire
A retrouvé son cri de gloire:
En avant, marchons,
Contre leurs canons;
À travers le fer, le feu des bataillons
Courons à la victoire.

Great Liberty, ye Frenchmen brave,
Again her arms hath spread;
And tyrants find who seek a slave,
A warrior instead.
And Paris, swift of memory,
Shouts once again the glorious cry:
March, Gallia's sons
'Gainst hostile guns,
Past fire, and steel, and battery peal,
On, on, to Victory.

Serrez

Serrez vos rangs, qu'on se soutienne !
 Marchons ! chaque enfant de Paris,
 De sa cartouche citoyenne
 Fait une offrande à son pays.
 O jours d'éternelle mémoire !
 Paris n'a plus qu'un cri de gloire :
 En avant, etc.

Close, close the ranks ! and scatter not,
 Each child of Paris come,
 And fire, each citizen, his shot,
 As duty to his home.
 O days of deathless memory !
 When all adopt one battle-cry,
 March, Gallia's sons,
 'Gainst hostile guns, &c.

On the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848, the old revolutionary and patriotic songs came again into vogue, and excited the rapturous enthusiasm of a generation which had almost forgotten their very sound. But along with the older ones, such as the 'Marseillaise,' the 'Chant du Départ,' and others already noticed, a new one took a place of great prominence. This was the 'Song of the Girondins,' by Dumas and Maquet, written in 1847, and more generally known, at least in England, by the words of its refrain—

'Mourir pour la patrie !
 C'est le sort le plus beau, le plus digne d'envie.'

As was the case with many other songs, a great part of the success of this must be attributed to its music, composed by Varney; for the words, consisting of two stanzas, taken from a play entitled 'Le Chevalier de la Maison-Rouge,' are of really second-rate importance, while the chorus is taken bodily from a far better song, by a far greater singer, Rouget de l'Isle, the author of the 'Marseillaise,' who employed it as the burden to each stanza of his 'Roland à Roncevaux.'

Besides the 'Song of the Girondins' the Revolution of 1848 gave birth, as may be supposed, to a number of others, such as Felix Mouttet's 'Hymne aux Paysans,' Albert Blanquet's 'Citoyenne,' the quaint and original 'Vote Universel' by E. Pottier, a working man, and many more. The 'Chant des Ouvriers' by Pierre Dupont, though written earlier, owes its great popularity to this particular period; it is, however, only the song of a class, and expresses a discontent of the most illogical sort; but it has a tendency very unusual in songs of the kind, to discountenance war. We give the last stanza, in which both assertion and moral are unexceptionable :—

À chaque fois que par torrents
 Notre sang coule sur le monde ;
 C'est toujours pour quelques tyrans
 Que cette rosée est féconde ;

Ménageons-le dorénavant,
 L'amour est plus fort que la guerre,
 En attendant qu'un meilleur vent
 Souffle du ciel ou de la terre.

The history of the present terrible war leads our attention to French patriotic songs of a different class from many of those we have been considering, namely to songs springing from the circumstances

circumstances of foreign conflict rather than from those of internal politics or domestic revolutions. To this class belongs, in the first place, De Musset's 'German Rhine,' written as long ago as 1841, in answer to Niklas Becker's German song on the same subject ('Sie sollen ihn nicht haben'). We have purposely kept back this song, notwithstanding its precedence in date to those of 1848, till dealing with songs of the present time, since it is the present time which has given it its importance. It is said, and we believe with truth, to have been little more than an improvisation, or, at least, to have been elicited by a sort of challenge, in a company, to any one to answer in a fitting manner Becker's song which had just then become popular in Germany. The original of Becker's, with a translation, appeared in the previous number of this 'Review,'* so that our readers, if desirous, may compare it with De Musset's answer, which, if rather erring in contempt of tone, is, notwithstanding, full of *verve* and spirit:—

LE RHIN ALLEMAND.

Nous l'avons eu, votre Rhin Allemand :
Il a tenu dans notre verre.
Un couplet qu'on s'en va chantant
Efieacet-il la trace altière
Du pied de nos chevaux marqués dans votre
sang ?

Nous l'avons eu, votre Rhin Allemand :
Son sein porte une plaie ouverte
Du jour où Condé triomphant
A déchiré sa robe verte.
Où le père a passé, passera bien l'enfant.

Nous l'avons eu, votre Rhin Allemand,
Que faisaient vos vertus germanes,
Quand notre César tout puissant
De son ombre couvrait vos plaines ?
Où donc est il tombé ce dernier ossement ?
Nous l'avons eu, votre Rhin Allemand.
Si vous oubliez votre histoire,
Vos jeunes filles, sûrement,
Ont mieux gardé notre mémoire :
Elles nous ont versé votre petit vin blanc.

S'il est à vous, votre Rhin Allemand,
Lavez-y donc votre livrée ;
Mais parlez-en moins fièrement.
Combien, au jour de la curée,
Etiez vous de corbeaux contre l'aigle
Expirant ?

THE GERMAN RHINE.

We have had it already, your German
Rhine,
We have held it in our sway ;
Can the singing so loud of a trifling line
Wipe the proud deep mark away
Which our horsehoofs trod in your gore-
wet clay ?

We have had it already, your German
Rhine ;
In its breast still bare to view,
Is the wound where Condé's bursting mine
Tore its verdant vesture through ;
Where the sires have passed shall the sons
pass too.

We have had it already, your German Rhine.
But where was your valour bright,
When our mighty Caesar's battle line
Covered all your plains with night ?
And where did he fall, that king of fight ?

We have had it already, your German
Rhine !
And if you have forgotten the letter
Of history, your maidens, I opine,
Who filled our cups with your thin white
wine,
Have remembered our presence better.

Yet if the German Rhine be your own,
Let it wash your livery clothes,
But speak in a little less haughty tone :
For how many were ye, ye carrion crews,
When our eagle maimed fell 'neath your
blows ?

* See 'Quarterly Review,' vol. cxxviii., p. 502.

Qu'il coule en paix, votre Rhin Allemand ;
 Que vos cathédrales gothiques
 S'y résistent modestement ;
 Mais craignez que vous ayez bacchiques
 Ne réveillent les morts de leur repos
 Sanglant.

Let it flow in peace, your German Rhine,
 Let the Gothic fanes you prize
 In its calm reflection shine ;
 But beware lest your vain pot-valiant
 Cries,
 From their gory graves make the brave
 Dead rise.

Hitherto the present war has produced few songs in France. Since Sedan her gallant children have had no time for aught but effort, their panting breasts no breath to spare for aught but the one repeated cry, 'To arms !' All honour to them if, in their anguish and suffering they realise, beyond the power of song to utter, the claims of their unhappy country, and if it be from this cause that '*Les Français ont cessé de chanter*,' as one of themselves has said ! Moreover there is a practical difficulty in obtaining any song sprung from the present time. The best appear to be 'Le Rhin Français,' by Armand Silvestre, 'A la Frontière,' by Jules Frey, and 'C'est notre Tour,' the last of which we subjoin, as it is probably new to our readers: its internal evidence shows it to have been produced subsequently to the disaster of Sedan and the proclamation of the Republic. It is published anonymously, and dedicated 'by a friend' to the 'Gardes Nationaux Mobilisés' of the Maritime Alps :—

C'EST NOTRE TOUR.

"En route."

C'est notre tour, déployons nos bannières ;
 Roulez, tambours, guidez nous aux combats,
 Battez galement une marche guerrière ;
 La République a besoin de soldats !
 Pour son salut il faut des braves,
 Tels qu'elle en vit aux anciens jours ;
 Oui, des lions, de vrais Zouaves ;
 C'est notre tour, c'est notre tour !

"Au Bivouac."

Sonnez, clairons ! le grand fleuve en son
 ombre
 De nos bivouacs a réflechi les feux !
 Chez nous, là-bas, sans doute en la nuit
 sombre
 Au ciel pour nous sont montés bien des
 vœux.
 Oui ! nous veillons sur toi, Patrie,
 Ramparts vivants, nous te couvrons !
 Dieu voit qui veille, entend qui prie,
 Sonnez, clairons, sonnez, clairons !

OUR TURN HAS COME.

On the March.

Up with the flag, for our summons has come,
 Swiftly and far-spread our country's wide
 call ;
 Beat the brave battle-march loud on the
 drum,
 Up ! the Republic has need of us all.
 Brave sons she needeth to save her from
 falling,
 Sons such as saved her in battles gone by ;
 Lions of valour, speed, speed to her calling.
 "Our time is come" be our rallying cry.

At the Bivouac.

Sound, bugles, sound ! The wide river
 deep-flowing
 Reflects the bright glare of our bivouacred.
 At home, far away, while the darkness was
 growing,
 Full many a prayer for us skywards hath
 sped.
 We are watching, O dear native land, for
 thy sake ;
 Our hearts, living rampart, environ thee
 round :
 God hears those who pray, and God sees
 those who wake.
 Sound, bugles, sound ! sound, bugles,
 sound !

"Au

"Au Drapeau."

Floitez, drapeaux ! standards héroïques,
Où nos aieux ont inscrit maint beau nom :
Astres glorieux de notre République,
Hoche, Marceaux, Dumouriez, et Rampon.
Sous vos couleurs, saintes bannières,
Ont combattu tous ces héros.
Les fils seront dignes des pères :
Floitez, drapeaux, floitez, drapeaux !

"Au combat."

Tonnez, canons, voici la rouge aurore,
Au champ d'honneur les moissons vont
s'ouvrir,
Jusqu'à la nuit, fauchez, fauchez encore,
O ! mitrailleurs, s'arrêter c'est mourir.
Hourrah ! poussons le cri de guerre :
Et puis chargeons et foudroyons ;
Pour voix la foudre a le tonnerre,
Tonnez, canons, tonnez, canons !

"La Victoire."

Du Dieu du Ciel, auteur de notre gloire,
Prompts messagers, portez-en les signaux :
Que pour l'Europe nos cris de victoire,
Soient un reproche, d'échos en échos !
France, salut ! terre affranchie ;
D'un peuple fier, sérieux Réveil,
Qui désormais, tout genou plie
Au Dieu du Ciel, au Dieu du Ciel.

"Au Retour."

Chants du pays, à notre âme revie,
Vous apportez les accents du bonheur.
Pays, sois fier ! tu nous donnas la vie,
Nous, la donnions pour garder ton
honneur.
Côteaux charmants, rive connue,
Nous revoyons vos bords chéria :
Souhaitez nous la bienvenue,
Chants du pays, chants du pays.

We can conclude with no better aspirations than the last four lines contain, and with the fervent hope that the gallant efforts, which the French are now making to drive the invaders from their soil, may lead to a lasting peace.

ART.

"Round the Standards."

Wave, banners, wave ; ye proud standards
of glory, [ago,
Bright with the names of our sires long
Far-shining stars of republican glory,
Ramon, Dumouriez, Hoche, and Marceau.
Under your folds, holy standards, they fought,
Bold for their country those warriors
brave ; [thought,
Unworthy the sires shall the sons ne'er be
Wave, banners, wave ! wave, banners,
wave !

"In the battle."

Crash, cannons crash ; spread the red dawn
before us,
The battle-field, ripe to the harvest, is
nigh ; [un,
Mow, mitrailleurs, till the night gather o'er
Mow, and mow on, for to cease is to die.
Hurrah ! The fierce battle-cry loudly we
raise [dash,
As down on the foemen like lightning we
The thunder's fit voice for the swift
lightning's blaze. [crash!
So crash, cannon, crash ! crash, cannon,

"The Victory."

From Heaven above, whence all glory de-
scends,
Let the proud tidings swift through the
universe fly, [blends
Whilst for Europe the shout of our victory
With reproach, as the echo to echo's reply.
Hail to thee, France ! land delivered once
more ; [prove,
A waking to good may this wakening
And knees bend oft now which bent rarely
before
To Heaven above, to Heaven above.

"The Return."

Songs of our home, as we come from the
strife,
How sweet to our souls must your glad
accents be !
Be proud, thou dear land, thou who gavest
us life, [thee.
That gladly we staked it for honour and
Beautiful mountains, bright river and plain,
Back to your borders beloved we come ;
Meet us with welcome, returning again,
Songs of our home, songs of our home.

ART. VIII.—1. *Liber Niger, sive Consuetudinarium Ecclesiae B. V. M. Lincolnensis.*
 2. *Novum Registrum, A. D. 1450.*
 3. *Laudum Willielmi Alnwyke.*
 4. *Report of Commission on Cathedral Establishments.*

PROFESSOR WESTCOTT recently produced an interesting account of the great principles and views upon which the cathedrals of the new foundation were erected. He described the large conceptions formed of their intended uses, and the partial provision made for their development. His work was the more serviceable, because it was no fancy sketch or composition from the details of several such institutions, but rested upon the memoir of one.

Professor Westcott forebore to dwell on the causes which from the first impeded, clogged, and finally almost stopped the action of these instruments, sagaciously calculated, and once carefully adapted to discharge important, distinct functions in our society and polity. It would require a very detailed, in many places a dry, disquisition to expose these causes in full. It would be in other respects a painfully interesting chapter of national and social history. Among the most active causes are the unscrupulousness of ministries, and the potency of great families; another is the grand mistake of the political method by which it was attempted to guard the liberties of the cathedral bodies—by secrecy imposed from within upon oath, instead of by free inspection from without. That shadow of non-interference destroyed their independence.

These were popular institutions: founded for 'the people,' intended to be manned mainly by 'the people.' Like many other institutions, the want of publicity threw them into the hands of an oligarchy. Dissatisfaction with their working has been propitiated from time to time by partial spoliations. But radical change, or free development, has never been attempted. Little effort has been made to secure good appointments, or to promote efficiency.

Every interference hitherto has been a direct blow at their operativeness. The most far-reaching, the most effectively endowed, the most influential Christian institutions of the country (for the headship of the bishop placed them far above the monasteries) were cramped and paralysed, and the process has been continued till the present day. Suppression is yet withheld. For the merits, the services, and the earnestness of many who hold cathedral office, still suggest that there is a vitality worth

preserving ; and awaken the suspicion that the popular gentle defence of them as 'retiring pensions' is the protest of an ignorant but true instinct, which distantly feels, yet fails to express, their value as standing outside of our parochial system.

Meantime Church life has been growing poorer and thinner, in default of this activity. Not only is it true that, as the Commissioners of 1854 remark (First Report, p. xxx), 'almost all the best writers of the Church of England have been connected with her cathedrals ;' but the older annals both of our own and foreign Churches teem with the noble characters formed by chapter life and prebendal work, and the distinctive influences which pervaded them. For us their function rises again into importance ; we turn to them as to no other institution we possess ; our coming necessities will demand the recognition of those functions, and places and means to work.

Now that popular opinion presses it upon the Universities to abandon any special obligation of training for the Church of England, beyond lectures which in a few years may be given, as in our foreign models, from a merely critical and negative platform, those who claim for the Christian Church a special influence in life and thought, for Christian grace a distinct operation ; who desire that our clergy should be trained still in schools which shall maintain their pure influence and that of their families in social life : schools, meantime, which shall advance and not retard a full appreciation by our clerics of the thought and science of their own time : those, who looking out on the fields of Nonconformity, see little reason why many a separation should not be absorbed in a larger charity : those again who, in whatever attitude, desire to approach foreign Churches with something of mutual understanding—who believe that to effect all these great ends set before our generation, there is needed no narrowing scheme but a manifoldly multiplied host of cultivated, politic, tolerant men, students and masters, pastors and missionaries of every order ; and that this training will require every possible gradation of knowledge and experience, modern and ethnic, Continental, Oriental, American, to be brought to bear on it—cannot but look to the cathedrals, so adequate, so ready for the emergency in particulars which it would be impossible to create, as the basis from which our new work must begin. Specially they look to their moral as well as their material outlines, to the type of society which they preserve to us—type of 'strength in co-operation, strength in due subordination of varying gifts, strength in religious fellowship.' For it is almost amazing to observe the clearness with which the lines of plans, grand beyond any recent conceptions, remain traced in the ground when roof and pillar

are

are gone to build the neighbouring mansions. Retrenchment, diversion, and redistribution have done their work with axe and hammer, plane and file ; but the dawning age gives signs of being an age of reconstruction. As in art, so in polity, we have, when the principles are lost, to study and reproduce before we can develop a style all our own. To be constructive has rarely been the function of civil powers, rarely of the highest ranks. Other classes create ; and in creating new-create themselves. The English laity are less indifferent than ever to the standard assumed for clerical obligations, more impatient of perfusoriness and incapacity. Abolition is, however, not so popular a specific of late, and in all departments of national life the balance of means to end is receiving truer adjustment.

In the following pages we propose to carry out a hint of Professor Westcott, and by a sketch of a cathedral of the old foundation to make, however unworthily, a pendant to his masterly picture of one of the new foundation.

We are sure he will rejoice with us that the outlines are in many respects different. A true intelligence will deprecate, in the process of reconstruction, nothing more than uniformity of structure under varying conditions.

It will be understood then, that, unless reference is made to others, the system here described is that of a single cathedral, the 'Church of Lincoln.' And first it will be necessary to say a few words on the document which supplies the materials of the past and to explain the present condition of that system.

The MS. copy now before us is a transcript made about a century ago from an older document which is still in existence. Another copy is in the possession of the chapter. Extracts from it have been printed in Wilkins' 'Concilia,' and thence transferred to some parliamentary reports. But as a whole it is unknown,* and a most interesting document it is. The volume contains :—

* It must have been almost unknown, one would think, in 1852, to the chapter of that date, when they informed the commission then sitting that the statutes 'relating to the duties of the dean and residentiary chapter having been established during the prevalence of the Roman Catholic religion in this kingdom, the duties detailed in the statutes relate to forms and proceedings during divine service in the cathedral in accordance with that form of worship. The statutes have not been remodelled at the time of, or since, the Reformation, and are not applicable to the performance of divine service according to the Reformed Church of England.' In point of fact, directions as to divine service form a very small part of the whole, and even as to this part the only inapplicable directions are those rubrics (often from missal and breviary) incorporated in the statutes, for which other rubrics and services are legally substituted in the Prayer-Book ; services such as those of installations, regulations concerning the places of the dignitaries, the apportioned psalms whose daily recitation is solemnly assigned to each member of the body, and numerous smaller usages, even as to the cathedral services,

contains:—(1) The ‘Novum Registrum,’ or New Custom Book drawn up and formally passed, as we shall presently relate, as a complete body and summary of statutes for the cathedral in the year 1440. (2) The old ‘Vicars’ Statutes,’ which are re-enacted. (3) The ‘Laudum,’ or Arbitration of Bishop Alnwick, and two or three Indentures.† A little before the middle of the fifteenth century the divisions between the dean and the chapters of this cathedral had reached a complication which induced both sides to have recourse to the visitor’s arbitration. The chapter and the dean of the day (‘Decanus modernus’), Macworth by name, Chancellor to the Prince of Wales, made unqualified submission

services, are still carried on in conformity with the statutes, which the whole chapter swear to obey in all things legal, and which comprise a large body of enactments, still acted on as the valid constitution of the body. As to the Divinity Lecturer (whose office was also, in the answers of 1852, ignored), he is not only provided by the statutes, but the present holder of the office duly lectures.

It is singular that the then body should have taken a view so different from that taken by other cathedral bodies; e.g., Exeter, which states that the ‘fundamental provisions of its “customary” have been acknowledged and acted upon.’ The most ancient existing customs of the churches in question are no less detailed in one statute-book than in the other.

It was stated also to the Cathedral Commission (1st Rep., 1854, p. 254) that ‘the statutes (of Lincoln) embodied in the “Registrum Novum” do not appear to have been altered or modified except as to the time of residence, and except by the award or determination of Bishop Alnwick, anno Domini, 1440.’

However, the ‘Novum Registrum,’ dated Michaelmas, A.D. 1440, is posterior to the ‘Laudum’ of Bishop Alnwick, which is dated 23 June, 1439, and was sealed at Nettleham, 29 June, 1439; so that the ‘Laudum’ did not modify the statutes as contained in the ‘Novum Registrum.’ The ‘Novum Registrum’ and the ‘Laudum’ both give ample evidence of very frequent modifications. The following Lauda are expressly mentioned, and partly accepted, partly overruled; viz., of Bp. Robert Grosté, 1235-1253, of Bp. Rd. Gravesend, 1258-1279, Bp. John Dalderby, 1299-1319, Bp. John Gynewell, 1351-1362, Bp. Hen. Beaufort, 1397-1404, Bp. Wm. Gray, 1420-1435, besides some important modifications called ‘Articuli quos ipsemet Decanus in praesentia Dni Thesaurarii Angliae inter se et capitulum concordatos fore fatebatur ac ibidem ratificavit et subscriptis.’ The rule traceable through this interesting Register is the same which prevailed elsewhere. ‘The statutes were enacted from time to time pro re natâ. They were framed in the form of injunctions from the bishop as visitor, requiring the more accurate observance of existing ordinances, or of new statutes, either suggested by the chapter to the visitor, or framed by him at their request and with their concurrence, and finally accepted by the body. No instrument has ever been allowed to be of any force unless ratified by the bishop and chapter, and authenticated by the seals of both.’—*Answer of Chapter of Exeter.*

* *Registrum*—(1) The volume into which precedents are entered (*regesta*) as they occur. ‘Statuta Arelat. MSS. Art. 95, De Registro Comunis. Item statutum. Quod Comune teneatur habere unum librum de pergameno, in quo transcribantur omnia instrumenta ad Comune pertinentia.’—Lit. Phil. vi. ann. 1339, tom. 6. ‘Ordinat. reg. Franc.’ p. 529, ‘Gardez les Registres, bons usaiges, et costumes anciens.’—*Ducange.* (2) The customs themselves. The older book was called ‘Consuetudinarium,’ at Exeter the ‘Customary.’

† A copy of the Old Custom Book was recently discovered in a dilapidated condition. The name given it in the New Statutes, ‘Le Black Book,’ indicates either a French notary, or is a strange sample of the mixed tongues. It occurs again in ‘Le Galilee Court.’ Compare forms frequent in Lincolnshire, such as Holton-le-Clay, Ashby-de-la-Launde, Carlton-le-Scoope, &c.

or

or 'compromission' of their cause 'ex alto et basso, absolute et libere,' into the bishop's hands. William Alnwick, lately come to his throne, was an able statesmanlike prelate. After twelve months he pronounced an elaborate Laudum,* or arbitration, on forty-two articles exhibited by the chapter and fourteen exhibited by the dean. This was only the last of many such trials, 'sumptuose quamplurimum,' which had been brought before various prelates, and been carried even to the Roman curia. On nearly all the articles the dean was shown to have been the aggressor and in the wrong. Nothing can exceed the delicacy with which he is treated. Precautions are taken against the repetition of disorders, and the past is condoned.

But then a new and still more important business was undertaken, and within another year completed. Bishop Alnwick reviewed the whole of the ancient statutes, which appear to have existed in four different documents, dating from the year 1000 A.D., and to have been derived from the statutes of Rouen Cathedral; of the various Lauda pronounced by at least six different bishops; of the numerous private agreements with the founders of not less than twenty chantries; and of the record of traditional custom by which much both of the business and of the religious work of the cathedral was regulated; on this head Bishop Alnwick cited and examined numerous witnesses. There was much that was contradictory and obscure in this mass of material; nothing can be more creditable than the compact and distinct work which, divided into five books, was shortly presented to the chapter by the bishop, by them accepted, and then ratified and authenticated 'with the seals of both' as the sole embodiment of their law—and which, together with the Laudum itself, is at the present day accepted upon oath by every canon or prebendary on his admission. The subjects of the five books of the New Register are as follows:—

1. The primaria institutio of the Church of Lincoln, and the number and value of the dignities, canonries, and prebends.
2. On the ingressus (admission) of canons and prebendaries.
3. On their life (progressus).
4. On their egressus, which may occur through 'resolution in death,' through cession, privation, or translation, and their rights on all of these occasions.

* *Laudare*, from the tenth century onward, is of frequent use in the sense of *arbitrari*, to arbitrate; as 'convicta culpa quæ sit Laudata per judicium parium suorum.' *Laudum*—1. A decision by arbitration—'Rex Anglie dicto eorum et Lando . . . se submittet.' 2. 'Consent,' 'approval.' 3. Statutes, 'Lauda formare ac reformatre.' The instances are from *Ducange*. It is in the first precise sense that the word occurs throughout the 'Novum Registrum.'

5. On the perpetual chaplains of the chantries, and on the vicars and other inferior ministers.*

The interesting and often amusing detail into which a full discussion would lead us may be reserved for another occasion. For the present we must simply glean what we may out of the five books, illustrative of the true principles of 'Cathedral life and Cathedral work.' 'Gleaning' describes the operation, for the primaria institutio and the life and progressus of the canons are, as regards enunciation of *principles*, the tantalising parts of the work. The first is brief, a few historical memoranda ; the second is almost purely technical and legal. In fact, the *theory and principles* of the life and work are assumed to be so clear and familiar as to require no expression. Yet in some respects the 'Laudum' and the 'New Register' are more valuable than a book of principles would have been. They take the system at full work. They show what was considered possible and practicable after above four centuries of experience ; they give glimpses of what the great institution was doing, not what it was supposed that it *ought* to do ; and, in plain language, they expose social corruptions (e. g., with regard to wills and inheritances, and not as to these alone), which under the then circumstances (pathetically called 'moderna') must be regarded as once inevitable, but under our changed ones would be not only inexcusable, but impossible.

There was not in the minds of the old cathedral lawgivers the slightest idea that cathedral life and cathedral work began and ended with 'Cathedral service.' The service was an essential *part* of the *life*, but it was the *smallest* part of the *work*. Of it the 'Novum Registrum' says (MS. Part iii. p. 49), that on the part of the canon or prebendary, 'assiduitatem exigimus *moderatam*, non ut omnibus horis cogatur interesse . . . sed *uni* horae (daily) vel missae majori . . . unless he has leave of absence or is ill, or *alias in negotiis ecclesiae occupatus*.'

The corps of the cathedral consisted of the prebendaries with their vicars and their superior officers. They were fifty-two in number, each for one week in his turn taking the principal position in the cathedral services ; in the rest of the year it is assumed that their occupations will be such as not in most instances to admit of their residing in the close,† or if they *do* reside, of their

* In this 5th Book is inserted entire what appears to be a much more ancient document entire—the 'Vicars' Statutes.' They frequently correspond word for word, for sometimes twenty or thirty lines together, with the statutes of the Church of Sarum, other parts not to the same extent. A comparison of the Statutes of Rouen may explain this. In the Cathedral Commission Report the Salisbury Statutes are dated 1268, and attributed to the Dean and Chapter.

† Two hundred and fifty years before this, the wiser and truer policy prevailed of appointing only such as could reside.

attending more than one of the hours of service daily. If they undertake to reside for thirty-four weeks of the year, a house is to be provided for them, and they are to draw a dividend from certain funds. Their name is derived from their *præbenda*,* each having one or more estates stationed throughout the diocese; on each estate a house of residence with a 'familia,' usually a church, either served by themselves 'cum cura animarum,'† or of which the patronage is in their hands, and a school under their direction. Each *præbenda* was a centre of civilisation to its district. The duties and powers of the *præbendarius* with respect to his *præbenda* are defined and urged in this view. He is exhorted so to administer it that his people may 'appetant commorari' under his headship. It is systematically connected with the cathedral, and visited at regular intervals by the dean, chapter, and bishop; any abuses observed in the holder's administration are to be corrected by these authorities at his expense, and appeals lie against him or from him to the cathedral courts.

The *præbendaries* and officers formed the chapter. There was no line drawn between little chapter and grand chapter. There was only one body.‡ Whatever portion of this met, according to rule, in the chapter-house, was 'a chapter.' They absolutely elected their dean, and nominally their bishop; for the rest, we find members of the body actively employed at the royal and papal courts, as well as in their more distinct functions of counsel and assistance to the bishop § who selected them, and in business which is described as laborious, under his direction. Accordingly we find among them not only theologians and preachers, but famous legists. They were not all priests; || some, too, belonged to monastic orders, but these could not hold *præbends*, and resigned them if they had been *præbendaries* before their vow, and so remained as simple 'canons.' Not

* It is interesting to notice the vicissitudes of names. The cathedral body were *canonici* (canons) originally: but many were unendowed, living on their own means, or merely by their dividends from the common fund (*communa*). The more dignified were *canonici præbendati* or *præbendarii*. If they resided they were *canonici residentiarii*, *præbendati* or not as the case might be. Since the *præbends* have been confiscated to non-cathedral purposes, the name of *canon* has been retained by the *residentiaries* who are alone endowed, and that of *præbendaries* designates the unendowed holders of stalls.

† Rob. Grosseteste, Ep. lxxiv.

‡ *Quinquaginta et sex canonici cum capite suo (sc. bishop) corpus et capitulum constituent: negotia ecclesiae et secreta tractant.* p. 35.

§ [In *præbendis*] viros sapientes et scientias præditos lateri suo sociare satagebat, quia absque virorum proborum adjutorio nec populo nec clero convenienter processu sufficeret. Horum consiliiis fretus et comitatus auxiliis, &c. Vita S. Hugonis, Ep. Line. 1200, iii. 8.

|| The Emperor, the kings of France and Spain, and certain foreign peers, always were, and in some cases are still, canons of various churches.

only study* is contemplated in the statutes, and in part provided for by the still noble though despoiled library, but higher education was systematised in the 'schools' which the chancellor 'ruled,' and in which he with his staff lectured. The results appeared in the fact, that from among the prebendaries of the particular cathedral in question every English see has been filled, and many of them twice; for of the fifty-two stalls all but one, and some of them more than once, have given a bishop to our Church. Among great foreigners, Thorlak the ecclesiastical lawgiver, and first saint of the Icelandic Church (whose day is still a national festival), studied first at Paris and then at Lincoln; his nephew and successor Paul was probably a Lincoln student too.†

Henry of Huntingdon the Chronicler (fl. 1135-1154), Canon and Prebendary of Lincoln, and Archdeacon of Huntingdon in that church, addresses (apparently to a brother archdeacon) in his Epistle to Walter,‡ some very touching reminiscences of the spiritual and secular activity of the first group of canons who occupied the stalls of Lincoln. 'Remigius its founder I never saw, but of the venerable clergy to whom first he gave places in his church I have seen every one.' He then mentions by name thirty-three of the original clergy and their first successors, with various touches of character. The whole passage is too long to quote, and too beautiful to spoil. Perhaps the following are among the most interesting:—

'Ralph, the first dean, a venerable priest. Reiner, the first treasurer, full of religion; he had prepared a tomb against the day of his death, and there he often sate to sing psalms, and prayed long spaces,

* 'Studium' is one of the employments in which the dean is warned not to interrupt the canons by too frequent chapters.

† 'Bp. Thorlak was born in A.D. 1133, was ordained priest about 1152, and shortly afterwards went abroad; first to the University of Paris, and thence to Lincoln, where he "contracted much learning useful to himself and to others." He returned to Iceland after being six years abroad; his stay in Lincoln would fall in about 1158-1160. In 1178 he received ordination as Bishop of Skalholt, and died 23rd of December, 1193. In 1199 he was by the Icelandic Parliament declared Saint (Thorlák Helgi), and a very popular saint he was. The Thorlak's Missa is at present the introduction to Christmas. It is a significant token of the independence of the ancient Church that he was canonized by the Parliament without any confirmation from Rome asked for or given. His name is not, therefore, in the Roman Calendar; in his own country he was an undisputed national saint.'

'A minute account of his life as bishop is contained in the Thorlak's 'Saga' (published in 'Bishupe Saga,' i. 87-199), written by a contemporary cleric, and bearing witness to his learning, gentleness, and purity of life.'

'Saint Thorlak's nephew and successor, Paul (d. 1211), also studied in England. The place is not recorded; it may have well been the place where his uncle studied before him.' We have to thank for this note the learned author of the 'Icelandic Dictionary,' Mr. Gudbrand Vigfusson, of Oxford.

‡ Wharton's 'Anglia Sacra,' vol. ii. p. 694.

using himself to his eternal home. Hugh, worthy of all memory, the mainstay and, as it were, the foundation of the Church [he was chancellor]. Osbert [Archdeacon of Bedford, afterward chancellor], *vir omnino comis et desiderabilis*. Willielmus juvenis magnse indolis. Albin, under whom Henry of Huntingdon himself studied. Then come Albin's brothers, "most honourable men, my dearest friends—men of profoundest science, brightest purity, utter innocence,—yet by God's secret judgment were they smitten with leprosy, but death hath made them clean." Nicolas, Archdeacon of Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Hertford, "none more beautiful than he in person, and his character beautiful no less." [In his epitaph he was styled "Stella Cleri," a married canon, and he was Henry's father; his son and successor was avowedly, though in dangerous times, and by many a cutting sarcasm, a strong advocate for a married clergy.] Walter, the prince of orators. Gislebert, elegant in prose, in verse, in dress. With so many other most honoured names I may not tax your patience. "Ama-
bant que amamus; optabant que optamus; sperabant que speramus." A noble society! The lesson which Henry reads his friend from their memory is activity—something "quod differat a somno."

Altogether prebendal life was then very laborious; one of the reasons which Alnwick gives for assigning good salaries to the holders of stalls is the way in which they 'utilitatibus desudant' in extra work * ('voluntarie obsequiorum necessitates') over and above the 'tractatus quotidiani, continuique labores, multaque onera.' The advantages, however, of the position were such as even then to excite the mundane cupidity of those who had no intention of working; while the honour of being associated 'vel perexili titulo' with the 'insignis multitudo clericorum' who frequented Lincoln was earnestly coveted even by famous savants of the University of Paris.† One of Bishop St. Hugh's severest struggles with the Crown arose from royal attempts to force courtiers into stalls, and the reputation and the peacefulness of the vast establishment ‡ were much increased by the determination with which, while he sought for men to fill them, 'eminent for the prerogative of diligence and literature,' he yet would not accept the most eminent, unless he could satisfy himself that they were 'of quiet and modest spirit.' In the same tone we find the great Grosseteste—philosopher, statesman, patriot—not only defying an excommunication for resisting the Pope's demand for a prebend for his nephew, but, with an eye to the substantial work which he expected, refusing Cardinal Otho's request that he would confer a stall upon one whom Grosseteste himself admits to be 'scientia eminens et moribus præclarus,' simply on the ground that work at Lincoln was not such as would

* MS. 'Nov. Reg.' p. 61.

† 'Vita M. Hugonis,' B. iii. c. ix.-x.

‡ 'Cunctis ecclesiis gloriiosius copiosiusque,' id. iii. 8.

suit him best ; while to another scholar of high character he offers a small prebend on condition of his coming at once into residence, there to help feed the flock with the three necessities, 'verbum praedicationis ; exemplum sanctae conversationis ; et devotio puræ orationis.' It was for the sake of greater efficiency in this same work that earlier in life he had himself resigned 'altior dignitas,' and become 'spontaneæ pauperior,' devoting himself to the duties of his prebendal stall.

It is difficult to realize the amount and diversity of interests which centred in this now quiet retreat. From foreign, national, and diocesan relations, from the numerous monasteries which these 'seculars' superintended, and on which their larger spirit had salutary effect,* let us turn to the cathedral itself, and what was going on around it.

I. There was then, first, the *School of Architecture*, which, under the 'Masters of the Fabric,' was creating continuously from century to century a 'Christian Parthenon on a Christian Acropolis,' radiating adaptations through the diocese, and influencing far and wide the taste of the country in every department of Art.

II. There was the *School of Music*, which, under the headship of the 'praecitor' (second, be it remembered, only to the dean), had offshoots (scholæ cantus) in every parish of the diocese, maintained a strict 'inspection' through a magister cantus in civitate et comitatu Lincolniensi (p. 28), and gave 'grants in aid' to every school which was not wholly maintained either by some prebendary, or by the rector and curate of the place.

The central school of the choristæ themselves (who were not to be 'mere hirelings,'† or wholly free scholars, and who were to be of good birth as well as character) was to be a kind of model, with its strict discipline yet 'gentle punishments'‡ under the praecitor's immediate direction. The boys resided with one of the canons as warden, had an 'industrious seneschal' to cater for them, a trusty man to attend them out of doors, and either one or two masters for singing § and grammar.||

III. There

* Compare in 'Nov. Reg.' the contrast drawn between the pettiness of monastic discipline and the wider spirit of the cathedral.

† MS. p. 28 ; see the direction 'ut expensio puerorum pareatur.'

‡ p. 28 ; 'levi castigatione.'

§ The remarks on style of singing, pp. 46, 49, are too long for quotation, but they are excellent ; insisting on a sharp, crisp style, on the management of the breath, and on the necessity for intelligence of the sense. Perhaps it is some ancient praecitor's precept which is quoted, 'Auscultanda cave ; simul incipe ; desine plane.'

|| 'Chorus non obest scholis' is the dictum which, 'experientia teste,' is laid down by an old author in answer to a natural inquiry. He points especially to the schools of the Barnabites throughout Italy, and to the litterarum studia, contionum munus, animarum directio, conversio infidelium, conducted by all those orders

III. There was the still more important *School of Grammar*, under the chancellor. He is responsible for all the grammar-schools of the city and county, and for all appointments made to them—save only singing-schools, prebendal schools, and—how modern an exception—those schools which are wholly maintained by local managers, ‘pro suis parochianis in fide et litteratura erudiendis.’ He was in fact a Minister of Education. At St. Paul’s, London, the corresponding officer ‘preest litteraturæ non tantum ecclesiae sed totius civitatis. Omnes magistri grammatices ei subjiciuntur.’ At York his office is more ancient than that of dean or precentor, under the title of ‘magister scholarum,’ which corresponds to the foreign *escolâtre, scholaster or capiscol*.

IV. Fourthly, there is the ‘*School of Divinity*’ in the city itself; that it was large and widely popular we know, but we have no means of learning its numbers. It was, like the Schools of Letters, ruled by the chancellor, and it is from cathedral institutions that the Universities borrowed the idea of this high officer. All appointments in this school were to be filled up by him, but he was also required ‘actualiter legere,’ himself to lecture. He had besides fixed days on which he was bound to deliver popular lectures or sermons in English. He also was responsible for arranging the *lectiones* or *collationes* read in the chapter-house, which are characterised (remarkable phrase) as having proved *ad fidei et morum reformationem plurimum efficaces*. He was the custodian finally of the precious treasure of the libri scholastici, except such as were ‘chained in the library.’ His multifarious duties, and the extent of the field, made the chancellor, as we have seen, the ‘principium et quasi fundamentum ecclesiae,’ and rendered the office of a Vice-chancellor indispensable.

V. On the ‘*Archdeacons*,’ whose head-quarters were here, it is not necessary to dwell. Each had one of the seven counties of the diocese under his direction, and the jurisdiction since lost through ‘*Archidiaconorum incuria seu episcoporum potentia*,’* was not without its burdens.

VI. Under the ‘treasurer,’ besides the management of the funds, and the responsibility of the magnificence with which the pages of Dugdale flash out, as it passes from its old home to the hands of Henry VIII., (and may that moveable magnificence never reappear in the cathedral of the future!), was the supply of large quantities of warm clothing for the poor, distributed by

orders which found the full daily *usus Hymnodie* (choral service) to be maxime carus et utilis. Ap. ‘*Miraculum eod. Regin. et Coastt. Cleric.*’ p. 57.

* Frances, c. 30. n. 24.

the canons ; and the dispensary, of which the medicine-niches yet surround the walls of an apartment in the cathedral.

The present statutes say nothing of the road-making and bridge-making which is described in other cathedral statutes as part of the 'work.' But their present form sufficiently explains this ; and it is clear that the character of the country made it at least as imperative here as elsewhere.

VII. Lastly, we come to the '*Cathedral Service*' ; the sole function of the great institution which was limited to its own walls. The ceaseless supplication for Grace, the perpetual Intercession, the endless Praise—unbroken, yet ever new, like Nature herself with varying majesty—practical issue of a still languidly acknowledged theory.*

Every prebendary provided a vicar for the choir service. Ignorant assertions are common enough, that priest-vicars, or, as they sometimes are called, minor canons—arose out of the absenteeism of the canons. The fact is, that the vicars were the working staff of 'Cathedral service,' while the canons were the servers of 'Cathedral work.' The vicars of the non-resident canons were a body corporate under the dean and chapter ; the chaplains or commensales of the residents were subject to their 'dominus' alone. But they and the vicars served the choir whether the prebendary was present or not, and in no case relieved the latter of his duties, which were absolutely distinct, not only as to the 'work,' but in the service of the choir itself. No one but a prebendary could act as a prebendary's deputy in the church. So at Exeter 'each of the twenty-four canons had his vicar from the commencement' ('Cath. Comm.' p. 183). The same is the case in every old cathedral.

VIII. We need scarcely speak of the accretion of twenty chantries, each with its chaplain, and the 'pauperes clericu' who guarded the altars. The system was an after-growth, having no true connection with, and no original place in, the cathedral system, a temporary enrichment, but, finally and justly, one of the most active causes of dissolution. When at last a fifteenth-century prelate commissioned two diocesan preachers, who should have had other subject matter, to stimulate the decreasing supply of devotions for the fabric by proclaiming the chapter's care for the souls of departed benefactors—when the offerings of the dead became the trade of the living, the heart of the fabric was near ceasing to beat. But this sad side of the picture, to which it is

* On this important subject—the true theory of the perpetual *Λειτουργία* of the Cathedral—we may be permitted to refer to the beautiful chapters on the Daily Office in the work of the Dean of Norwich, which has appeared since the above pages were written.

only just to advert, need nevertheless not detain us, for it belongs only to the centuries in which decay was at work, and is in itself the principal symptom of decay.

And now it is worth while to pause for a moment to remember that of this great establishment in its integrity—setting aside the chantry priests—not a single line of the plan has perished. Not one office or title (perexiles tituli though they have become for the time) is extinct, with the significant exception of the treasurership. Vicars, prebendaries in full tale, chancellor, precentors, dean, and deputies are appointed still. It is said that when it was proposed to leave the prebendal stalls unabolished while confiscating the funds, the proposal was passed by the House of Commons with a derisive cheer. Members of the then Parliament thought they 'knew the clergy' too well to suppose that they would accept offices which entailed expense, trouble, travelling, labour in writing, and preaching without reward for the sake of maintaining the ancient forms of their cathedrals in honour and respect. Yet they were mistaken. Prebendal stalls are filled, and the duties accepted with pride and without hire. It would be difficult to find one instance in which they had ever been declined, and all prebendal stalls are full. Is there not significance in the fact?

And now in speaking of the daily corporate life of this great body, our space is too scant too allow us to dwell on the many delicate and even tender provisions for mutual respect and harmony, on the precautions taken for the honourable discharge of all private debts; the grave admonitions not to take up the time of the chapter with personal grievances; the visiting of the sick; the thrilling vigils of all the canons through the night on the occurrence of a death in their ranks; the kindness towards the 'familia' of the deceased enjoined on the successor; the penalties for violation of such respect; or again, the assignment of a portion of the Psalter to the bishop and each prebendary, so that the whole Psalter might be daily recited as a common act of private devotion, and with the thought and memory of common obligation, but there are three points to which we must advert; they show as well as any number could do, what was the spirit which animated that life.

1. The consideration of inferiors. In the payment of every dividend and every due the inferior ministers and vicars receive their full salaries before any other persons receive anything; 'not in order to give them higher place,' but because they are 'Christ's poor,' who depend on this their labour 'bearing the burden of the night as well as of the day.'

2. Elevating

2. Elevating influence on subordinates. Every prebendary on his Sunday turn entertains nineteen of the under officers of the staff at dinner; and daily through his week others, some at luncheon, and some at breakfast. The dean, about thirty times a year, gave a 'honorificus pastus' in his own house to all the choir and all the vicars, with a view to making 'life and work more pleasant to them.' One dean having evaded the rule through frequent absence, is enjoined to give the feast equally whether present or absent. But the rule is that the giver shall dine or sup along with his humbler guests, and cultivate personal relations with them.

3. Companionship. Its importance to 'bachelors' engaged as these men were is fully recognised. Each prebendary in residence is as far as possible to make his vicar a companion; he is to be his *commensalis*, he is to accompany him in walking. To us, with our restless movements, and distant communications and crowd of acquaintances, this seems, and would be, too formal. It was otherwise when all these conditions of society were reversed. But even in modern times it is well known how affectionate and lofty have been the friendships of ecclesiastics thus paired, as they loved to think, after the pattern of the first disciples; and we can still recognise the beneficial influence the system would have on the selection, and in the cultivation of the younger man.

From the society itself we pass to the consideration of the head of the society. The *Dean* was not an original officer in every chapter even in England, and his position is difficult to delineate. His powers were always great but indefinite.* He was simply 'pre-eminent.' Older than Grosseteste (Ep. 127; Ed. Luard) was the gradual assumption of that place with respect to the chapter which belonged originally to the bishop, but which it rarely seemed worth the bishop's while to battle for.†

Reserved for our days has been a decanal proposition to diminish decanal difficulties, by dissolving the canonical co-operation, and making the dean a grander rector, with vicars for curates. 'Yet all allowance must be made. Such positions have

* Quid ad Decani officium spectet modicum reperitur in jure decisum. 'Nov. Reg.' MS. p. 12.

† In one see an eminent bishop never saw his cathedral during an episcopate of twenty years. The grotesque fact is well known that, in some cathedrals, the bishop cannot cross from his throne to the pulpit without invitation; in others cannot ordain without obtaining permission. The late Master of Trinity (Dr. C. Wordsworth, in his eloquent letter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 1837) expresses sorrow and surprise at the part taken by the bishops against the chapters. But at that time the estrangement was complete.

been

been ever difficult. The terminable office of the vice-chancellor is the solution of similar difficulties in the Universities.*

We speak only of the cathedral system as it was in its vigour. During 'the quiet period' a deanery has been often indeed a well-merited reward, which the Church of England is only too blest in being allowed to dispense; a position in which wit and learning, eloquence, hospitality, and gentle Christian life have most fairly flourished. But anciently the very variety of influence assigned in different cases tells of long-felt difficulties. In some cases a dean was but one voice in the chapter; in others he was equipollent with the whole chapter; now independent of it, now superior to it, and indeed its visitor;† but Alnwick declared that no law had defined the status of deans, and that it was so various in various places that local custom alone could regulate it. But he does not hesitate to affirm that, while the enemy 'jugiter sedet insidians ecclesiasticis viris,' and while there arise 'innumera et scandalosa jurgia, adeo inveterata quod ex eis infinita mala et pericula animabus personis rebusque ecclesiæ nostræ pervenerint et perveniant (pro dolor) incessanter,' the main cause of the cathedral mischiefs and evils of his day was to be found in the conduct of the deans; so obvious was this that the prebendary's very oath of obedience quaintly anticipated it. At his admission he promises to obey the *chapter* 'vobis (i. e. decano) absentibus aut negligentibus,' when you, the dean, are absent or neglectful.‡

A few words must be said on the position of the *Bishop* with regard to the dignitaries and prebendaries of his cathedral, because much misconception prevails on the point. He is, according to the definition, not only a dignitas within his Church, but the 'culmen dignitatum.' According to the still more important definition above quoted (p. 231), 'Quinquaginta et sex canonici ecclesiae B.V.M. Lincolnensis cum capite suo corpus et capitulum constituunt,' and this caput of the 'Mystic Body' is (p. 14) the bishop himself.§

Non-residence and jealousies have converted this into the present unreasonable status; a supposed 'courtesy' has allowed him to preach or appoint preachers on Ordination Sundays,

* Decanal functions like those of Christ Church are exceptional. No retiring dean (still less a bishop) could discharge them.

† This is clear enough from the statutes, in spite of Grosseteste's logical proof that the dean was *visor*, not *visitator*. Ep. 127.

‡ Few sketches of mediæval life are more amusing than the history of Dean Macworth's ingenious evasions and tyrannical contraventions of the statutes.

§ So Saravia Quæstio, i. § 7, 'episcopus [not Decanus] est caput Capituli et per consequens principalis pars ipsius.' 'Faciunt unum corpus . . . corpus non licet a capite separare.' Frances, 'De Eccl. Cath.', c. 30, § 19.

but his *right* of preaching is supposed to be confined to his turn as a prebendary. This is far from the original conception. The pastoral office and work are doubtless not the same as the canonical or cathedral function. Yet the canons are, says Saravia, 'fratres episcopi,' as the cardinals are 'fratres papæ'; he is the pastor of his canons as much as of his parochial clergy. They are in fact, according to an early, if not primitive, idea of the institution,* parochiani, whose presence he requires to form his consilium, to compose his boards for examining, for teaching whether by lectures or by sermons, for inspecting, for visitations, for organisations of every kind, for the protection of church rights and charitable funds, for resistance alike to royal, aristocratical, and papal encroachment, for the promotion of learning and science. Nay, in order that the prebends themselves might not lose their original relation to the bishop, the 'vicars perpetual' of the prebendal churches were still 'immediate subjects' to the bishop, and from him received their cure of souls. The bishops accordingly were the founders and endowers of every prebendal stall; they nominated the incumbents; when convenience required an additional prebendary besides those endowed with land, it was the bishop who paid his stipend. They on their part, in order to represent them, to exercise their jurisdictions more consistently, to sum up and unite their voices, elected with absolute freedom their own dean; but not until the Crown had appropriated this appointment, and until various interests had largely influenced the appointments to stalls, did the aims and interests of chapters begin to draw away from the bishops. The older history brings out the full force of terms and usages. Dean and chapter addressing the bishop, designate the cathedral universally as 'vestra ecclesia'; he to them always calls it 'nostra.' It was not theirs, but his; the bells are to peal when he attends service; the seemly choir salutations (too frequently disused) are to be made to the dean only when the bishop is absent, to the bishop alone if present; he alone is to give any benediction, (frequent as they were in the old services), may supersede at his pleasure any dignitary in his turn for celebrating mass; and now that to these the preaching turns have succeeded,† he has an indubitable right to preach at pleasure. He convokes the entire body of dignities, canons and prebendaries—the long chapter, as it is in some places called—not 'immediately,' but through the dean and chapter of resi-

* According to the Augustinian theory of their origin the connection with the bishop is still closer. See Cheruel, 'Dictionnaire des Institutions,' s. v. Chanoine.

† Even this 'Ordo Prædicatorum' is the comparatively modern legislation of Bishop Sanderson for his own Cathedral of Lincoln.

dentiaries by mandate. They appear either personally or by proxy ; receive his communication, deliberate, and vote.* Lastly, the bishop is the sole interpreter of the cathedral statutes, and it may startle us to find how responsible he is for the good conduct of the dean, '*quem ad hoc vel ad aliud quod tenetur compellare debet et aretare.*' Liable to such responsibilities he is armed with adequate power ; he visits at will the cathedral and the prebends ; he is bound to present offences in the first instance to the chapter for their correction, but such intervention then becomes compulsory on their part, and if they neglect to correct them he corrects them himself, and may punish the chapter with interdict, or even excommunication.

We have hastily surveyed the constitution and the functions of the large yet compact body which constituted an ancient chapter. We have not averted our eyes from its possible or actual failure. Its scope and aims may be summed up in three words—‘science, law, religion.’ Not severed, like monastic orders, from the daily interests of the citizens, the secular foundation continued for centuries to be *of* the people, as it sprang *from* the people ; its members were the busiest of men, and the least recluse. The history of an early English bishop of that age—himself a man of the people—is often a narrative of successful war against nobles, courts, and popes. The identity of his interests with the interests of the commons is set forth in the old metaphor that he was betrothed to his Church, and bound to stand by her as a husband ‘*ad latus sponsæ.*’ The continuity of the tradition was set forth with a strange beauty in the church of Lincoln, when, on the recurrence of any bishop’s ‘obit,’ the canons lit with tapers not his tomb only, but the tomb of every bishop through the church. The brightness of that continuity has ceased for a while, and various influences

* *Nos Willelmus vocatis de mandato nostro per Decanum et Capitulum juxta Ecclesie nr̃e consuetudinem loci Canonicis et aliis dignitates et officia atque personatus in eadem obtinentibus universis de consuetudine hujusmodi evocandi ; et 9^o die mensis Junii sic vocatis, viz. : discretis viris et comparentibus et in Capitulo adunatis Praemissa et alias convocationis predictæ causas aperauimus super quibus communicatione et deliberatione præhabitis nobis et omnibus sic convocatis videbatur saluberrimum fore* [Marginal note. *Canonici convocantur per Decanum et Capitulum et non Episcopum.*] The prescription of the *modus convocandi* assumes the existence of the *Jus*, p. 114. Preamble to the *Laudum.* Considerantes quod id quod omnes tangit ab omnibus debet approbari, et ne quis confratrum nostrorum dignitates personatus aut præbendas in ipsa Ecclesie nr̃e obtinentium in ea parte possit conqueri se contemptum et aliis ex causis nos moventibus ad certam diem in Capitulo ejusdem Ecclesie eosdem omnes et singulos fecimus convocari, quibus dictis die et loco comparentibus, aliquibus viz. personaliter, et nonnullis per eorum Procuratores comparentibus, &c. . . . Here it is assumed that the bishop summons as many or as few as he will. To summon all is an act of grace in some degree.

have effected a divorce * which gave to both sides ease without peace, awoke jealousies which shifted their ground from the best interests of society to poorest trivialities, distorted the view of chapter life, and forfeited its claim to administrate noble means.

The cathedral has in our day to begin the world again, and inch by inch to win its way back to a usefulness commensurate with its dignity.

For is there no need? Rather is not the conviction very general and very strong that the Church of England labours under disabilities which no existent machinery is at work to remedy; that its excellent scheme is invalidated by deficiencies which are scarcely supplemented, much less repaired. It may not be possible to deny the necessity of such changes as have been made from other points of view; but we cannot refuse to see the fact, that while the Church is unable in any way to contract her operation, and must accelerate her work of evangelisation, not only upon divine principles, but upon national grounds, she must also cease to look to the Universities for a complete training of ecclesiastical or clerical energies. They have altered their aims. Her hold is not merely precarious on them, it is assumed to be declining, and she is thereby left for the present without either 'centres' or 'organisms' from and through which living forces of the nature required can come into operation. Yet we already possess in our cathedrals—if the Church shall devote itself to renew their vitality, and to reconstruct them—organic centres, bases of operation, outlines of advance. We have in them types of societies—dwindled, yet alive—which resemble, which indeed gave the pattern to the Universities themselves, and are specially adapted to address themselves successfully to the solution of these problems. On the one side lie definite necessary functions to be performed; on the other side there are capable bodies, craving these very functions, and with faculties for expansion in just proportion to the demands. May we not forge the link which shall restore the office to the officers? The cathedral bodies themselves are inseparably connected with the history and progress of Christianity in England. They date back to its very planting. They have needed revision and renovation from time to time. Speaking approximately, the 11th, the 14th, and the 16th centuries have been the periods of their successive regenerations. Now the 19th claims its own revival.

* Nearly the same severance has occurred in the Church of Rome, for which Saravia gives two causes:—1. *Negligentia Canonicorum*; 2. The fact that the chapters were not represented at the Council of Trent, and that their ancient rights were then curtailed. In England at least one of those causes has not been operative.

The spirit of 430 years ago demanded and effected such a rehabilitation on the express ground that 'Quæstionibus et negotiis indies occurrentibus antiqua non sufficiunt instituta.' (MS. 'Nov. Reg.', p. 3.) Is not the axiom conceived in the very spirit of our own times? We must then briefly touch the needs of our modern Church (and we would willingly touch them in a spirit not less reverent than practical), and examine how far the remedies are to be found in the revival of diocesan and cathedral institutions.

I. *Clergy Training.*—(1) Knowledge. The foremost place in the functions of the cathedral must be assigned to it as a home and fountain of theological learning. The Universities are (it may be rightly) abandoning this position, and that not with regard to theological learning alone; they abrogate the title of 'seats of learning' in the ancient sense altogether. The original function of the University, as represented in the 'professor,' was first to accumulate, secondly to explore, thirdly to teach teachers. But the present necessary vocation of the professor is to teach undergraduates. Science advances, learning accumulates, philosophy strengthens elsewhere also under the guidance of less engrossed teachers. But the Church of England cannot abnegate her position as a learned Church; that position which has made her sympathetic with every advance in knowledge, appreciative of every expansion of art, capable of every development of method. In criticism, in science, in every walk of literature, her clergy claim some of the highest names. If in any quarter of a century there has been in her the least declension of learning, then the steadiness of her spiritual advance has slackened too. The immediate prospects of Christianity itself are so compromised in her truthfulness, that we may well be jealous of allowing her light to flicker. 'Practical work' is the most popular demand just now, and 'results' immediate, examinable, the test of 'work.' It is a standard which, superficial as it is, the English Church has no reason to fear; but the history of civilisation is read to little purpose, if it is doubted that on living truth, progressive science, accurate knowledge, 'practical work' can alone be built. Yet to the cathedrals alone and their developed colleges of canons may we now look for restoration of Church-learning. The Universities having apparently repudiated the task, association is necessary, provision is necessary; neither alone nor unendowed can Church-scholars possibly work. Yet the sole legislative enactment needed to convert the cathedrals into such colleges is the withdrawal from the future occupants of canonries of the permission to hold livings, and the requirement of nine months' cathedral residence. The canons will still be as well off as most college tutors or

university professors. This done, the colleges *ipso facto* exist. The difference between the 'old' and 'new' foundations lies mainly here. The new foundations, colleges of seven or eight men, were founded with this for their leading idea. The 'old foundations,' though the same was their principal work, yet, as colleges of thirty, fifty, or sixty men, were intended to incorporate with this work of learning, and to animate by it, a vast mass of 'practical work' besides. In their restoration the aim must be not to revive the latter alone; this severed from the former must 'lose its savour'; each may best be carried on in unison with the other—above all, if there be a specialising co-operation in the divisions of study. The first practical issue then must be the dealing with candidates for holy orders. It is an undisguised fact that bishops and bishops' examiners are dissatisfied with the acquirements of those whom they examine and certify for holy orders. Not a twelfth part of the candidates in the most attractive dioceses can be said to pass each examination as all ought to pass it. The deficiency is general; accurate comprehensive study of Scripture, the Greek Testament, the Christian evidences, scientific knowledge of Creed and Articles, are very rare. Church history is commonly the best prepared subject, but the knowledge is desultory. 'Latin,' even when required, is less satisfactory still as evidence of sound study. Of the 'Sermons' it can only be said that they bid fair to perpetuate our current tradition. An observant examiner perceives that what his examinees lack, is not ability or earnestness, but cultivation. An experienced examiner knows that more systematic Scripture knowledge is produced not only from men's but from girls' training-schools, than by the untrained average 'candidate.' The Universities do not succeed in giving clerical training to more than a select few. But were they ever so successful, and were the current of university feeling more favourable to such training than it is, they would not supply much more than a single diocese with cultivated men. There is wanted moderate, no doubt, but truthful and serviceable knowledge, substantial teaching for *every* man, whatever his calibre, or however imperfectly educated in classics, who, in earnestness and sober zeal (and these qualities abundantly exist) presents himself to be accredited as qualified to impart the Church's knowledge, to defend to some extent the Church's position. These are the men who 'pick up' their work as they best can in two or three months after the bishop's secretary has furnished them with a list of books, many known to them only by name (many not even so known), and the chaplain has recommended them to study the Bible or Greek Testament in a method and with a system of which they have hitherto had no experience.

experience. Is the need past for the 'Chancellor's Exercises,' the 'Chapter House Lectures'?

Could the Universities even now (as may possibly be hoped) so consolidate their Theological Faculty, and so concentrate and classify their professorial schools as to give adequate training in the literary and historical sections of Theological science—Biblical Criticism, Ecclesiastical and Doctrinal History, Liturgiology,—there would still remain as pure clerical training the gravest dogmatical studies, there would still be the necessary supplement of Pastoral Divinity, for the pursuit of which the Cathedral Schools would offer the fairest and the most natural opening.

If the possible encouragement of a spirit of 'clique' has sometimes seemed to be an objection to 'theological colleges,' this is a danger against which the open character of English theology, the tone of modern cultivation, the variety of class which would yield both canon-tutors and students, are adequate securities; but, in fact, it is the absence of mutual culture, the want of inter-communion of ideas, the missing of earlier collision with other minds, upon great subjects, which is—far more than any special association—the source of our present tendencies to *cliquetry*.

'Ne pretiosa nostra vilescant, et ministri sint sic in contum' is one of William Alnwick's weighty warnings to his chapter and vicars, as he urges on them a high and intelligent tone of devotion. The warning is needed now. What proportion of the examinees, at any ordination, are competent to deal with problems which every educated layman of their own age suggests? or to explain a 'hard place' to a half-informed inquirer? to reproduce with accuracy the reasoning on which the most important dogmas rest? to replace with a sounder evidence one which has proved fallacious? Let examiners say. We need a skilled clergy more than ever, yet it may be doubted whether we have been ever more defective. The country clergyman of a hundred years ago was often a learned man in his retirement. The town clergy were above the average of their equals in attainment. But let our 'working clergy' pass a quarter of a century more in their present relations to the 'educated class,' and then 'pretiosa nostra vilescent.' As a caste they would necessarily still subsist; perhaps even invested for the devotee minds with some added touches of quasi-religious awe, always received with the regard loyally rendered to diligence and to benevolence. But even now an ominous kindly silence too frequently closes a discussion begun in presence of a clergyman. His character commands regard; he has credit for ardently believing what his friends might equally accept, if the living speech

speech of the teacher defended or even clearly stated his truth. But that habitual gentle silence surely preludes oblivion or storm.

II. *Pastoral Care*.—Again, the clergy need preliminary instruction as to ‘visiting,’ as to meeting on equal terms the dissenter, the semi-detached churchman, the doubter, the scoffer, the inquirer. In the cottage they crave a nicer skill in hushing the querulous, garrulous tongue, and touching the hardened heart. No doubt our clergy ‘visit’ with much of wisdom, because they are so true and so frank. Still, through how many painful failures, through how much impatience, how much blank tongued distress do they pass! How much do they feel to have been sacrificed to many an undisciplined dash into the valley of death. With school-teaching it is the same. For years the young curate wavers between baldness and formula. How long it is before he finds that footing from which he may so seem to climb with his hearers that they may climb without shrinking! How universal the complaint that the ‘Meeting’ reaps the fruit of his labours! Our National schoolmasters have an advantage here which compensates for many a defect. They have method at least, the clergyman has none.

1. To meet such deficiencies as oppress the individual, and tend directly to lower the order, we require throughout England certain centres which shall adequately train not more than from thirty to fifty men at once—numbers which will admit of being broken up into small ‘lectures’ or classes, such as the best colleges are beginning to form for themselves in the Universities for kindred subjects of morality and metaphysics and political economy. There is nothing to be gained by massing such students. They do not want the ‘little world’ theory of school and college applied to them at the age of 21 and 22. They want contact with disciplined thoughtful minds. This is the only way of teaching higher subjects to grown men. There are wanted facilities for dialogising; they want constant ‘papers’ to work at, to consider, and to answer, not long hours of teaching,—constant exercitations in writing, and (though we have yet to form our method in this department) some oratorical instruction which shall elevate and advance the present level. What a Cyprian and an Augustine did not disdain to teach—what Cicero, at the age of twenty-eight, did not disdain to learn in the lecture-room of Molo—can be despised only by a ‘rustic’ or a ‘bananistic’ spirit.

2. Thus much for one side of the training. For the other, men preparing for ministerial work should, for certain periods during the curriculum of the preparation, be broken up into twos and

and threes in country parishes, fours and sixes in large towns, and placed under the direction of able parish priests of experience. How many of these there are of mature age, whose youth was passed under certain great influences! And, we may say, how few there are of younger date who rise to the same level! But many of these would be most valuable guides, most meet at once to encourage and to temper the zeal and the energies of aspirants to similar work. Our true modern theological college would make arrangements, whether in the cathedral town or in other towns or populous parishes, for sending out its alumni (for nine months perhaps out of a two-years' course) to work under the eye of such men as these, and to read for their examinations: the first fifteen months would be spent in the college itself. So would they be not only instructed, but enabled to deal with the shop and the cottage and the railway; useful from the first to some extent in church and school to the rector or vicar who receives them, but learning from him such 'method' as will save them years of disappointing labour, gaining the effectual unobtrusive art of giving expression to their sympathy and their devotion.

Some may have seen a certain photograph representing more than a hundred young men gathered to bid farewell to him who for ten years had daily studied the Greek Testament for an hour with them, and given pastoral training in his parish to those who would come and live within its boundary. Few are the men whose ability and ready learning and Christian tact could effect so much unaided. But well-organised institutions, in which one man should supply another's need; which could attract the interest of some of the leading clergy of the diocese; which could carry out pecuniary arrangements with economy and skill, might spring up in every cathedral city, whilst beautiful and glorious associations would dignify the work.*

III. Again,

* 'Towards the latter end of this year (1539) several new deaneries and colleges of prebends were founded out of divers priories belonging to cathedral churches. Cranmer laboured with the king that in these new foundations there should be readers of Divinity, Greek, and Hebrew, and students trained up in religion and learning, from whence, as from a nursery, the bishops should supply their dioceses with honest and able ministers; and so every bishop should have a college of clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merits: *for it was our archbishop's regret that the prebendaries were bestowed as they were.*' Strype, 'Mem. Cran.', i. p. 107. See also among the citations in '1st Rep. Cath. Commission,' p. xxiv., 'Cranmer's Letter to Cromwell concerning the Maintenance of Twenty Divines at Canterbury for reading Lectures in Theology and Arts.' 'It appears,' says Bishop Gibson (p. 180), from 31 Hen. VIII. c. 9, 'that the great design was to make cathedrals nurseries of young divines for the service of the Church, who, being trained in the study of Divinity under the immediate inspection of the bishops, deans, and chapters, &c.' See also Dr. C. Wordsworth's

III. Again, is it hopeless to believe that we may by degrees create a staff of *Free Preachers*? This belongs distinctly both to the ancient and to the Protestant notion of a cathedral. The Report (First, p. xxxiv.)—that noble monument of conscientious work—again quotes Bishop Stillingfleet's account of early London, with its 'persons sent up and down by the Bishop to such places as he thought fit, for instructing the people.' Cranmer's care for the six preachers of Canterbury is well known. These were anciently provided with horses, &c., for their tours. Knowing the effective use which both Rome and Nonconformity make of such institutions, we can scarcely doubt their advisability or their feasibility. Still less can we doubt that the most vigorous and most temperate rendezvous would be the headquarters of the diocese.

IV. But we are far from thinking that the cathedral does not owe a peculiar debt to its own city. It is a debt which the statutes frequently recognise. The severance which sometimes exists (though by no means always), has its origin in recent apathies, not in old usage. The very fabric—the magnitude, for instance, of the nave—represents the fact. Diocesan gatherings and city organisations also are beginning to require and to replenish them at intervals, and it is scarcely necessary to assure ourselves that we see but the beginning of such organisations. The choir was well filled with chapter and vicars. Who but the city required anciently such vast naves? Yet the class in society which (if we can single out one) we neglect more shamefully, more inexcusably than any others, is a city class; a class whose work lies under the shadow of cathedrals, of collegiate churches, of the great old parish churches,—young men in bankers', in attorneys' offices, in large warehouses, and respectable shops. They have been well educated up to a certain age; well cared for in good schools; they are of excellent character or they would not be where they are. But from the hour they enter on their business-training all higher influences surrender, and almost shun them. They need but a little living interest to be found for them, witness certain London congregations. But, alas! what falls for the many of them! Alas, what years of impurity! separated from home—lonely in lodgings, what does society provide for them? The theatre, the music-hall, the dancing-room,

worth's (Master of Trinity) account in the Letter previously referred to, of the College projected in the reign of James I. 'to be attached to the Collegiate Church and Minster of Ripon,' in many points restored to its ancient use and dignity, with its splendid design for 30 colleagues, 70 junior fellows (10 students in arts, 8 in tongues, &c.), 120 probationers, 120 scholars, and 60 grammar scholars. See also Dr. W.'s extracts from Sir E. Sandys and Lord Bacon on the necessity of Divinity Instruction.

unless

unless after sedentary days they have some special intellectual zeal left for solitary study. Some efforts are made, no doubt ; but 'Young Men's Christian Associations,' thankfully as we own good work on their part, and still look for developments not necessarily stimulated by party spirit, are at present inadequate to such result. But wherever there is a *body* of clergy, wherever there is anything like a *college*, wherever there are lecture rooms and libraries, there not only the authorities but the students themselves may be infinitely serviceable to one of the most interesting and valuable and important classes of society. The college should have its *open* lectures, as well as its close ones. Its late evening lectures on subjects not purely theological should enrol its classes of these men. If once the construction of vaulted roofs, the thrust of walls, the balance of buttresses —nay, the construction of bridges, the formation and repair of highways were not unworthy studies in the most religious ages of the old and new foundation—will history, and physiology, and mathematics be beneath them now ? Minds furrowed with some intellectual plough best receive the seed of revealed Truth. What a field here for association of clergy with able laymen in the actual instruction ! what a *μαθήτευσις* of young laymen to be the very strength of the Church in its most important ranks. Let the cathedral body take a lead here. Its affiliations would overspread the diocese, and its associations would have an effect which the higher spirit in commerce would gladly recognise and advance.

V. Some due preparation of the order of 'Readers' will necessarily call for attention shortly. The experiment is begun, and has the countenance of the bishops. If we have full confidence in the zeal of our rulers and the devotion of our people, we shall only expect its too rapid development. This order must require some training, some lessons from experience, to guide and to chasten, while it promotes zeal ; some sense of unity in their work. For the supply of elements, so necessary to permanence and 'acceptableness,' whither can we look but to some action of the cathedral and its staff ? The country town has few suggestions to offer to its own volunteers, and the university tone and university habits are typically those which we do *not* want to give them.

VI. There is another point in which the co-operation of laymen in cathedrals is seriously wanted on many accounts. The 'Library' was in the old times a distinguishing feature of the cathedral. It ought to be so still. And it never can be so long as the clergy alone engross it. A great bibliographer relates with glee how by a present of some splendidly bound modern books, he obtained possession of the chief treasures

of

of a certain cathedral library. In that library you yet may turn over volume after volume, out of which the illuminations have been sliced by the penknives of visitors. In that library you still see *strata* as it were of collections—plenteous ore in one generation, from folios to broad-sheets, in the next generation ‘*tenuis argilla*.’ None of these mischiefs would ever have occurred—the library would ever have been, would still be, the pride of the city and county, if the antiquaries, the literati, the country gentlemen, had been—some elective, some ex officio—members of the committee. The collections would have been intact, and they would have been uniformly progressive. Small blame to chapters cut down to four or five clergymen. No given four or five barristers or magistrates would form an efficient continuous library committee. It was different when the chapter meant sixty people, and those who had daily right and pressure to use the library, and had no other books to use, were two or three hundred. Then it was at once a college library and a grand repository of archives. This it ought still to be. It ought to contain archives of every town, every marked family, and every corporation in the diocese, as well as to maintain at full efficiency a general library—a centre of light and happiness. What the ‘Old Library’ so governed has been in one of our great midland towns (and it may be in others) for some generations is well known. Sterile exclusiveness has made the cathedral a seed-plot of unfructifying germs.

VII. After books we will take *Music*: but in a few words only. The cathedral was once—as we saw, in speaking of the precentorship—the musical centre of the diocese. Now, we see the musical centre fixed elsewhere. In the diocese we speak of, two officers discharge the identical office of the ancient succentor. They travel from choir to choir throughout its counties, testing, giving hints, introducing uniformity of style, organising a really great musical power. But are they officers of the cathedral? The cathedral is the last church to concern itself with the function. How much both it and they lose by the severance.

VIII. Equally practical, equally manageable, and already to some extent operative, is a cathedral system of *School Inspection*. The germ of what may become very important exists in the scheme of diocesan inspectors. This, too, needs to be bound up in the cathedral, and may have a very ‘strait alliance’ with the college. The time cannot be distant in which elaborate arrangements must be made for the religious instruction, and the inspection of all children who belong to our body. The Church will assuredly gain as compared with the denominations; we have to rise to the occasion, ‘gratefully to accept compulsory education,

education, to recognise all that it involves, and to be in time. Our districts will be our dioceses, with our chapter-houses and our sees as the head-quarters.

We need say little of the city and cathedral schools themselves, (1) because it is not every cathedral which has such schools; (2) because, as chapters have frozen into dignities, the school has sometimes found their shadow chill; (3) because though as typical work it is important, yet the cathedral influence should not be supposed to limit itself to this work; (4) because the Endowed Schools Bill at present *exempts* the choristers' school from certain rules rather than groups others with it. But the 'Archididascalus,' and 'Ostiarius' stall in some of the cathedrals have their moral; and it is interesting to see the training colleges taking their cathedral place here and there, the principal as prebendary, or as minor canon, even though the students are but as other strangers. And there are two other points on which it would be premature to enter, except in the pure spirit of hope that when our Church at large awakes to grander views of duty to all classes, the cathedrals may be the first to inaugurate them.

(I.) Organised charitable work in *Hospital Service*. The Church (that is, 'the whole congregation of Christian people') has grievously forfeited ground that was all her own, and the continent puts to shame our poor appreciation (except on some tremendous emergency) of the religious aspect and uses of the sacred office of nursing the sick. Our earliest attempts at the resumption were too full of excitement. 'Medical jealousy,' if it has any existence (which we doubt) is no mere indifference to religion.* The most religious surgeon may not see lives endangered through inexperience, however zealous. But one of the best nursed hospitals in London (King's College), by its connexion with St. John's House, has given a precedent which will be followed. Trained lady nurses with their staff are the very angels of sick men; nor can institutions for the training of Protestant deaconesses have their head-quarters or local centres for country districts better than in the chief towns of the diocese—where counsel, buildings, money, recruits, and practice, can well be concentrated.'

While the Leper's Hospital, founded in the city by the founder of the cathedral himself; while the medicine-niches within the very walls of the church bear witness to the old views of the situation; while Hugh's biographer tells of the matriculæ for incurables, on several of the episcopal farms, and of the

* E. g. An honorary surgeon in a western cathedral town has lately built a beautiful hospital chapel, and endowed a chaplain at his own cost.

bishop's frequent visits to them, 'materna lenitate blandiens . . . morum quoque bonorum documenta mira suavitate intersetens verbis consolationis,' and while we cannot see without sorrow how the minster has been deprived of the power of making, even within the shadow of its towers, the least spiritual provision for those days of languor when the rudest are impressionable, and for those rare weeks of leisure—is it a hopeless vision to conceive that there may one day exist a Diocesan Corps of Hospital Chaplains, a Diocesan Staff of Trained Nurses, and even Deaconesses or Sisters?

The review of our needs as churchmen, even in a few particulars, has much in it that is saddening; but they are needs of a special order. Not one of these necessities is such as individual effort can deal with; they are equally beyond the grasp of a metropolitan centralisation; they can only be grappled with by association, by groups of forces around local centres. Various as they are, they admit to a great degree of being administered in concert from such points, while their variety will keep those centres distinct, and give to each the special, the individual, and, as it were the personal character which is desirable for healthy action. At none would all the elements be combined; at none would they meet in the same proportions. Each would be an integral living, organic, specific whole. But the point to observe is, that however feeble for a time this vital action, we do possess such 'ganglia' already. We have such centres, types of a true mode of action. Our aim should be to complete, as it were, the electric circuit—'Fili hominis, viventne credis? Domine Deus, tu nōsti.' If means have for a while been crippled, local forces partly exhausted, we may remember that it is our own fault; that the neglect and misuse of grand means could no longer be borne with; we may take some comfort from the thought that if we have lost the power of applying them when we now perhaps have learnt wisdom to apply them, the resources are at least not any longer *wasted*. The treasure unvalued till lost is serviceable elsewhere; and legislation has given the singular but important right to restore every single stall to existence by the foundation of a small stipend. Past misuse does not make our 'centres,' our 'types,' our 'lines' less clear or less precious to us. Let us gather up briefly the conclusions to which we are led. To solve in the most economical and in the most 'political' way the particular problems before us, we require and must effect *the reconstruction upon a liberal and popular basis of a Cathedral System*. Popular, first, as to the method of filling up the appointments, they must not be the joint-stock of a circle of families however wide, or the guerdon

of political adherence, nor even be sacrificed as pensions. Well-earned repose has a value of its own; but for the present we want *work* out of these institutions, not *repose*. Capability for responsible posts must be the sole pretext on which they, like other offices, must be assigned. Popular, secondly, as to the simple, self-denying lives of those who hold them. Popular, thirdly, as to the publicity of the work done. The nation must have a guarantee that these, like other public servants perform definite duties for their definite stipends. Superior officers can alone give the guarantee, and this points at once to the renewed intimacy of the bishop.

'Precedent,' that potent cathedral spectre, though it rarely proves to be a hundred years old, must no more rule cathedrals than it rules any useful institution. Imagine a public school, a railway, a parish, a manufactory, in which nothing could be done which had not been done before!

But to develop the applicability of the institution to modern ends and needs, we must come to details. And as essential to the 'renewed intimacy' of the bishop, and to the counsel and service of the chapter to the practical ends required, the most important of all details is (1) the residence of the canons and prebendaries. This must be restored to the old perpetual or 'major residence' of two-thirds of the year at least. The decay of practical usefulness began when the term of residence was altered and reduced to what had formerly been the term of non-residence, and in some cases even to less. The old foundations and the new were alike originally legislated for upon the idea of *residence* as *fundamental*; the unhappy change was introduced by Laud; and of all his church 'reforms' it was the most lastingly destructive. Since that time, the once-grouped co-operating residentiaries have proceeded in solemn train through the year, like the Apostles in Strasburg clock, each seeing his predecessor's departing hood. What corporate action is possible for the most enlightened men so placed? Some of our least reforming cathedrals have the most reforming canons. But intercourse is essential for determinate action, and how is intercourse to be had? (2) The perpetual residence of the canons would probably lead to the resigning of parochial cures. This might possibly not be necessary, yet it would seem to be pure gain. The prebendary is no longer needed to be the wealthy civiliser of a rural unsettled district. His prebend has become a simple parochial cure, and his presence is wanted at the cathedral church. Even in the time of Grosseteste, even earlier, in the time of Hugh, we have seen that those statesmen-bishops felt the latter need to be growing more urgent than the former,

and

and would appoint no one to a stall who would not promise constant residence. The bishops have it still in their own hands. But, indeed, the difficulty is now less than it ever was. The canon's income is become a stipend ; it is not derived from a separate estate, and if canonical work becomes a reality, the stipend will, like other stipends, be made adequate. A canon who kept a 'major residence' anciently had larger allowances than those who resided on their cures, and the regulation is sufficiently simple. (3) We shall need the gradual but extensive restoration of suspended canonries. The havoc wrought by the statutes, 3 & 4 Vict., c. 113, and those succeeding it, when, for the time being, in the suppression of more than 360 prebends, 'the ancient polity of the Church of England was ruthlessly broken up,' left us still this opening. 'Power is given to remove the suspension of a canonry if an endowment of 200*l.* a year is provided.* This important provision leaves us not permanently crippled, considering what the powers, what the liberality, what the willingness to provide funds for honest work, which still are extant in the Church ; for every distinct round of fixed duties it will be no more difficult to provide such a sum than it is to provide a mastership in a school. And even if some are disposed to shrink at the thought that the Ecclesiastical Commission of the future may once again absorb such foundations, the possibility cannot affect the duty of supplying present needs, and obeying present convictions. But are the canonries of the future then likely for a while to be 'poor things'? We have seen that even in the best days some of them were but 'peregrines tituli,' and in this thought we rise at once to higher ground, and to principles which we are persuaded are not dead among us. The revived cathedral societies must be of necessity associations in which, as they always ought to have been, humility and self-denial shall be recognised elements. Those virtues are of an invigorating nature ; and we want vigour. They promote companionship, and companionship was of the essence of the old cathedral life, and companionship will be the life-spring of the new societies. The Vicars' College at Hereford, with its common hall (never disused till the fire a few years back), suggests possibilities of associated families which should far excel the old companionships of solitary men, whether as regards happiness or as regards usefulness. There is none of the many benefits which the clerical family confers on the parish (and they have been often dilated on) which could not be multiplied indefinitely by such associations in the city. It is no new ideal.

* First Rep. p. xiii. 17.

We conjure up difficulties as to how colleges of families would work. But the difficulty felt in England, and at Lincoln itself as late as the eleventh century, was as to how colleges of celibates would work. Henry of Huntingdon, himself a canon, was son of Nicolas, Archdeacon of Huntingdon and Cambridge, and Canon Residentiary of Lincoln, that 'Stella Cleri, Splendor Nicolai,' so affectionately commemorated by the son, who dwells so bitterly on the anti-matrimonial policy and inconsistency of Rome.

The vulgar objection which may be raised from the pitifulness and pettiness of life is one which ought to melt away, as society advances, before the steadfast application of true principles of self-denial and humility. Truth and reality of daily life, severe simplicity with perfect culture would be, next to its spirit of worship and work, the dearest heritage of such a corporation. Such societies would be strong to restore what is denied to the individual to effect, a veritable—may we not say it without offence—a *Greek* union of simplicity with dignity: φιλοκαλεῖν μετ' εὐτελεῖας καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀνευ μαλακίας.

Societies have arisen and done their work on these principles against far more and greater impediments, and with far less to sweeten and to sanctify. 'Les pères de familles, ils sont capables de tout.' The sting of Talleyrand's evil wit lies, as in so many of his sayings, in the very fact that he describes his objects by inverted ideals of their class. The 'father of the family' is one who by his very duty to that family ought in idea to be, and commonly is, rendered by them incapable of what can sully or corrupt; for them he grows to hate what is ignoble, by them he forgets self-seeking. But make that father of the family a voluntary priest, and let a company of such priests with their houses, and 'like-minded' laymen with them, be for the extension of religion, for the 'kindling of a greater natural light,' for the help of the helpless, together dedicated and associated by the most powerful motives and resolutions, by the most splendid memories of the past, by the most trustful hopes of the future, in a word by devoted love to Christ and His Church, and let the wholesome light of public life stream ever in on the society and its work, and once again we should seem to possess a vehicle of that Word 'which is powerful to the casting down of strongholds' such as might face the evils of our time, and last until its use was in its turn outworn. It would have all the elements of durability about it. It would be calm and strong. Its form would be at once Catholic and Protestant, and eminently English.

ART. IX.—*The War Correspondence of the 'Daily News,' 1870.*
Edited with Notes and Comments. London, 1871.

THE war drags its slow length along, adding each day that it lasts to its huge work of human misery, but offering by its prolongation no hope of any substantial change of result. An 'heroic resistance' may be lengthened out indefinitely; that is to say, a few more departments may be desolated, some hundreds more of homes may be burned, some thousands more of human beings may be slaughtered or crippled; but the broad issue will be the same. The strength of France is broken; her territory is severed; the splendid lustre of military fame that has shone for four glorious centuries is quenched. The future offers a piteous prospect for any Frenchmen to look upon; it is not without gloom even for the coldest and most selfish bystander. It will be the occupation of our statesmen for many years to come to calculate the effects upon the European equilibrium of the diminution of the political influence of France; and against some of them it may tax all their energies to struggle.

But there is another class of reflections which the war suggests as it draws towards its close. War is the great test of institutions. In time of peace, if the people be by habit orderly and law-loving, very clumsy and very unjust arrangements will often work with very tolerable success. If sufficient time only be allowed, political machinery is self-adjusting. Much of the sting is in practice taken out of inefficient or oppressive institutions by the interest in the common welfare which all persons and classes are made by experience to feel. So far as periods of tranquillity are concerned, the fact that institutions work well may often prove not that the laws are good, but only that the people are sensible. The outbreak of a war, especially in these times of scientific slaughter, is a far more trustworthy test; it searches out with fatal accuracy every weakness in the machinery of government, every flaw in the structure and composition of a nation. It is true, that after the state of war has continued for a long period, all the nations engaged in it sink to the same half-barbarous level of a purely military existence. But the first shock, the sudden transition from the sleepy routine of peace to the exigencies of a struggle for existence, tries the work which institutions have done for a nation. It detects at once whether they have welded its classes into a homogeneous mass; whether they have endowed it with a sound and supple organisation; whether they have bred up a race of honest and capable public servants. We have

not

not been tried by this fierce test—may the ordeal be far from us! for no honest-minded man among us could look forward to it without much sinking of heart. But we have stood by while it has been pitilessly applied to two great and noble neighbours, who were thought six months back to be no unequal competitors in the race for the supremacy of the world. We have watched the progress of the trial day by day, and its smallest incidents have been laid before us with marvellous fidelity. These things are written for our learning. It concerns us nearly to investigate the causes that have led to the overwhelming defeat which men are still too much astounded fully to understand. It has lessons of the deepest import for political students of all nations; and if we in England do not learn them from the experience of others, we may chance some day to learn them from our own.

The proximate causes of French disaster are sufficiently obvious, and scarcely require comment. At the outset their numbers were too few, their military preparations were absurdly insufficient, their generals were luxurious and incapable, their soldiers destitute alike of discipline and of endurance. Later on, when the army was destroyed, the faults of other portions of the community came in to contribute to the national ruin. The levity with which at a bidding of a street riot the Paris mob threw down a Government but newly sanctioned by a vast majority of the nation—the entire surrender of the lead to a few political fanatics, to whom the victory of their crotchet was paramount to all considerations of national well-being—were errors that would have endangered a far more promising cause. The two great parties of France share the reproach of her present condition in tolerably equal portions. It is difficult to decide whether the corrupt inertness of the Imperialists or the disordered frenzy of the Republicans have been the most efficient instruments of ruin. But this is the very symptom which directs us back to ulterior causes. It is the universality of the failure which indicates that some evil of wider and more permanent operation has been at work than a caprice of fortune, or the accidental incapacity of a few individuals. Much must, no doubt, be allowed for causes of this kind. The qualities displayed on both sides have been exceptional, and must not be taken to represent a probable future average. The French may hope for rulers somewhat more energetic than Napoleon III. and his marshals, and somewhat less frothy than Gambetta. The Prussians cannot look forward to a perennial succession of Bismarcks and Moltkes. But still, after all allowances have been made for the peculiar character of the personages who

have played the foremost parts in this strange drama, there must be deeper forces at work to account for its tragic ending. And the characters of these personages themselves are among the effects of which we are seeking to find the causes. How is it that Moltke and Bismarck were so happily selected and so well sustained? How have they been able to organise this great success through so many years of preparation? How is it that the generals and ministers of Napoleon III. were entrusted with a power they were so unfit to exercise, that their policy was so reckless, that their preparations were so inadequate and hollow? The intellectual vice, whatever it is, is one that has affected the nation as a whole; and the weakness shown by a few individuals is but one among many symptoms of the national disease.

It is no accidental failure, no passing malady, that has caused this ruin. It lies deep in the heart of French political society. It is the direct result of a history reaching now for three generations back. It is feebleness of the very principle of Government, caused by chronic revolution, that has mainly brought about these vast disasters. Eighty years ago, the French began a revolution: and they have continued it ever since. They have never agreed upon a form of government to replace that which they overthrown. The principle of submission to an established authority has disappeared; and every attempt to restore it has been baffled by the spirit which originally destroyed it. Like some lingering but malignant disease, the passions and theories of 1793 sleep for a time, and seem to have lost their force; and then suddenly breaking out with fresh violence dash all the hopes of recovery which had been encouraged by an interval of repose. After each burst of fury has exhausted itself, the quieter part of the community—the classes who have something to lose—have done what lay in their power, to construct some kind of political edifice out of the ruins, and restore so far as possible the guarantees of social order. But the task, arduous in any case, has in theirs been well nigh impossible. They might choose a master, and give him a paper constitution; but they could not give back cohesion to the atoms of a dissolved society: they could not revive the social training and discipline out of which enduring institutions grow. They have shown no great fastidiousness in the choice of the various systems to which they have successively consented. They have not quarrelled about names or ideas, so that they might have security. Twice they accepted a dictatorship from the soldiers; once they submitted to a restored monarchy from the European coalition; once they took a 'Citizen King' from the *doctrinaires*. But in each case, as has been recently observed, the new constitution lasted for less than

than the period of an ordinary farm-lease. The dictatorships leaned upon the soldiery, were bound to find them employment and promotion, and perished in the wars to which they were driven by the conditions of their existence. The monarchies were more contemptuously overthrown by the restless turbulence of street mobs hounded on to revolt by the most reckless press in Europe. Each of these violent changes has left the nation advanced one stage upon the road of which anarchy is the end. The general belief in the necessary instability of all governments has become more and more confirmed: and the stability of governments, like the solvency of traders is destroyed as soon as it is generally doubted. Governments could not be firmly founded; because no sooner was one set up, than men began to speculate on its successor.

The evils of such a state of things extend to all departments of civil life. To the governed it almost involves a negation of all the benefits which the institution of Government is intended to confer. Security to the enterprises and calculations of industry is out of the question. No man can venture on undertakings which require a lengthened effort to bring them to perfection—or of which the fruit can only be reaped after the lapse of many years. The gains of the capitalist must be swift if he is to count on them at all: and they are proportionally speculative and hazardous. In such a country capital can never make a home. It shrinks from any obligation or partnership that ties it to the soil. The philanthropic writers of the revolutionary school may well complain that industry fails to earn a decent livelihood, and that wages are depressed to starvation point. That it is so is their own proud achievement. The rate of wages is low because the number of mouths that depend upon the money that is spent on wages is out of all proportion to its amount. Those who have the capital to spend will not risk it on a revolutionary soil. Either they carry it to other and safer markets, or, more commonly, they abandon the hope of making it reproductive. They are content to squander it on the pleasures of the hour, because they know that beyond the hour they have no right to count.

These evils are patent enough, and, except by a school of revolutionary writers, are generally recognised. But there is another and more subtle class of dangers to which sufficient attention has hardly been devoted. The injurious effects of chronic revolution upon the feelings of the governed are serious enough; but they receive a terrible intensity from the parallel influence which is produced upon the minds of those who have to govern. A sense of security is necessary to every man in the conduct of his affairs; for without it he can neither forecast widely nor act with perse-

verance upon a system. In proportion as men's affairs are more important, the sense of security becomes more indispensable ; for the larger any business is, the more it requires consistency and foresight in its management. But it is most vital of all that those should feel it who have the government of a nation. If they feel it not they will live from hand to mouth, as all men do to whom insecurity is habitual. They will consult in every measure nothing but the exigencies of the hour. They will eschew far-reaching and statesmanlike schemes as a sowing of seed which they may never reap. Their policy will be showy, hollow, unreal—designed to gain the applause or appease the ill-humour of the moment. All the powers, all the honours, all the patronage at the disposal of Government, will be used for the one purpose of conciliating support. Every great measure of national policy will be valued in their scales, not by its probable influence on the future honour or welfare of the nation, but by its immediate purchasing power in the market of votes. That any measures requiring national effort, or thrift, or self-denial, should find favour under a system of insecure Governments, it would be Quixotic to expect. It is rare that they withstand the temptation to secure themselves against the worst perils of revolution by timely plunder.

Such a system of insecurity in the tenure of dynasties is one of the worst evils with which chronic revolution has afflicted France. For some time people went on persuading themselves that each revolution would be the last. The example of England—that fatal *Irrlicht* to Continental nations—was cited to show that ‘Constitutional’ Government was the natural haven into which States were driven by the gales of revolution, and that no matter how many of these tempests it had been their fate to weather, when this haven was once reached all fear was at an end. So men of sanguine minds wrote and thought in the days of Louis Philippe. But with his ignominious fall these illusions were dispelled. It became evident that there were classes who would be satisfied with nothing less than anarchy. It was evident then, it has been superabundantly demonstrated since, that the artisans in the great French towns are inaccessible to the persuasions of reason or the lessons of experience. They may be crushed, but they can never be convinced. Each generation listens to the promises of those who dream of unfailing prosperity secured to all classes by law ; and shrinks neither from robbery nor murder to fulfil them. It fails utterly after terrible sufferings, and its successors, untaught by the failures, after a short respite begin the conflict afresh. The cyclical period of French constitutions—amounting to about twenty years—in reality represents the time which is needed to rear a new generation of workmen ignorant or incredulous

lous of the abortive efforts of those who have failed before them. The class has been pursuing its phantom, across suffering and crime, by revolts and by attempted assassinations, now for more than eighty years; and its faith is as strong and its success as distant as when first the chace commenced. The workmen have not materially mended their condition: the right to have work always found for them is as impossible an ideal as ever; but they continue to dream of equality and to organise anarchy with unabated fervour. They remain a standing menace to social order—the incurable canker of the civilisation on which they feed.

No portion of French society has been free from the sense of insecurity produced by these known aspirations of the artisans. The 'red spectre' has been constantly present to the mind of every class. The second Empire was in the minds of most educated Frenchmen but a transitory expedient. They were grateful for the shelter which for the time it afforded to the arts of peace; but they knew that it had no root in the soil, and that the first tempest must overthrow it. While it endured they made the best of it, although with a secret consciousness that it would be long before industry would have such a chance again. Those who served it did so with a cold allegiance, looking forward and not knowing who their next master might be. They made haste to be rich, as men who were shareholders in a hazardous speculation. They gave to it not the advice that it was wholesome for it to have, but the advice which would minister to their own promotion. The same sense of the provisional and insecure character of his political existence weighed heavily upon the Emperor himself. His steps were those of a man creeping along a precipice in an uncertain light, knowing that a false step would destroy him, and yet unable to make up his mind in which direction his safe road lay. His aims were benevolent: and his Government conducted France to a higher range of material prosperity than she had ever reached before. But outside purely industrial legislation, all his measures were instinct with the feeling that present safety was the one paramount consideration. He seemed to feel the edifice he had constructed straining and breaking under him at every step, and his policy was dictated almost solely by the anxiety to do nothing that might weaken the allegiance of any class or even clique of adherents. There has seldom been a government whose whole resources were so systematically directed to the purchase of support. He would undertake one war to conciliate the revolution; and then plunge into another to conciliate the priests. Now he would lavish vast sums on the capital, in the hope to purchase the affections of the workmen

workmen of Paris ; and then, to keep his hold on the peasantry, he would set all the Liberals at defiance by renewing the occupation of Rome. At one time he would project huge armaments in order to gratify the military passions of his people, and make a show of resisting the aggrandisement of Prussia ; and then, for fear of irritating his peasant supporters, he would leave his professed measures of reinforcement a dead letter.

It was a system of government that could not last ; but the responsibility for it hardly lies with Napoleon III. He was what the temper and the history of his people made him. He would have governed, perhaps with an arbitrary but still with a determined hand, if the social elements out of which he had to make a Government had furnished him with the instruments for doing so. But he could not found a secure throne on a disorganised society. He probably had no taste for living a life of perpetual canvass—for prostituting all the authority and all the *prestige* of his Government to catch votes. But he had acceded to power by the same means as the various Republican Governments, and, at least, one of the monarchs that had preceded him ; and he held it by the same tenure. The inherited security of Governments had been forfeited by the Great Revolution ; and he held under the usual condition of all revolutionary powers, that he should stand until some eddy of unpopularity should arise to sweep him away.

If he had not blundered into a war with Prussia, it is possible that this policy of patches and expedients might have served his purpose until his death. But the war brought all its hidden deficiencies and insecurities to light ; the system, whose first principle it was to make everything pleasant to everybody, could only do so by substituting deceptions for realities. In the emergencies of civil life such deceptions are only dimly seen through, and the deficiencies they cause can be endured and forgotten. But in the terrible stress of a great war, all his sins—one after another—found him out. Their logical consequences were pitilessly worked out in the sight of all the world. He had leaned, in the first place, on the support of his soldiery : and therefore he had not dared to offend them by discipline. When the day of trial came, they did not know how to guard against the most shameful surprises ; they had never been taught even how to fire their rifles with effect ; they paid not the slightest regard to the orders of their officers ; and they were too soft to endure the hardships of a forced march. It had been necessary for his support that military commands should be held by devoted adherents ; therefore officers were selected, without regard to character and competency, purely for their Imperialist zeal. Their inefficiency

and
led
in
Par
a
pro
not
spe
the
up
the
dep
un
co
two
the
in
ne
on
-en
ex
To
de
dr
to
ve
un
N
the
-ar
si
so
wi
je
th
so
po
yin
by
hi
ou
ha
th
to

and luxury were perhaps the most potent of all the causes that led to the disasters of France. The same Nemesis pursued him in matters of secondary moment. To please the tradesmen of Paris, and divert men's minds from politics, he had encouraged a fearful luxury which made Paris a centre of corruption and prodigality to the whole world. The bureaucracy of France did not escape the common contagion to which they were more specially exposed. Strangers used often to wonder how, with their modest salaries, they could sustain the prodigality imposed upon them by the fashion of the capital and the court. When the war came, and the deficiency of the stores under every department of administration were laid bare, the mystery was unriddled. A similar explanation must be given of the short-coming in point of numbers which made the odds between the two combatants so terribly unequal. To gain popularity in the capital, the nominal strength of the army was increased in 1868 ; to avoid losing it in the provinces, the ranks were never filled up. A Government, which depended for its stability on votes, could neither afford to part with military *prestige* or to enforce the performance of military duty. Its hard necessity exceeded any that was ever imposed by Egyptian taskmaster. To job and yet to obtain efficiency, to encourage vice without demoralising its officers, to make good soldiers without daring to drill them, and to possess a formidable army without venturing to raise soldiers, were the stern tasks imposed upon it by the very conditions of its existence.

There was no marvel in the issue of the campaign undertaken under these conditions. About the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon, in declaring war while he was practically unarmed, there is undoubtedly no small degree of mystery. Circumstances are conceivable in which no other course would have been possible for him. His soldiers or his officers might have become so impatient for active service, that he could not deny it to them without losing his popularity with the army. The popular jealousy of Prussian aggrandisement, and the eagerness to bring the question of the Rhine frontier to an issue, might have been so intense, that he could not disregard them without losing his popularity with the nation. In either case, he would have yielded to the common destiny of all Governments that hold by a tenancy-at-will : he would have obeyed, it is true, against his better judgment, but preferring uncertain danger from without to certain destruction from within. These motives would have been a sufficient explanation. The mystery lies in the fact that there seemed to be no ground for them. He appeared never to have been stronger with the peasantry and the soldiers, than

on

on the day when he allowed the Duc de Gramont to insult the only Power in Europe that was strong enough to cast him down. Whether this apparent security was hollow, and no chance was really left him but another gambler's throw, or whether enfeebled by illness he had lost the vigour to cope with his 'light-hearted' advisers, and was half persuaded by their empty brag, half hustled by their importunity—these will probably remain insoluble enigmas to the present generation. But at this point all mystery ceases. What followed was the natural result of manifest causes. All sections of the French people had fairly and thoroughly broken with tradition; and indeed, after two generations of disuse, had almost forgotten its meaning. The mass of the people, veterans in revolution, had lost all tradition of allegiance. The propertied classes owned no traditional obligations to disinterested effort; and its place was not supplied by any attachment to a social arrangement for which they were not responsible, and which even in its repose gave a sanction to doctrines little favourable to them. The Government had never even possessed the tradition of security, and its measures were only the nervous makeshifts of conscious instability. Under these conditions, the discipline of the soldiers, the devotion of the officers, and the foresight of the Government were precisely what such causes might have been expected to produce.

The essential febleness of Napoleon's Government clung to it throughout the short campaign which terminated in Sedan. The necessity of ruling so as to purchase support never deserted it. It was indispensable to reward devoted adherents: and therefore commands were multiplied, and the front presented to the Germans in the first week in August consisted of a series of feeble and isolated divisions. After the defeat of Wörth had scattered for ever the prestige of the Second Empire, the conciliation of public opinion in Paris and in the camps became the paramount consideration. The Emperor felt more keenly than ever that he was but a tenant on sufferance, liable to be dismissed at any moment, if the humour of the soldiery and the populace should chance to combine against him. Consequently, his strategy, if it deserves that name, had a double object. Besides the ordinary task of resisting the enemy, he had, in addition, to satisfy his civil and military critics. The populace behind him were as much an object of dread as the enemy in his front. The intrigues of Gambetta were quite as perilous to his person and his dynasty as the plans of Moltke. The vacillations of those few disastrous weeks were but an expression of the action of this double terror. Sometimes one, sometimes the other, of the two dangers appeared to be the most imminent. At one moment

moment the advance of the Prussians would make him forget the anger of Paris: the next moment a despatch from the Tuilleries threatening revolution would drive him back upon the bayonets of the Prussians. After the battle of Wörth, prudence counselled an immediate retreat from the frontier and a concentration of his forces before Paris. But his Ministers, no longer light-hearted, assured him that if he abandoned Metz the Corps Legislatif would turn against him. Palikao, when he came into power, was equally urgent that he should not retreat. He dawdled, doubting between the two opinions, till the Prussians were upon him; and, though he escaped himself, the flower of his army was shut up in the town. For a fortnight after his hurried flight the fear of the Prussians was dominant in his hesitating mind. He remained quietly at Chalons allowing MacMahon to collect another army out of the débris of routed divisions. But as the Crown Prince advanced the pressure from Paris grew stronger and stronger. Palikao, who naturally was more impressed by the menacing importunities with which he was himself beset than by a more distant military danger, insisted that unless Metz were relieved he could not answer for the dynasty. Again the fear of Paris gained the day in the Emperor's mind. Profoundly conscious of the strategic blunder he was committing, he bowed again to the law of his political existence, and, to satisfy 'opinion,' staked his crown upon the one last desperate march. He received the reward that attends all who, in perilous times, commit themselves to that wayward guide. The people who had insisted that at any cost Metz should be relieved, shouted for 'la déchéance' as soon as they heard of the result to which their clamour had led.

It is easy to blame the Emperor for his disastrous errors: it is easy to point out the course of conduct which would have averted his fall. If he had never chosen generals by favour instead of by merit: if he had never relaxed the reins of discipline in order to acquire a barrack popularity: if the treasure which was corruptly wasted by his creatures, or squandered in the purchase of political support, had been honestly spent in the supply of his garrisons and his armies: if he had carried out the reforms of which Niel procured the enactment, and had not suspended the conscription until the elections and plebiscite were past—the issue of the war would have been very different, and he would have still been on the throne. But even if he could have been warned of the result of all these errors the warning might have been in vain. Such a policy was not for such a Government as his. It might be usefully recommended to governments that did not need to purchase votes, but were secure without them. But he, the child

of revolution, must not venture to aspire to such things as thrift, and integrity, and severe foresight—luxuries reserved for unshaken thrones.

Perhaps, in his enforced leisure, the captive of Wilhelmshöhe occasionally reflects on the different measure which has been meted out to him and his great antagonist by contemporary criticism on the one hand, and destiny on the other. Both he and King William, being more or less despotic, were held in abhorrence by the literary judgment of Europe. But, as between despots, the Emperor has been always a much greater favourite than the King. He was decidedly 'enlightened,' and sedulously cultivated opinion. He boasted himself that he understood his epoch. He paid an ostentatious homage, so far as his circumstances would permit, to the favourite ideas of the day. He was orthodox upon the two crucial, though somewhat conflicting, doctrines of Nationality and Free Trade. In spite of the obvious interests of his country he created Italian unity upon one frontier, and suffered German unity to grow up upon the other. He proudly based his sovereignty upon universal suffrage and vote by ballot. Gradually he crowned the edifice. Freedom of the press as large as exists here was introduced. Parliamentary government in the sense in which it was understood here in the last century—submission to a Parliament elected by duly trained constituencies—was conceded. He could hardly give more without surrendering the power which all these concessions were made to bolster up. To all these measures he was strongly urged by his English counsellors, in their patronising way. The panacea which England is perpetually offering to other nations was pressed upon him with especial eagerness and confidence of prediction. It was practically assumed, with scarcely any circumlocution, that the one hope of safety for his dynasty was to adopt English institutions in general, and the doctrines of the Liberal party in particular. Unfortunately destiny and the Liberal critics were separated by a diametrical difference of view. The practice of constitutional virtues and modern doctrines are apt, in Continental countries, to be their own reward, and must not look for any other. The creation of Italian unity was perhaps the most highly lauded action of his reign. Its direct result was to paralyse Austria; and to bring about the unity of Germany, which was his ruin. The concession of press and Parliamentary liberties, for which he was so much praised during the last years of his reign, had the effect of consigning him to the Ministry who pushed him into the war. What might have befallen him, if he had never listened to English counsels, is, of course, a matter for free conjecture. It may be that the instability

bility of his throne left him no choice but occasionally to appease the more 'advanced' portion of his subjects. But, in any case, whatever road he followed, it could have led to no worse end than that at which he has actually arrived.

If we turn our eyes to the policy of the King of Prussia during the last two years, the contrast is very striking. The remarkable feature of it is the intense sense of security which it displays. He did the very things which Napoleon ought to have done—which perhaps Napoleon would have done if he had dared. He does not appear to be a man of great ability; but he had at least this precious quality, to know exactly what he wanted, to subordinate to it all secondary considerations, and to select and keep the men who were competent to fulfil it. It was not without encountering severe resistance that he carried his policy through and sustained his Minister. The conflict between him and his House of Commons was carried as far as such a conflict could well go without ending in civil war. The Parliament blindly opposed the military policy of which they are now all appreciating the results: they believed it to be intended for the purposes of domestic oppression, and they exercised to the utmost their legal powers in order to hinder it. They refused to vote the supplies for which the King asked; they even left the appropriations for the year unsanctioned; they openly refused their confidence to his Minister. But the King laughed at their pretensions to control his general policy by virtue of the power of the purse. He did not govern otherwise tyrannically or illegally. But he adhered to his policy, and he kept his Minister. He insisted on the measures of reform which he thought indispensable to the efficiency of his army; and as his Parliament would not give their sanction to the necessary expenditure, he dispensed with that formality. It is needless to say that his pertinacity excited the greatest reprehension in England. He was lectured in every tone, solemn or severe, which the English press can employ, upon the wickedness or madness of his conduct. With that peculiar air of a pedagogue scolding naughty little boys, which certain English newspapers assume when they remonstrate with Continental potentates, he was told that he was arrogating powers wholly inconsistent with his position; that such a conflict could have but one issue; and that if he did not repent of his presumption, he had nothing to expect but the fate of Charles I. The awful imputation was even uttered against him that he did not understand the true British meaning of the word 'constitutional.' But the King, who had a much greater respect for the traditions of Frederick the Great than for those of the British Constitution, took little heed of volunteer advice and sinister predictions, and went

went upon his own way. What the result of his determination has been the world have had a sufficient opportunity of judging. What it would have been, if the members of the Prussian Parliament had been able to pare and clip the military budget at their discretion, is not very difficult to conjecture.

The victories of Prussia are due, not merely to bravery and conduct in the field, but even more to the perfect preparation of the army for all its duties. The disciplined men, the highly-instructed officers, the exact organisation, the well-served artillery, the abundant and ever-ready supplies, have been the theme of unanimous admiration. But these things were not called into being in three weeks. They never would have existed if the King and his Ministers had gone upon the plan of assuming that because for half-a-century Prussia had not been engaged in a struggle for existence she would never find herself exposed to such an emergency again. They are the fruit of systematic preparation, carefully thought out in the first instance, and unflaggingly maintained ever since. If King William had been compelled to yield to his Parliament—if he had been forced, either by the fear of revolution or the dictates of constitutional practice, to humour the floating opinion of the hour—no such system would have been possible. The maxim of using peace to guard against war is one that popular assemblies are slow to follow. His estimates would have been pared down to procure relief from taxation; the less showy portions of the army would have been starved; every improvement that could be shelved, would have been postponed to a more convenient budget; the military administrators, baited and baffled by the economists, would have lost heart, and the systematic preparation would have broken down. And if any one had pointed out the danger of delay and neglect, he would have been met by homilies on the wickedness of war, or the assurance that the advance of civilisation had made military precautions an old-fashioned superstition. Any enthusiastic military reformer, keenly alive to the dangers or possible dishonour of his country, would soon have satisfied himself that systematic preparation is an extravagance unsuited to Governments who have to pay court to transitory opinion.

These two cases are crucial instances of the comparative effects of secure and unstable Governments upon the external strength of nations. Both have been equally amenable in the long run to the determinate opinion of their people. All the prestige of the Hohenzollerns could not have permanently sustained a policy which a large majority of the nation strongly felt to be pernicious. But his position was superior to that of his antagonist in this, that though he was responsible to the same tribunal, he could require

require a more deliberate verdict. He was not forced to submit to the caprice of a season, or the enthusiasm of a passing cry. He was bound to obey the people, by the unwritten but inexorable law which binds every sovereign to heed the will of an instructed nation: but he owed no such implicit obedience either to the mobs of great towns who might affect to speak in the people's name, or to the politicians to whom, under the theory of representation, the people had nominally delegated their authority. The unbroken power of his House enabled him to say that neither the agitations of a capital nor the votes of an assembly should prevent him from submitting his policy, tried and developed by experience, to the judgment of his people. He has been fully justified at the bar to which he appealed. Both Prussia and Germany have practically admitted that from their point of view he was right, and the Berlin Liberals were wrong. If, before he could have brought into action the system of elaborate preparation which, under shrewd guidance, he had projected, he had been compelled to soothe every vanity, to minister to every corrupt interest, to find a sop for every personal ambition; if, under fears for his dynasty or for his majority at the elections, he had been forced to leave out all that was unpopular in his measures—the world would have seen little of that stupendous development of force which has raised Prussia to the summit of European power.

Undoubtedly the phenomena before us are of no ordinary magnitude. The war has been a very remarkable experiment in illustration of political science. It has shown us side by side two of the most extreme specimens that it was possible to produce of secure and of precarious tenure in a ruler—of the Government which, secure in its traditions, acts on system; and the Government which, in constant dread of downfall, lived only from hand to mouth. It has measured against each other the two political conditions, as applied to nations nearly equal in every other respect; and has demonstrated to us their comparative dynamic value, in results which the world will not easily forget. It is not to be expected that these political truths should be speedily illustrated again by instances of equal force. No civilised nation has destroyed the vitality of all government by a habit of revolution so persistent as that which has been exhibited by France. No other dynasty enjoys the historical position which has given peculiar strength to the reigning House of Prussia. But yet the war has lessons for other nations—above all, for our own. We have seen that national honour and even existence may depend on systematic preparation for self-defence, and that the foresight with which such systems are planned, and the tenacity with

which they are carried through, depends on the sense of security enjoyed by those who hold the reins of power. Is there nothing in this respect that England has to learn from the sufferings of an ally, who, till lately, was the model in military matters that we hoped to reach? What is the character of our own military policy? What is the state of our own defensive preparations? Do they most resemble those of Prussia or those of France?

The discussion is certainly not new to the public mind. Recent events have given to it a burning interest it never possessed before; they have taught us to realise what war means to the vanquished. They have dispelled the notion which was beginning to prevail, that war was an affair of the military alone, and that civilians had nothing to do with it except to look on, or at most to get out of the way. There has been a class of excellent persons who have been in the habit of agitating for a declaration that private property at sea should, in times of war, enjoy the same immunity from capture that it enjoys on land. We believe that some of these gentle schemers still exist, and that they seriously believe that they will some day or other induce maritime nations to agree to fight on the principle of only shooting at those who are paid to be hit. But whatever their success may be, they must abandon the argument derived from the supposed practice upon land. This campaign has sufficiently established that no such immunity is enjoyed by private property—at all events, by the private property of nations that fight with Germany. In whatever direction the progress, of which we hear so much, may be tending, it is certainly not towards making a state of war more pleasant than it was in times past—at least to the vanquished. The desolation which followed in the train of the armies of Attila could not have been worse than that which marks the track of the Prussian armies; because if the taste for destruction displayed by the Prussians falls short of the ferocity of the Huns, their methods are so far superior in efficiency that the results do not widely differ. It is difficult, indeed, to make comparisons, because in completeness there are no degrees. Nothing can be worse than entire destruction. We have, indeed, to thank the Prussians for having taught us several stern truths. They have shown us that the highest education, the most advanced civilisation, do not stifle the original passions of the noble savage—that if you scratch the cultivated German Professor, you will find the nature which made the *lanzknecht* of the middle ages, or the ‘marauders’ of the Thirty Years’ War. They have impressed upon us that war is no military plaything; but that it means peasants butchered by hundreds, burning villages, towns ransacked by pillage and contribution,

just

just as in the good old days of Tilly. They have dispelled the millennial dreams in which many soft-hearted people were fond of indulging,—that it was becoming impossible or improbable. Thanks to them, the state of opinion has become impossible for some generations, in which Cobden could venture to insinuate that Wellington was panic-struck.

Englishmen of all classes and parties are therefore discussing our military condition, with unwonted earnestness; and very few voices can now be found to treat the discussion as a panic. Unhappily the subject, to the consideration of which our countrymen have come with salutary zeal, is not a new one to them. The lamentable state of our defences has been brought before them again and again, for many years back. The earliest note of warning was sounded by the Duke of Wellington, long before the Crimean war. The tale of deficiencies, and obstructions, and want of system, is a very old one. Every time there has been a disturbance of peace abroad, the English people have turned uneasily to look whether their rulers had guaranteed them against the danger of a sudden surprise. Again and again the cry of alarm has come up to Westminster and has forced, even upon the most economical financiers, at least an ostensible compliance with the popular demand. Fortresses have been built, new arms ordered, new services organised, countless schemes of army reform discussed, investigated, reported upon, and shelved; and, amid the din of apparent preparation, the nation has dozed off into another period of acquiescence, in the full confidence that its rulers were at last awakened, and that its safety was assured. When the period of danger comes round again, and public attention is again turned to the subject of national defence, it is disheartening to find a general agreement that our condition is very nearly as bad as it was before. Our forces are still insufficient when compared, not with what they have been in times past, but with what our antagonists might bring into the field against us. Such as they are, they are destitute of adequate training, unused to act together in large masses, wholly unprovided with the auxiliary services which are essential to their efficiency in a campaign. The artillery—the great instrument of Prussian success—is with us scanty in numbers; and as the pattern of guns is not yet finally determined, the supply, both to troops and fortresses, is naturally inadequate. Above all, we lack a sufficient establishment of highly-instructed officers, which are the informing spirit of an effective army.

The truth is, that though much solicitude has been expressed upon these subjects in past times, the attention of the nation has never been directed to the question long enough to secure the adoption

tion of adequate precautions: and, except when the nation is excited, the natural working of our political institutions is to make any systematic preparation very difficult. The impulse of a panic soon spends itself. The nation cannot long maintain the tension of feeling which is necessary to make a strong impression upon Parliament. The exciting cause passes away. Popular feeling is diverted to other matters; and Members of Parliament, having volubly given pledges of the required tenor and earnestness, are satisfied with the performance of that formality, and dismiss the subject from their minds. The perpetual change, which is the normal condition of Downing Street, assists the process of oblivion. The Minister of War does not long remain the same. There have been seven within the last ten years, giving an average of seventeen months to each. The plans of one man are seldom carried out energetically by his successor. One Minister prefers the Militia, and the Militia bask in a brief sunshine of official favour. The next man prefers the Volunteers, and a totally new direction is given to departmental activity. The third Minister is a great believer in the Reserve, and a brand new set of plans is devised and commenced, to give force to his predilections. The fourth Minister looks upon all forces principally with a view to cut them down; and accordingly the successive reforms of his predecessors are consigned to the impartial pigeon-holes, where the children of so many busy brains sleep side by side. Meanwhile, other forces hostile to military reform regain their power. It becomes clear that if certain measures are taken—say, a reform in the selection of officers—-influential personages will be affronted; and no Ministry can afford to dispense with the support of influential personages. Another set of measures—say, the construction of fortifications—offends the crotchetts of a certain section of the Ministerial party: and these, combining with the regular Opposition, form a phalanx in the face of which the Ministry must either risk a damaging defeat or consent to mutilate its measure. Then there is the steady, passionless, unflagging pressure of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day. His reputation—no matter who he is—depends upon the reduction of the Estimates; and each succeeding Chancellor requires a fresh reduction, in order to make a new reputation. Nor can his colleagues afford to disregard him. Unless the nation happens to be in a crisis of alarm, finance is the topic which tells at the elections. Great and comprehensive measures of army reform may be very good things; but Ministers must live. Bloated armaments may be endured, while the nation's feelings are high strung by sympathy or fear; but the events which excite the popular imagination pass away, and the tax-gatherer remains.

remains. Some department must be made to furnish the materials for a reduction of taxation ; and there is none that has so few friends as the War Office. However sagacious a military plan may be that is devised in time of national excitement, its merits, when the danger has gone by, will all be forgotten, in comparison with the advantages of buying dried fruits or Memel timber a little cheaper.

It is not likely, under these circumstances, that any English Minister will attempt to emulate the searching military reforms which the King of Prussia has undertaken during the last ten years, still less that he will succeed in doing so. An ardent patriot—a novice, perhaps, in parliamentary disappointments—might cherish the illusion that a Government in possession of a large majority ought to devise some measure which should make the country secure from invasion, and put an end to the "*rôle d'effacement*" which, under the mockery of our ill-wishers, we are compelled to play. But the sobering realities of parliamentary government, as at present practised, would soon dispel his dreams. The calculations of the anxious whip, enumerating the remonstrances he has received and the votes that he fears must be noted as 'shaky,' the noisy objections of commercial constituencies against increased expenditure, the quieter but not less telling pressure of vested interests and personal susceptibilities, will soon convince him that in proportion as his proposals are effective they will be found impossible. If he does not appreciate this truth from the private warnings he receives, he will soon learn it when he comes into a Parliamentary discussion. Not speedily—for the process is a very weary one—but most effectually his proposals will be reduced, by successive operations, to that *caput mortuum* which gives no hold to objectors and combines no enemies against it. When he has cut out everything that may offend influential persons or discontented cliques, and everything which may interfere with the reductions contemplated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he is welcome to cherish the fragments that remain ; and when they are sanctioned, and he is reflecting upon their sorry contrast with the statesmanlike measure on which his heart had been originally set, some eddy in the political firmament will probably waft him from office, and he will leave the remnants of his policy to be silently buried by his successor. Is it wonderful that, under these conditions, but scanty traces of coherence or systematic design are to be discovered in our military reforms ? Is it not natural that, on the contrary, they are full of beginnings without endings ? of fine conceptions issuing in patchwork ? of abortive revolutions and unfinished novelties ? Could any plan be better devised for pro-

ducing the minimum of result at the maximum of cost? When we read of the manifold defects attributed to our present military condition, our feeling is that the sum of all the worst of them is less than the consequences which such a chaos of administrative arrangement might be expected to yield.

The material is good; the organisation which comes down to us from better times has merits of its own. The broad general fault to be charged against our Army is that it has not grown. While others have been advancing, we have been nearly standing still. It was a good army—perhaps the first of armies—at the beginning of the century, when the policy of Government was more permanent, and the House of Commons, from its constitution, was less fickle. But the virtues of that day are not sufficient for the exigencies of this. The progress of mechanical science—especially of locomotive science—has made demands upon military organisation which the Governments of other countries have been labouring to satisfy. Time to prepare for danger is an indulgence on which now no people has a right to count. A nation must not only be strong—it must be ready. It must have at command an organisation able, at the shortest possible notice, to throw its whole strength into a single blow. A number of skeleton services, which could be expanded into a genuine army by recruiting and training, during the first few months of a war, was a sufficient preparation for war in our fathers' time; and more was justly denounced as a needless burden. Such a state of preparation now simply represents a profitless expenditure. Long before the recruits could be gathered, or the training given, the war, for good or for evil, would have been decided. An adequate army, not necessarily kept upon a war footing, but sufficiently trained and supplied in all its branches to take the field in three weeks, is now a simple condition of national safety. The want has been recognised for years past by military men, and the failure to supply it is not due to any national hesitation. There is no deficiency of money, or men, or organising brains, or, if the popular verdict were fairly challenged, of popular support. It is our political machinery which fails. Unrivalled as an instrument for enfeebling the arm of Government, and therefore hindering an excess of executive interference, it has prevented the oppressions into which the zeal of Continental bureaus constantly betrays them. It satisfies the most imperious want of a free people, which is to be let alone. It is not ineffective for purposes of mere destruction, especially when it is driven by the forces of sectarian animosity. But in matters where it is necessary that Government should govern and create, it lamentably breaks down. All the

the virtues that are attributed to it—in many respects justly—for the concerns of peace, make it helpless for the purposes of war.

It is commonly assumed that these deficiencies are a necessary incident of freedom: that we cannot have executive vigour and consistency of policy, without sacrificing something of the liberties on which we have prided ourselves so long. If it were so, our case would be indeed an evil one; for we should have to choose between enjoying a precarious freedom on the sufferance of the foreigner and securing our safety by the surrender of that which makes national existence precious. But the assumption is utterly groundless. Freedom does not require an unstable policy and a precarious Government. There are free countries, as we may see in the case of America, where the Government is stable, and the policy consequently consistent. There are despotic countries, as we have seen in the case of France, where a sustained and far-seeing policy is impossible. The fault of our English system is that, with a dynasty absolutely secure, it artificially imitates the vices of a throne mined by revolution and conscious of hourly danger. The rights of the throne have, during the present reign, lain practically in abeyance; and, however little it may conform to constitutional usage to say so, the Cabinet is, almost without any reserve at all, the ruling power in England. The peculiarity, therefore, of the English constitution, as it at present works, is that the ruling power has no rights at all. Its official existence is as much at the mercy of its master, the House of Commons, as that of the vizier of an Eastern Sultan. The ruling power in France, as has been already said, is held by a tenure not exceeding that of an ordinary farm-lease. But the ruling power in England has not even the six months' notice accorded to the poorest tenant-at-will. It is not even entitled to the month's warning of a livery servant. It can be, and has been, dismissed unexpectedly upon the spot. It may be said that this is the fate of all Ministers, whether they serve despot, President, or House of Commons. The English Prime Minister is not more liable to dismissal than the Minister of Prussia or the Secretary of State in America. But the cases are not parallel. These Ministers are not the ruling power. There is always above them a supreme authority—no matter by what title he holds, whether by election or by inheritance—who does not depend for his official existence upon the nightly caprices of a popular assembly. And, at least, the Ministers of other constitutions have the satisfaction of feeling that, if they are liable to instant dismissal, the authority which is to judge and may dismiss them, is not largely composed of those who

desire to succeed them. The decisions of the House of Commons upon the question who is to rule the country is something between a judgment and a scramble. Numbers of those who take part in it hope to benefit by its results. It is not in any sense an impartial decision. It does not turn, as far as the mass of the House is concerned, upon the question which is nominally before it. Nor is this the worst. The best portion—the trained official portion—of the house practically neutralises itself, and has little share in the verdicts that are given. The fact that the largest portion of it is divided into two parties, who vote steadily for their chiefs, leaves a vast power to those whose allegiance is not so trustworthy ; and the decisions of the whole body largely reflect the fickleness, the narrowness, the less worthy motives, of those whose mobility practically gives them a casting vote.

There are exceptional periods when an Opposition is patriotic, and does not hamper Ministers or intrigue with their discontented adherents. But, as a rule, the votes of the mass on both sides of the House can be predicted on every question upon which the opinion of the leading Minister is known. The vote of the Opposition and the steady Ministerialists is foregone ; and unless the balance between them be exceptionally unequal, the power of converting a majority into a minority, and consequently the decision of the House, lies in the hands of a motley body of outsiders. The extreme men in politics, the religious brigades who subordinate political questions entirely to their ecclesiastical views, the disciples of small Utopian schools, the neglected men who are yet open to overtures, the superseded men whose wrath is past appeasing—these, and a handful of other eccentricities who defy classification, constitute the miscellaneous mass out of which the Government whip has, on any critical division, to construct his majority. Save in the rare cases (as in the last two years) where some great popular cry has lifted the Minister above dependence on his adherents, these are the judges on whom his fate depends. In their hands it lies to continue him in power, or by a single vote to reduce him to a private station. They alone are open to influence, to persuasion, to manipulation, and therefore they alone are the object of Parliamentary strategy. It is of no use to attempt to influence the constant Opposition ; and since the Reform Act of 1832 no Liberal Minister has ever commanded for any length of time a sufficient number of constant supporters to enable him to disregard the variables. They may not be able to force him to any policy to which he is disinclined, but their negative influence is overwhelming. Whatever happens, they must not be exasperated ; they must not be driven to make common

common cause with the regular Opposition. Once alienated, it is impossible to say when they will be brought back, or how many their example of desertion will infect; consequently their threats are of enormous power. A Government measure, in however perfect a condition it may issue from the department that produces it, never assumes its final aspect until it has run the gauntlet of their special susceptibilities. A loose allegiance to the ruling party is the highest vantage-ground on which the ordinary British legislator can stand.

It is perfectly true that these desertions do not often occur to an extent fatal to a Ministry. The power which a Minister possesses of threatening a dissolution fortifies him to some extent against the intrigues or revolts of mere caprice. But a Government cannot live on dissolutions. The threat is a potent one so long as it is not executed; but—besides that the effect of a new election is always somewhat problematical—the Ministry that resorts to it is in the condition of a bee that has used its sting. However severe the wound it has given, it is thenceforth practically disarmed. The sting is gone, and cannot be used again. The threat of using it, therefore, is not a weapon which a Minister willingly employs to rally his mutinous followers. It is far easier so to mutilate his measures as to avoid offending them. The temptation to abstain from handling thorny questions is always very great; but when continuance in office is the prize of indolence, the motive becomes irresistible.

Nor is this motive one of rare and exceptional operation. Though not many Ministers have been overthrown by desertions of this kind, yet the cases that have occurred have exercised an influence over many besides those who were immediately concerned. And even where success has not rewarded a menacing combination, the attempt has nevertheless stood as a beacon for the Minister to avoid. Mr. Stansfeld's motion upon military expenditure in 1863, Mr. Seymour's motion upon the Ashantee war in 1864, missed the success which was hoped for them; but they exerted a profound and sinister influence upon the military policy of the country in succeeding years.

In short, the result of our system is that the Minister in England, like the Emperor in France, is too apt to live from hand to mouth. He eschews large, well-organised plans; knowing that if he proposed them they would be mutilated by the pressure of Parliamentary supporters before they could be adopted, and that if they escaped that fate they would be pared down to nothing in two or three years by the reductions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He is content to let alone what he can, and only touch

touch what is forced upon him ; as far as possible to break up no established routine, to frighten no vested interests, to spend nothing this year that can be deferred to another. He is obsequious to the House of Commons which can displace him : he shows little thought for the future of a department in which he has so precarious an interest. In short, he exhibits all the vices of the poor Irish tenant-at-will, for whose insecure position our sympathy has of late been so urgently invoked. At least, these are the results to which the temptations of his position lead him. If he overcomes them, it is due to no public encouragement, but to the strength of his own virtue alone. As far as our experience has shown, this bulwark has been but a moderate protection to us ; and it certainly has not obtained for us what no Minister can secure—that a statesmanlike policy, if proposed, shall be adopted, or, if adopted, shall be sustained. But still the question remains whether it is possible to remedy the evil. Are not these difficulties inherent in the representative system ? Could they be removed, or even modified, without laying profane hands on the British Constitution ?

We are not careful to answer objectors on this matter. National safety is above the worship of constitutions, however ancient and venerated. There have been individuals who have immolated themselves at the foot of an idol, and it is possible that nations may be found to do the same. But the English are too practical a people to put names for things when national independence is at issue. Whether the British Constitution, as it now exists, will do the work of national defence, is a subject on which we or our children shall some day have to decide ; and when the necessity arises we shall doubtless do so without undue regard for phrases that have lost their meaning. But the time is not yet come when any decisive opinion upon that question can be formed. For the British Constitution, as we now know it, is no time-honoured, well-tried machinery of Government : it is a new thing, on which time has yet to pronounce its verdict. It may be a great improvement on that which our fathers knew and loved ; it may be a fatal deterioration ; or it may, as is more probable, mingle improvement in some spheres of Government with obvious loss in others. But, whatever its merits, it is so unlike that which has gone before that any reading of the future by the light of the past would be delusive. And there is no part of the functions of Government in which its success is more problematical than those which concern the attitude of the nation towards foreign Powers.

The change which came over the Government of this nation under the legislation of 1832, and which was confirmed by that of

of 1867, was a change in essence. The old names remained. There were still three estates of the realm. The King still sat upon his throne; the Lords Spiritual and Temporal still exercised a right of legislation nominally co-ordinate with that of the Commons. But under this apparent identity of forms an entire change in the substance of the Constitution had taken place: it had ceased to be an aristocratic Government. The full effects of the change did not manifest themselves at once; for the men who had been trained under the old Constitution still worked the new one, and the classes upon whom power had for the first time descended were slow to shake off the deference which the habit of many centuries had taught them. No revolution, even among the most fickle races, shows its full effects till the generation disciplined to the old traditions has passed away, least of all among a people so phlegmatic and so averse to change as the English. If our Conservative party had been true to its principles, the period of transition might have outlasted the lifetime of the present generation. But the collapse of 1866-67—antedated though it was by accidental causes—was the logical corollary and inevitable sequence of the revolution of 1832. The provisional aristocracy which Lord Grey attempted to create out of the trading and manufacturing classes had in it no element of permanence. They were too timid heartily to resist the assaults of the lower classes, too jealous of their old antagonists to combine cordially with the upper. In both France and England efforts were made by theoretical politicians to find in the supremacy of the middle class a compromise between the government of caste and the government of numbers. It seemed, on the one hand, to escape feudal domination, with which the philosophy of the age had quarrelled; on the other, to avoid trusting the destiny of the nation to the ignorance and the passion of unchecked democracy. In theory, nothing seemed more plausible than such arrangements, and on the strength of their logical excellence they endured for many years. They failed, because the middle class itself was not fitted for such a part. It is not a class militant; it has no internal cohesion—no consciousness of unity to enable it to maintain a political predominance. Its victories have been due to the alliance of a discontented lower class, and their fruits have disappeared as soon as its allies thought fit to help themselves. The revolution of 1832 was, therefore, in its ultimate results, a democratic revolution, though its earlier form was transitional and incomplete. This form was productive of great advantages for the time: indeed, for some years it might be said, without exaggeration, that the accidental equilibrium of political forces which it had produced

produced presented the highest ideal of internal government the world had hitherto seen. But it was not the less provisional on that account. The forces by which political organisms are destroyed were, for the time, balanced by influences which still lingered, and were, therefore, neutralised. But these were increasing, and the others were decaying, and the balance could not last for any length of time. It has now been finally upset, and we have now fully reached the phase of political transformation to which the revolution of 1832 logically led.

To say that our present state is democratic, is to indicate only a very small part of the novelty or the difficulties of our position. We are democratic under conditions under which democracy was never attempted before. This is true in respect to the magnitude of the United Kingdom and the density of its population. The democracies which have hitherto existed in the world, with more or less success, have either extended over small areas, or over territories where the supply of land has been infinite in comparison with the population. In that respect we are trying a perfectly new experiment, the issue of which it is impossible to predict. But these conditions are in their nature unalterable, and we must bear the result of them as best we may. They are not the only nor the most important novelty in our democratic experiment. No other democracy has ever worked with so dependent an Executive. The forms of party government, as established here, which give to the House of Commons the most complete and minute control over the Executive, were never devised for a democratic government. They sprang up in times when the Crown nominated a large number of the members of the House of Commons, and a still larger number were nominated by aristocratic families much under the influence of the Crown, and whose natural faults would be the reverse of fickleness or temerity. When equality came to be more valued than it was two centuries ago, such anomalies were not likely to endure. But when they fell, the system that had grown up out of them, and was dependent for its value on them, should have been revised at the same time. That curious kind of Conservatism, however, which leads us to cling all the more passionately to forms because we have been forced to abandon their substance, prevented any adaptation of the Constitution to the new distribution of power. The result is, the Constitution as we have it now, and the administrative results that Constitution is working out. Such a state of things could never have been enacted. No prudent legislator would have proposed to surrender direct and complete executive power to a democratic assembly freely elected. No precedent for such an

an arrangement can be found in the history of the world, if we except the form of government established by the National Convention in 1793, which can hardly be quoted as a salutary example. We have not adopted it of set purpose, but we have 'drifted' into it, as into many other national embarrassments, by pure inertness.

The evils of it are beginning to show themselves. Such as its origin was, such are its effects. Our administration both in home and foreign affairs tends more and more to the vice of 'drifting.' The finest vessel must drift if she does not obey her helm. No deliberative assembly, however high its qualities, can be otherwise than vacillating and helpless, unless it will submit to be led. The House of Commons has been developing for some years past a distaste for obedience, even to the leaders of its own choice, which is natural to bodies of heterogeneous composition, but which is fatal to good government. Upon one or two salient questions, on which the feelings of constituencies have been strongly moved, it is sufficiently obsequious. As far as such matters are concerned, it sits as a body of delegates to register the popular decision. But beyond the narrow limits of his special commission, even the most trusted leader appears to be powerless. The power of small independent sections, each in full cry after its own special crotchet, appears to increase, and, as the resultant of their mutually destructive energy, a paler and paler tint is creeping over the whole of our external and domestic policy. Always excepting the special subjects on which the constituencies are excited, the courage of Governments seems to grow feebler—their constructive power to diminish. They give up more in despair to the obstacles which are created by the unruly and disorganised character of the House of Commons. They seem to consider that the fixed principles of action and the decisive policy, which each man in his own private affairs would consider indispensable to success, are unattainable in the government of England as it is now. They are content to float sleepily down the stream, letting it carry them whither it lists, only stretching out a hand now and again to avoid some obstacle that is close upon them, or avert some immediate danger. And so we comfortably drift on, little heeding the reckoning that awaits all, nations or men, who prefer to indulge in the pleasing illusions of the present rather than bear the pain and discipline of foresight. Some day it must come. Our sins of omission accumulate against us while we dream. Our statesmen, in their hearts, knowing the danger of inaction, throw the blame of it on the House of Commons and 'public opinion,' while the public, sensible

sensible that England is, administratively, standing still, while all the world is moving, denounce the feebleness of our statesmen.

This paralysis of government is the grave danger which the new constitution of 1832 appears to be slowly working out. If it be so, war will test and proclaim it, as it has proclaimed the weaknesses of the French Empire which seemed so strong. Every department of the State feels its effects. The hopeless chaos of our municipal administration—the misunderstandings which are gradually severing the Colonies from England—the indecision and half-heartedness which, in foreign policy, condemns us to a part which is the ideal neither of the old English nor the new Manchester school, which is neither dignified nor cheap—are all results traceable to the confusion which has arisen from the unfitness of the House of Commons to exercise direct executive power. But of all the evils which are due to this cause, the inefficiency of our defensive preparations is far the gravest. Other matters can wait. The instinct of self-government is so strong in the English people, that we can bear the torpidity of the Home Office almost without regret. The Colonies are long-suffering, and will probably wait some years yet, while we are making up our minds whether they are to be looked upon as poor relations, or jewels of the Crown. Even in respect to our foreign relations—so far as they do not take the form of war—we can afford, at a slight cost to national susceptibility, to put off the question whether we desire to be looked upon as a European Power or not. But the state of our defences admits of no delay. Whether it be true or not that the Prussian staff are already engaged in discussing the invasion of England, no one can say that war is so improbable a contingency as it was twelve months ago. The lust of conquest has received a terrible impulse, and the pretexts for indulging it will not be wanting. We are bound by numerous guarantees, some of which we have recently renewed. Our destiny is bound up with that of Belgium, and Turkey, and Sweden, unless we are content to proclaim that we are too weak to give effect to our pledged word. The schemes for the absorption of Holland, which Count Bismarck freely discusses, could hardly be realised without goading the English people to resistance. Nor must we count upon the saint-heartedness which many of our prominent advisers openly recommend. The same self-delusion, which now makes the English believe that they are safe, will, when they are provoked, make them believe that they are strong. Their patience will give way at the moment when those who are

are trading on their supposed pusillanimity least expect it, and, without inquiring into the state of their preparations or the capacity of their leaders, we shall plunge into war. The provocation, which makes this catastrophe inevitable, may come at any moment. Our treaty guarantees, our freedom of speech and consequent frequency of offence, our views of the privileges and the duties of neutrals, all offer so many opportunities of attack. We know not when we may be involved in such a struggle for existence as that which has desolated France. There are signs of an alliance which shall add the vast hosts of Russia to the military Power by which France has been overwhelmed. If such an alliance should take place, the reversal of our traditional Eastern policy cannot fail to be one of its results. If such events be impending, the crisis will be one of the most terrible through which this country has ever passed. But, in any case, the times are past in which constitutional scruples can be allowed to hamper national defences. The House of Commons must, by its own patriotism and self-control, furnish an antidote to the evils which the excess of its power has caused. 'Representative institutions are on their trial' was said sixteen years ago, and the verdict then was not very favourable. It is difficult to estimate the danger to social order which will arise, if any great disaster or disgrace shall teach the nation to despise the institutions in which it has been so long taught to trust.

We are not sanguine enough to hope that any formal amelioration in the relations between the Executive and the House of Commons will take place for many years to come. Neither men nor assemblies will yield prerogatives which they have once acquired, except to some power stronger than themselves; and it is only the nation that is strong enough to limit the action of the House of Commons. The Americans, looking at the question antecedently, saw the essential importance of securing that for a fixed period of years the Executive should, save in cases of positive crime, be independent. The actual mechanism that governs us is so hidden beneath the remains of ancient checks and powers, in various stages of decay, that the question of 'security of tenure' for the Executive is never broadly presented to the popular mind. Some great failure in war will probably happen before the vital necessity of an efficient Government is recognised. We must look for a mitigation of present evils, not to any formal change, but to the good sense of Ministers themselves, and of the parties which oppose and follow them in the House of Commons. The great need of the

the crisis is a military organisation, carefully planned, carried out fearlessly and thoroughly. It will be a deep blot on the fame of any Minister who shall, by any act or concession of his, allow Parliamentary difficulties to mar the fulness of the scheme which he shall judge to be required by exigencies of the national honour. At the present moment, with the fate of France before their eyes, the most wayward House of Commons will shrink from mutilating a complete measure of national armament. The extent to which our preparations should go must depend on the part we mean to bear in the councils of Europe. If we intend to maintain an isolated position, regarding the 'strip of silver sea' as another Atlantic severing us from all concern with the affairs of Europe, it is obvious that we require only defensive armaments. If, on the other hand, we resolve to adhere to our traditions, and to sustain the guarantees to which we are pledged, we must be able, in case of need, to operate upon the Continent with armies having some proportion to those with which modern warfare is carried on. But when we have decided the scale upon which our armaments are to be designed, let us resolve that they shall be complete; that in respect to cavalry, artillery, and the auxiliary services, they shall be ready at a month's notice to take the field: and that no want of training in the troops, or instruction among the officers, shall frustrate the object with which so great sacrifices are incurred. And when the scale of expenditure and the plan of organisation have been resolved upon, let us make an effort to give to it some character of permanence, to save it from the yearly nibblings of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We should gladly welcome the establishment by law for a term of years of the expenditure by which our defences are to be maintained. We should hail such a measure as an augury of a better state of things. It would give to us some sort of security that the safety of this country shall no longer be at the mercy of the financial combinations of each succeeding year—that it shall not be liable to be paralysed by any passing caprice of the House of Commons. But if such a law is at present too much to hope for, at least we may look for some understanding between the chiefs of the two great political parties to the effect, that the amount of the military Estimates shall not for a fixed term of years be made the object of Parliamentary manœuvres.

We confess to a fear that our rulers may not realise the gravity of the crisis, and may fritter away the interval of preparation that yet remains to us in attempts to patch again the patch-work

work of which our military system consists. A few changes in detail, a little extra expenditure for the year upon this vote or that, will justify them to themselves in assuring us that we are secure against all emergencies. It was precisely the same assurance which the Emperor of the French gave to his Chambers in the spring of 1869. But whatever Ministers, grown old in the art of substituting grandiloquent phrases for solid precautions, may assert, the nation at least cannot be deceived. The great lesson of this war—its one compensation for its unnumbered horrors—is that we must drive out from us the prophets of optimism. For years they have sung to us premature paens on the progress of humanity; and so confident was their triumph, so overwhelming their contempt for those who still dared to believe that the human race was fallen, that men had come in some degree to listen to them. The new gospel—a compound of commerce and philosophy—was being extensively taught and believed, to the effect that the ‘peace on earth,’ which Christianity had been unable to bring about, had been secured by the locomotive and the spinning-jenny. We were to lay aside our precautions, and to bury with little honour the statecraft of our fathers, on the faith that culture and science, and mutual inter-communication, had made wars among civilised nations an impossibility. The year 1870 has taught us what pitiful presumption lay behind the mask of this grand philosophy. We know now that war has lost none of its congeniality to human errors and passions—that the science which was to have stayed it has but sharpened its weapons and multiplied its horrors—and that, whereas of old it was undertaken with small pretext and paltry result, the pretexts remain now as scanty as ever, but the result is overwhelming desolation. We know that no appearance of peace, however profound, however soothing, is to be trusted. The tempest can burst upon us in a moment from a blue sky, wasting smiling territories and happy populations with the utmost misery that human nature can endure. All this is now placed beyond the reach of speculative objection. It is bare, stern fact. We live in an age of ‘blood and iron.’ If we mean to escape misery and dishonour, such as that of which we are reading every day, we must trust to no consciousness of a righteous cause, to no moral influence, to no fancied restraints of civilisation. These bulwarks may be of use to us when the millennium draws near; they are empty verbiage now. We must trust to our own power of self-defence, and to no other earthly aid. Nor let us hope that we can provide the safeguard when the danger comes. We have been taught by the saddest lessons.

lessons of our neighbour's experiences, that to trust in untrained valour and self-devotion, however lofty those qualities may be, is the silliest of delusions. If we would be safe, we must call to our aid all the resources that science and discipline have ministered to the art of human destruction. We know now, by experiments worked out upon others, that a large well-trained, well-supplied, army is the one condition of national safety. It will be well for us if we suffer no official procrastination, no empty commonplaces about British valour, to leave us to face the coming danger undefended—unprepared.

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*A Life of Anthony Ashley, First Earl of Shaftesbury, 1621-1683.* By W. D. Christie, Formerly Her Majesty's Minister to the Argentine Confederation and to Brazil. 2 vols. London and New York, 1871.

THERE are few characters in English history better worth studying than that of Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury. He lived in most momentous times, and he played most important parts in them. He was a Royalist and a Parliamentarian by turns during the Great Rebellion; a kind of half-Cromwellian, with monarchical leanings, under the Commonwealth; a courtier, a patriot, a member of the Cabal, and a fierce Exclusionist, under the Restoration. He changed sides with an audacity, a rapidity, and an adroitness, that make it difficult, almost impossible, to decide whether he was corrupt or incorrupt, whether he acted upon principle or no-principle, whether he adopted expediency, broad enlightened expediency, for the rule of his public conduct, or, in each successive crisis, simply waited for the tide, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.

If his changes had uniformly, or even generally, coincided with his interests or supposed views of personal advancement, there would be little room for doubt; but they did not. Making no allowance for him on this score, historians, poets, and lawyers, have joined in a chorus of reprobation. The brilliant rhetoric of Macaulay, the splendid satire of Dryden, the inexhaustible wit of Butler, the forensic acuteness of Lord Campbell, have been combined against his fame; yet no one of these formidable assailants can be deemed unexceptionable as a witness or a judge, and all of them together ought not to preclude renewed inquiry or appeal, if it can be shown that they were swayed by prejudice or imperfectly acquainted with the facts. In the full and complete Life before us, Mr. Christie has undertaken to show this: to prove that historians, poets, and lawyers, are equally at fault: that Shaftesbury was not a bad man, if an

erring one: that his admitted faults and vices were less those of the individual than of the age: that he lived in times when, to persist in an uncompromising course, was as impracticable as to walk straight amongst pitfalls or to keep clear of sunken rocks without tacking: that, whenever he joined or left a party or a cause, he did so because it had assumed fresh colours, or because a more effective mode of promoting the essential object of good government had broken upon him.

The undertaking was one of no ordinary boldness, and Mr. Christie is no ordinary biographer. Acute, cultivated, zealous, industrious, scrupulously accurate, justly confident in his resources and his views, he possesses (what we recently commended in Sir Henry Bulwer) the marked advantage of a peculiar training for his task. He has held high appointments in the diplomatic service, and he was an active member of the House of Commons for some years. In suggesting that biographers of statesmen will always be the better for some practical acquaintance with public affairs or statesmanship, we are not afraid of incurring the satirical reproof implied in the well-known line—

‘Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat.’

Shaftesbury himself foresaw that he would be hardly judged by posterity. ‘Whoever considers the number and the power of the adversaries I have met with, and how studiously they have, under the authority of both Church and State, dispersed the most villainous slanders of me, will think it necessary that I in this follow the French fashion, and write my own Memoirs, that it may appear to the world on what ground or motives they came to be my enemies, and with what truth and justice they have prosecuted their quarrel; and if in this whole narration they find me false or partial in any particular, I give up the whole to whatever censure they will make.’ Such is the commencement of a meditated autobiography, which breaks off abruptly at the most interesting point; just when ‘my life is not without great mixtures of the public concern, and must be much intermingled with the history of the times.’ This fragment, however, is valuable as an illustration of the period and the writer. In describing or (to use his own expression) ‘setting down his youthful time’—including the particulars of his birth, family, and education—he incidentally throws light on national manners; whilst his sketches of contemporaries are remarkable for fineness of perception, firmness of touch, rich racy expression, and vitality. One of them, that of Mr. Hastings, ‘son, brother, and uncle to the Earls of Huntingdon,’ (often reprinted) has won a place in popular literature by these

these qualities. There is another autobiographical fragment, which skims over parts of his early life in a more cursory fashion; there is also extant a Diary for four years and a half of his middle life; but little more than bare well-known facts are to be collected from these documents; which occupy less than thirty pages of Mr. Christie's Appendix, and afford little aid when we come to the vexed questions or debateable ground. It is just possible that, on approaching this same ground, Shaftesbury paused and thought better of it, or that the maxim, attributed to an eighteenth-century diarist, occurred to him: 'Whenever you have made a good impression, go away.' The Fragments leave a decidedly favourable impression, which their completion or continuation might have disturbed.

'My birth (he states) was at Wimborn St. Gyles in the County of Dorsett, on the 22nd day of July, 1621, early in the morning; my parents on both sides of a noble stock, being of the first rank of gentry in those countries where they lived.' It appears from this and other passages that the term 'noble' was then used in England, as it is still used on the Continent, to designate merely ancient lineage or good birth. 'My mother's name (he continues) was Anne, the sole daughter and heir of Sir Anthony Ashley, knight and baronet, lord of the manor and place where I was born; my father, Sir John Cooper, knight and baronet, son of Sir John Cooper, of Rockborn in the county of Hamshire. I was christened by the name of Anthony Ashley, for, notwithstanding my grandfather had articed with my father and his guardians that he should change his name to Ashley, yet, to make all sure in the eldest, he resolved to add his name, so that it should not be parted with.'

Clarendon has recorded that many of the great men who took part in the Civil War were little men. An accurate notion of Shaftesbury's bodily proportions is conveyed by Dryden's nervous couplet:—

'A fiery soul, which working out its way,
Fretted the pygmy body to decay,
And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.'

He took after his mother and maternal grandfather in these respects. 'Sir Anthony Ashley was of great age, but of strong sense and health; he had been for wisdom, courage, experience, skill in weapon, agility, and strength of body scarce paralleled in his age, of a large mind in all his actions, his person of the lowest. His daughter was of the same stature, a modest and virtuous woman, of a weaker mould, and not so stirring a mind as her father. Sir John Cooper was very lovely and graceful both in face and person, of a moderate stature, neither too high

nor too low, of an easy and an affable nature, fair and just in all affairs.' Sir Anthony Ashley, when nearly fourscore, had taken to wife a young lady under twenty, near of kin to the Duke of Buckingham, 'from whom he expected great preferment and, from *her*, children; but he failed of his expectation in the first, and his age, with the virtue of the young lady, could not help him to the latter.' He accordingly settled all his fortune on his son-in-law and daughter for their lives, with remainder in fee to Shaftesbury, 'for he grew every day more and more fond of me, being a prating boy and very observant of him.' Sir Anthony died in 1627, and Lady Cooper (the mother) in 1628, whereupon Sir John Cooper (the father) took for his second wife the widow of Sir Charles Moryson, and daughter and coheiress of the Lord Viscount Camden, 'a lady beautiful and of great fortune, a discreet woman of a large soul, who, *if she had not given some jealousy to both her husbands, and confirmed it afterwards by marrying the person (Sir Richard Alford)*, mought (sic) have been numbered amongst the excellent.' This marriage caused the removal of the family to Cashiobury, the jointure house of the lady, where Sir John died, in March, 1630, Shaftesbury being thus left an orphan in his ninth year. Up to this time, and for about a year afterwards, he had been under the instruction of one Mr. Guerden, who subsequently became a physician of note. Mr. Guerden's successor in this charge was Mr. Fletcher, 'a very excellent teacher of grammar;' and this is all we know of Shaftesbury's education till he went to Exeter College, Oxford, in 1637.

It is the remark of Gibbon that every man who rises above the common level has received two educations: the first from his teachers; the second, more personal and important, from himself. Shaftesbury may be cited in confirmation of this theory, and he is also a striking instance of the precocity which occurs, or at all events is made prominent, so much more frequently in preceding generations than in our own. This is pre-eminently the age of septuagenarian, almost octogenarian, statesmen and generals; but we can no longer boast of youthful orators, ministers, heroes, and conquerors, like Fox, Pitt, Condé, and Napoleon; nor of men of mark marrying, settling, and taking up a distinguished position, public or private, in their teens. Shaftesbury was under eighteen when he married, under nineteen when he took his seat in the House of Commons, and hardly thirteen when he intervened personally in the management of his property, sadly mismanaged by his guardians, and succeeded in wresting a large slice from the grasp of an uncle who had hoped to plunder him through the connivance of the Court of Wards.

This

This uncle, Sir Francis Ashley, was a formidable antagonist, being the King's serjeant-at-law, and 'one of more elocution, learning, and abilitie, than gratitude or piety to his elder brother's family.' The main point in question was whether a deed of settlement took the estate out of wardship :

' Mr. Noy was then the King's Attorney, who, being a very intimate friend of my grandfather's, had drawn that settlement; my friends advised that I was in great danger if he would not undertake my cause, and yet, it being against the King, it was neither proper nor probable he would meddle in it for me; but weighing the temper of the man, the kindness he had for my grandfather, and his honour so concerned if a deed of that consequence should fail of his drawing, they advised that I must be my own solicitor, and carry the deed myself alone to him, which, being but thirteen years old, I undertook and performed with that pertness that he told me he would defend my cause though he lost his place. I was at the Court, and he made good his word to the full without taking one penny fees. My Lord Cottington was then Master of the Wards, who, sitting with his hat over his eyes, and having heard Sir Francis make a long and elegant speech for the overthrowing of my deed, said openly, "Sir Francis, you have spoke like a good uncle." Mr. Attorney Noy argued for me, and my uncle rising up to reply (I being then present in court), before he could speak two words, he was taken with a sudden convulsion fit, his mouth drawn to his ear, was carried out of the court, and never spoke more.'

Without going quite the length of the Reverend Mr. Thwackum in the doctrine of judgments, we call on all wicked uncles to take warning from this catastrophe. Shaftesbury's career at the University was no less typical of the coming man than that of Napoleon making snowball ramparts and directing mimic sieges at Brienne. We see the restless, scheming, turbulent politician as clearly as the nascent strategist in the bud. The mode in which he set about obtaining influence, and the uses he made of it, are equally characteristic.

' I kept both horses and servants in Oxford, and was allowed what expense or recreation I desired, which liberty I never much abused; but it gave me the opportunity of obliging by entertainments the better sort and supporting divers of the activest of the lower rank with giving them leave to eat when in distress upon my expense, it being no small honour amongst those sort of men, that my name in the buttery book willingly owned twice the expense of any in the University. This expense, my quality, proficiency in learning, and natural affability easily not only obtained the goodwill of the wiser and older sort, but made me the leader even of all the rough young men of that college (Exeter), famous for the courage and strength of tall, raw-boned Cornish and Devonshire gentlemen, which in great numbers yearly come to that college, and did then maintain in the schools

schools coursing against Christ Church, the largest and most numerous college in the University.'

This coursing, he goes on to explain, was in olden times intended for a fair trial of learning and skill in logic, metaphysics, and school divinity, but for some generations the verbal disputation had uniformly ended in affronts, confusion, and very often blows, 'when they went most gravely to work,' making a great noise with their feet, hissing and shoving with their shoulders, the stronger driving out the weaker, the proctors and occasionally the Vice-Chancellor being swept away with the throng.

'I was often one of the disputants, and gave the sign and order for their beginning, but, being not strong of body, was always guarded from violence by two or three of the sturdiest youths, as their chief, and one who always relieved them when in prison and procured their release, and very often was forced to pay the neighbouring farmers, when they of our party that wanted money were taken in the fact, for more geese, turkeys, and poultry than either they had stole or he had lost, it being very fair dealing if he made the scholar, when taken, pay no more than he had lost since his last reimbursement.'

Shaftesbury records with manifest exultation that there were two other things in which he had a principal hand when he was at college: 'the one, I caused that ill custom of tucking freshmen to be left off; the other, when the senior fellows designed to alter the beer of the college, which was stronger than other colleges, I hindered their design.' Proceeding warily and knowingly, he effectually stopped the deterioration of the beer. His plan was this. The poorer undergraduates who were intended by their friends to get their livelihood by their studies were directed to rest quiet whilst all the others 'that were elder brothers, or unconcerned in their anger,' should go in a body and strike their names out of the buttery book; 'which was accordingly done, and had the effect that the senior fellows, seeing their pupils going that yielded them most profit, presently struck sail and articled with us never to alter the size of our beer, which remains so to this day.' The other, he tells us, was a harder work, tucking being a custom of great antiquity for the senior to call up the freshmen and make them hold out their chin, 'and they (the seniors) with the nail of the right thumb, left long for that purpose, grate off all the skin from the lip to the chin and then cause them to drink a beer-glass of water and salt.'

He had made up his mind not to undergo 'tucking,' and by a lucky chance the freshmen of his year were a strong body, physically and numerically strong, comprising 'more and lustier young gentlemen' than had come to the college in several

years

years before, who, on his prompting, ‘cheerfully engaged to stand stoutly in defence of their chins.’ They all appeared at the appointed evening in the hall, ‘and my Lord of Pembrook’s son calling me first, as we knew by custom it would begin with me, I according to agreement gave the signal, striking him a box on the ear, and immediately the freshmen fell on, and we easily cleared the buttery and the hall, but bachelors and young masters coming in to assist the seniors, we were compelled to retreat to a ground chamber in the quadrangle.’

In this extremity they appear to have turned their classical studies to good account. Like the two champions in the ‘*Aeneid*’ who threw open the gates of the camp, ‘some of the stoutest and strongest of our freshmen, giant-like boys, opened the door, let in as many as they pleased, and shut the door by main strength upon the rest.’ Those who had been let in were beginning to rue their rashness, when Shaftesbury interposed and proposed to employ them as negotiators, ‘some of them being considerable enough to make terms for us, which they did; for Dr. Prideaux, always favourable to youth offending out of courage, uniting with the fears of those we had within, gave us articles of pardon for what had passed and an utter abolition in that college of that foolish custom.’

The story of his marriage in his eighteenth year with a daughter of the Lord Keeper Coventry is told in the same quaint and pointed language. The young couple took up their residence with the Lord Keeper at his town house, paying occasional visits to Dorsetshire, where Shaftesbury’s main object was to keep up his county influence and mortify his principal rival, Mr. Rogers, ‘a near neighbour, of a noble family and estate, a proper handsome man, and indeed a very worthy noble gentleman, and one that thought so well of himself as gave him a value with others.’ The principal scene of action was a bowling-green at Hanley, ‘where the gentlemen went constantly once a week, though neither the green nor accommodation were inviting, yet it was well placed for to continue the correspondence of the gentry of those parts.’ Here he omitted no opportunity to show up Mr. Rogers, whose coach and six, garb, and discourse, ‘all spoke him one that thought himself above them, which, *when observed to them*, they easily agreed to. My family, alliance, fortune, being not prejudiced either by nature or education, gave me the juster grounds to take exceptions; besides, my affable, easy temper, now with care improved, rendered the stiffness of his demeanour more visible.’ Although the only finished portrait in the *Autobiography* is the familiar one of Mr. Hastings, each of the leading gentry has a graphic sentence or two devoted to him, showing how carefully Shaftesbury

Shaftesbury

Shaftesbury studied character with the obvious view of preparing stepping-stones for his ambition.

No reasonable reader complains of any number of egotistical confessions or revelations in a diary or autobiography. We like Pepys the better for his weaknesses, and we are amused by the self-complacency with which Lord Herbert of Cherbury expatiates on his own physical advantages, as when he says: 'It is well known to those that wait in my chamber that the shirts, waistcoats, and other garments I wear next my body are sweet beyond what either easily can be believed or hath been observed in any one else.' Shaftesbury is equally frank, and our wonder at the exertions of which so feeble a frame was capable is greatly enhanced at finding that he was a constant sufferer from disease:

'At the hunting I was taken with one of my usual fits, which for divers years had hardly missed me one day, which lasted for an hour, betwixt eleven and one, sometimes beginning earlier and sometimes later betwixt those times. It was a violent pain of my left side, that I was often forced to lie down wherever I was; at last it forced a working in my stomach, and I put up some spoonfuls of clear water, and I was well, if I may call that so, when I was never without a dull aching pain of that side. Yet this never abated the cheerfulness of my temper; but, when in the greatest fits, I hated pitying and loved merry company, and, as they told me, was myself very pleasant when the drops fell from my face for pain; but then my servant near me always desired they would not take notice of it, but continue their diversions, which was more acceptable to me; and I had always the women and young people about me at those times, who thought me acceptable to them, and peradventure the more admired me because they saw the visible symptoms of my pain, which caused in all others so contrary an effect.'

This hunting took place near Tewkesbury, and the 'meet' was attended by the bailiffs and burgesses of that borough, who, 'being no hard riders,' dropped behind to keep the young baronet company; and a part of the discourse turned on 'an old knight in the field, a crafty, perverse, rich man, in power as being of the Queen's Privy Council, a bitter enemy of the town and Puritans as rather inclined to the Popish way.' At dinner, the same day, Shaftesbury was seated opposite Sir Harry Spiller, the old knight in question, who 'began with all the affronts and dislikes he could put on their bailiffs or their entertainment, which enraged and discontented them the more, it being in the face of the first gentlemen of the country, and when they resolved to appear in their best colours.' Here was one of the opportunities which Shaftesbury was ever ready and well qualified to seize. 'When the first course was near spent, and he continued his

his rough raillery, I thought it my duty, eating their bread, to defend their cause the best I could, which I did with so good success, not sparing the bitterest retorts I could make him, which his way in the world afforded matter for, that I had a perfect victory over him. This gained the townsmen's hearts, and their wives' to boot ; I was made free of the town, and the next parliament, though absent, without a penny charge, was chosen Burgess by an unanimous vote.'

The parliament for which he was thus elected was the Short Parliament, which met on the 13th April and was dissolved on the 5th May, 1640. There is no trace of his having spoken in it. The next parliament, which met on the 3rd November, 1640, was the Long Parliament. He was elected for Downton, but the validity of the return was left undecided, and he did not take his seat under it till shortly before the Restoration (Jan. 7, 1660), when the Long Parliament had sunk into contempt and derision as the 'Rump.' He consequently took no part in its early debates and most memorable proceedings, and was left comparatively free from the heat of civil conflict to choose his side. He became of age on the 22nd July, 1642, a month before the royal standard was set up at Nottingham ; and he has entered in his Diary that 'he was with the King at Nottingham and Derby, but only as a spectator, having not as yet adhered against the Parliament.' Early in 1643, he had begun to play a prominent part :

'1643. Sir Anthony left the ladies, and went into Dorset to his house at St. Giles Wimborne, where he continued generally till, the Lord Marquess Hertford coming into the county, he was employed for the treating with the towns of Dorchester and Weymouth to surrender, the commission being directed to him, Napper, Hele, Ogle, which they effected, and Sir Anthony was by the gentlemen of the county desired to attend the King with their desires and the state of the county.'

According to Martyn, partly confirmed by Locke, he sought an interview with the King at Oxford, and offered to undertake the general pacification of the realm, if the required powers were vested in him, at which His Majesty naturally demurred, saying 'You are a young man, and talk great things.' According to the same authority, all Shaftesbury's plans were 'spoilt by Prince Maurice, and on Cooper's complaining to the King, it is said that "the King shook his head with some concern, but said little." It is further stated that, after this first grand project was broken by Prince Maurice, Cooper started another, which was that the counties should all arm and endeavour to suppress both the contending armies ; and that Cooper brought most of the sober and well-

well-intentioned gentlemen of both sides throughout England into this plan.

Most of this is pronounced by Mr. Christie to be downright falsehood; and its inherent absurdity is self-evident. To propose that the counties should all arm and endeavour to suppress both the contending armies, is very like proposing that the contending parties should combine to put down party. There is not the faintest allusion to any project of pacification, or interview with the King, in the Diary; from which we learn merely that Shaftesbury was made Governor of Weymouth and Portland by the Marquis of Hertford, and that, under a commission from the same nobleman, he raised a full regiment and a troop of horse at his own charge:—

‘Some months after this, Marquess Hertford’s commission was taken away, yet Sir Anthony had a continuation of all his commands under the King’s own hand, and he was made high sheriff of the county of Dorsett, and president of the council of war for those parts.

‘Notwithstanding, he now plainly seeing the King’s aim destructive to religion and the state, and though he had an assurance of the barony of Astley Castle, which had formerly belonged to that family, and that but two days before he received a letter from the King’s own hand of large promises and thanks for his service, yet in February he delivered up all his commissions to Ashburnham, and privately came away to the Parliament, leaving all his estate in the King’s quarters, 500l. a year full-stocked, two houses well furnished, to the mercy of the enemy, resolving to cast himself on God and to follow the dictates of a good conscience. Yet he never in the least betrayed the King’s service, but while he was with him was always faithful.’

Such is Shaftesbury’s account of his first change of sides, which Mr. Christie sees no reason to reject or qualify, considering that other persons of importance and unquestionable integrity left the King’s party about the same time for similar reasons, and that the royal cause was just then in the ascendant in the western counties. Lord Campbell is less charitable, and follows Clarendon, who attributes the change to pique. Shaftesbury, he says, having been superseded in his governorship of Weymouth and otherwise crossed or slighted by Prince Maurice, ‘he was thereby so much disengaged that he quitted the King’s party, and gave himself up, body and soul, to the service of the Parliament, with an implacable animosity against the royal cause.’ It was not in Shaftesbury’s nature to be lukewarm, and his zeal in every cause in which he chanced to be engaged is a sign of his good faith. Far from distrusting his assertion, that he never in the least betrayed the King’s service whilst he was in

in it, his assailants give him credit for a chastity of honour and a scrupulous delicacy which we commend to public men in general and especially to diplomatists. When examined by the Committee of the House of Commons, before whom new converts of consequence were brought, he absolutely refused to make any discovery, either of persons or the management of affairs, whilst he was at Oxford. 'In every part of his life he governed himself by this rule, that there is a general and tacit trust in conversation, whereby a man is obliged not to repeat anything to the speaker's prejudice, though no intimation may be given of a desire not to have it spoken again.'

Historians differ as to the degree of cordiality with which Shaftesbury was received by the Parliament. That he was at first regarded with some suspicion or distrust, may be inferred from the circumstance that he was unable to gain admittance to the House of Commons, and that some months, marked by active services, elapsed before he was allowed to compound by a moderate fine (500*l.*) for his estates. But he speedily made known his value both as a political partisan and a citizen soldier; for in less than a year (August, 1644) he received a commission to command a brigade of horse and foot, with the title of Field-Marshal-General; and with this force he besieged and reduced Wareham. In the October following, being appointed Commander-in-Chief for the Parliament in Dorsetshire, he took the field with ten regiments of horse and foot, with which he stormed Abbotsbury, the fortified house of Sir John Strangways, garrisoned by a cavalier regiment, which, after a desperate defence, capitulated. An officer engaged in this affair writes, 'When by no other means we could get it, we found a way by desperately flinging fired turf-faggots into the windows, and the fight then grew so hot that our said Commander-in-Chief (who, to his perpetual renown, behaved most gallantly in this service) was forced to bring up his men within pistol-shot of the house, and could hardly get them to stay and stand the brunt.' After clearing the surrounding country of royalist forces, he advanced to the relief of Taunton, where Blake was sorely pressed, and the siege was raised at his approach.

In mere wantonness of depreciation, and without the semblance of authority, Lord Campbell says that 'he (Shaftesbury) wrote a flaming account of the exploit to the Parliament, taking greater

* Martyn, vol. i. p. 142. Locke's Works, vol. ix. p. 270. When examined by the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire whether certain expressions had been used by Shiel at a dinner party, Sir Francis Burdett made answer, that his memory was so peculiarly constituted as to be unable to retain the slightest impression of anything that passed or was spoken at table.

credit

credit to himself than Cromwell in his despatch announcing his victory at Dunbar.' The actual report, in the shape of a letter to Lord Essex, has been printed from the Harleian MSS. by Mr. Christie, and turns out to be simple, plain, and businesslike, without one boastful or turgid expression. The military commands which he subsequently held are cursorily mentioned in the Diary as unattended by results for want of men; and his military career terminated in 1645. Mr. Christie thinks that he withdrew from the army along with the rest of the Presbyterian leaders, who were driven out by the 'Self-denying Ordinance' and the 'New Model.' Lord Campbell says captiously: 'He was suddenly satisfied with his military glory, and after this brilliant campaign never again appeared in the field: whether he retired from some affront, or mere caprice, is not certainly known.' Dryden's sneer at his brief military career is equally gratuitous:—

'A martial hero, first with early care
Blown, like a pygmy by the winds, to war,
A beardless chief, a rebel e'er a man,
So young his hatred to his Prince began.'

The winds first 'blew him' into the royal camp, and he was no longer beardless when he became a rebel. His Diary, from January 1, 1646, to April 10, 1650 (when it ends) is meagre in the extreme. It is studiously confined to domestic incidents and personal matters, and contains not a single comment on any of the great political events, including the royal martyrdom, that occurred in the interval. But we collect from it that he took an active part in country business, and co-operated with the authorities for the enforcement of the law of the land. After stating that he had been sworn a justice of the peace for the county of Wilts, and was in commission for oyer and terminer the whole circuit, he sets down:—

'August 11, 1646.—Sir John Danvers came and sat with us. Seven condemned to die, four for horse stealing, two for robbery, one for killing his wife; he broke her neck with his hands; *it was proved that, he touching her body the day after, her nose bled fresh*; four burnt in the hand, one for felony, three for manslaughter; *the same sign followed one of them, of the corpse bleeding.*'

This, gravely set down by a man like Shaftesbury, is a remarkable proof of the strength of the popular superstition.

In January, 1652, he was named one of the Parliamentary Commissioners for the reform of the law, and an entry in the Journal, dated March 17, 1653, runs thus:—

'Resolved by the Parliament that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, baronet,

baronet, be, and is hereby, pardoned of all delinquency, and be, and is hereby, made capable of all other privileges as any other of the people of this nation are.'

* There is no reason for believing, with Martyn and Lord Campbell, that he had been guilty of any delinquency more recent than his (in Independent eyes) original sin in taking service with the Crown. He was one of ten members for the county of Wilts in Barebones' Parliament, and his detractors take for granted that he fell in with the humours of this strange assembly, prayed, canted, and sought the Lord with the best of them:—

'Next this—how wildly will ambition steer!
A vermin wriggling in the usurper's ear.
Bartering his venal wit for sums of gold,
He cast himself into the saint-like mould :
Groaned, sighed, and prayed, while godliness was gain,
The loudest bag-pipe of the squeaking train.'

There is not the slightest evidence that he did anything of the kind. He regularly acted and voted with the moderate party in this assembly; but the fact of his having been a member of it was remembered against him when he became a Peer:—

'A little bobtail'd lord, urchin of state,
A praise-god Barebone peer, whom all men hate.'

The charge of wriggling in the usurper's ear derives some semblance of plausibility from his being deputed by the House to offer Hampton Court to Cromwell, and becoming one of the fifteen members of the Council of State named in the new Constitution which established the Protectorate for life. He certainly made common cause with Cromwell against the fanatics, and, during a brief interval, had the air of trusting in and being trusted by him. If we may believe Burnet, 'he (Shaftesbury) pretended that Cromwell offered to make him king. He was indeed of great use to him in withstanding the enthusiasts of that time. He was one of those who pressed him most to accept of the kingdom, because, as he said afterwards, he was sure it would ruin him.' In the closing years of his life Shaftesbury was in the habit of talking loosely and boastfully of his former doings; and, not intending to be taken literally, he may have said something of the sort to intimate the high sense Cromwell entertained of his services, or by way of mystifying Burnet, whose credulity and love of gossip were well known. It is impossible to believe that Cromwell did offer to make him king, or (for it comes to this, if he in turn wished Cromwell to be king) that the throne was bandied between them, or made the subject of an interchange of compliments, like a chair

chair or place of precedence between two courtiers, which each presses the other to accept.

Early in 1655, Shaftesbury quietly withdrew from Cromwell's Privy Council, and gradually came to be regarded as a decided opponent of his views. There was no open rupture or avowed cause of dissatisfaction, and conjecture has consequently been busy in imputing motives, public and private, the least creditable the better. Some will have it that Shaftesbury aspired to the Great Seal and was refused: others, that he sought the hand of the Lady Mary, the Protector's daughter; that his addresses were declined on the ground of his dissolute morals; and that the disappointment of his ambitious love was the occasion of the breach. Considering that the estrangement was gradual, and that there is no proof whatever of his having aspired to the lady's hand or (at that time) to the Great Seal, the simplest explanation is the best. He was willing to go along with Cromwell to the extent of making him Chief Magistrate, or Head of the Executive, under constitutional restrictions, but shrank from the creation of an uncontrolled despotism or dictatorship. His position in the Presbyterian party, to whom he owed his influence, was at stake; and he had obviously no alternative but to become one of the Protector's creatures or to separate from him. How matters stood between them is shown by Shaftesbury's exclusion from the Second Parliament elected under the Instrument of Government; and also by the remark attributed, on respectable authority, to Cromwell, that 'there was no one he was more at a loss how to manage than that Marcus Tullius Cicero, the little man with three names.' If that little man could have been induced to name his price, the odds are that it would have been readily paid, even if he had named the Great Seal or a daughter.

Lord Campbell says that upon being refused the hand of 'the musical, glib-tongued Lady Mary,' he (Shaftesbury) finally broke with Oliver, and became a partisan of the banished royal family. This is glaringly incorrect. He did not become a partisan of the royal family until after Oliver's death, when the people, with one accord, flew from petty tyrants to the throne, and the Restoration offered the sole protection against anarchy. His public appearances during the five or six years' interval were limited by the jealousy or hostility he had provoked. The certificate of approbation from the Council, without which no member could take his seat, was refused to more than a hundred members of the Parliament of 1656. He was one of these, and he joined with sixty-four others in signing a letter of complaint to the Speaker, which was followed up by a spirited Remonstrance

to

to the People, denouncing whoever advised the exclusion, or who should sit and vote in the 'mutilated' assembly, as capital enemies of the Commonwealth. The mutilated assembly proceeded, notwithstanding, to pass the new Constitution, entitled the Humble Petition and Advice, under which Parliament was to consist of two Houses; and Cromwell forthwith proceeded to nominate his peers. We need hardly say that Shaftesbury was not one of this favoured and speedily discredited body, but he was allowed to sit in the House of Commons during the Session of 1658, and he played a conspicuous part in the opposition to the new Constitution and the new Lords whom the Commons refused to recognise. He was a teller on the division which led to the immediate dissolution of this Parliament, the last called by Oliver, who died in September, 1658, and was succeeded by his son Richard, whose first Parliament met in January, 1659. Shaftesbury was again a member, and an active and influential one. He delivered in it, and published at the time, a carefully prepared speech, which may be accepted as the best specimen extant of his oratory, and one of the best specimens of the oratory of the age.

The leading speakers were then earnest, plain, and practical, rather than rhetorical or declamatory. They were rarely full and flowing, rarely what is commonly called eloquent; rarely imaginative in the highest sense of the term. Their greatest effects were produced by terse weighty sentences, apt homely metaphors, sudden turns, quaint allusions, condensed reasoning, and bold apostrophes. They were occasionally long-winded. Hume describes Pym as opening the charge against Strafford 'in a long-studied discourse, divided into many heads after his manner;' and contemptuously referring to an attempt to put the Parliamentary champions in balance with the most illustrious characters of antiquity—with Cato, Brutus, Cassius—the historian exclaims: 'Compare only one circumstance and consider its consequences. The leisure of those noble antients were (*sic*) totally employed in the study of Grecian eloquence and philosophy, in the cultivation of polite letters and civilised society. The whole discourse and language of the moderns were polluted with mysterious jargon, and full of the lowest and most vulgar hypocrisy.' This was partly true of Vane, Cromwell, and many others when the Saints were uppermost: during 'Barebone's Parliament or in the worst days of the Rump.' But it was not true of the parliamentary celebrities of the antecedent or immediately ensuing periods—of 1628, 1640, or 1659; not true of Hampden, Holles, Digby, Capel, Hyde, Falkland, and a host of accomplished and highly-cultivated men, whose minds and memories

memories fairly ran over with classical illustrations. Of the two principal speakers, quoted by Hume, in 1628, one, Sir Francis Seymour, refers to Herodotus, and the other, Sir Robert Philips, to Livy.

The homeliness of Strafford's illustrations, in his memorable defence, is no less remarkable than their appositeness :

' Where has this species of guilt (constructive treason) been so long concealed ? Where has this fire been so long buried, during so many centuries that no smoke should appear, till it burst out at once, to consume me and my children. . . . If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor, in case there be no buoy to give warning, the party shall pay me damage : but if the anchor be marked out, then is the striking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark set upon this crime ? Where is the token by which I should discover it ? It has lain concealed under water, and no human prudence, or human innocence, could save me from the destruction with which I am at present threatened.'

The language of the Royal Martyr bore no trace of the ambiguity or double-dealing with which he has been charged, and may be recommended, for idiomatic simplicity and force, to premiers and cabinets by whom royal speeches are composed. ' You have taken the whole machine of government to pieces '—was his warning address to the Parliament of 1640—' a practice frequent with skilful artists when they desire to clear the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine may again be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire, so as not a pin of it be wanting.' In the short speech, which he delivered from the speaker's chair on the occasion of the ill-advised attempt to seize the five members, he said : ' Well, since the birds are flown, I do expect that you will send them to me as soon as they return.'

Shaftesbury's oratory was formed in the same school, and after the best models. As he was uniformly plain-spoken, it contradicts that theory of his character which would make him prone to dissimulation and deceit. As he left no doubt of his intentions for the time, we may conclude that he had no interest in concealing them ; and he would thus present only one instance among many where honesty of purpose has coexisted with instability. There is another point of view in which his speeches throw light upon the inculpated and dubious passages of his career. Was he at any time a demagogue ? How did he wield the fierce democracy, if he wielded it ? Was it by boldly appealing to popular passions or by adroitly using them ? Was he nearest to a Mirabeau or a Talleyrand ? Macaulay, referring to the debates on the Exclusion Bill, says : ' The power of

Shaftesbury

Shaftesbury over large masses was unrivalled. Halifax was disqualified by his whole character, moral and intellectual, for the part of a demagogue. It was in small circles, and, above all, in the House of Lords, that his ascendancy was felt.' Dryden paints Halifax :—

‘Of piercing wit and pregnant thought;
Endued by nature and by learning taught
To move assemblies.’

Such was the contemporary impression of Halifax, whose oratory is utterly lost; but we nowhere read that Shaftesbury was deemed a mob orator, and, judging from the tone and style of his speeches as well as from the recorded effects of some of them, we should infer that what the brilliant historian says of his favourite is equally true of the peculiar object of his vituperation; that it was in small circles, and, above all, in the House of Lords, that Shaftesbury's ascendancy was felt. He is never vehement or declamatory. He never appeals to the passions of his audience: he appeals to their reason, or to their prejudices when these have gained the strength of reason, and appeals in a manner which it requires no small degree of refinement and culture to appreciate. His sound sense, his ample stores of knowledge and observation, his dexterity, his fertility, his irony, his wit, would be lost upon a turbulent assembly as surely as his little person would be submerged in a crowd, and not a fragment of his composition has been preserved which does not bear the impress of a certain description of fastidiousness. Strange to say, these fragments manifest that very proneness to generalisation which Macaulay supposes distinctive of Halifax. The speech against Cromwell's peers abounds in maxims and theories, in fine strokes of satire, and in reasonings which are sometimes almost puzzling from their subtlety:

‘One of the few requests the Portuguese made to Phillip the Second, King of Spain, when he got that kingdom, as his late Highness did this, by an army, was, that he would not make nobility contemptible by advancing such to that degree whose quality or virtue could be noways thought to deserve it. Nor have we formerly been less apprehensive of such inconveniences ourselves. It was, in Richard the First's time, one of the Bishop of Ely's accusations, that castles and forts of great trust he did “obscuris et ignotis hominibus tradere”—put in the hands of obscure and unknown men. But we, Mr. Speaker, to such a kind of men are delivering up the power of our laws, and, in that, the power of all.

* * * * *

‘After their quality, give me leave to speak a word or two of their qualifications; which certainly ought, in reason, to carry some pro-

portion with the employment they design themselves. The House of Lords are the King's great hereditary Council; they are the highest court of judicature; they have their part in judging and determining of the reasons for making new laws and abrogating old: from amongst them we take our great officers of State: they are commonly our generals at land, and our admirals at sea. In conclusion, they are both of the essence and constitution of our old government; and have, besides, the greatest and noblest share in the administration. Now, certainly, Sir, to judge according to the dictates of reason, one would imagine some small faculties and endowments to be necessary for discharging such a calling; and those such as are not usually acquired in shops and warehouses, nor found by following the plough: and what other academies most of their lordships have been bred in but their shops, what other arts they have been versed in but those which more required good arms and good shoulders than good heads, I think we are yet to be informed. Sir, we commit not the education of our children to ignorant and illiterate masters; nay, we trust not our horses to unskilful grooms. I beseech you, let us think it belongs to us to have some care into whose hands we commit the management of the commonwealth; and if we cannot have persons of birth and fortune to be our rulers, to whose quality we would willingly submit, I beseech you, Sir, for our credit and safety's sake, let us seek men at least of parts and education, to whose abilities we may have some reason to give way. If a patient dies under a physician's hand, the law esteems that not a felony, but a misfortune, in the physician: but it has been held by some, if one who is no physician undertakes the management of a cure, and the party miscarries, the law makes the empiric a felon: and sure, in all men's opinion, the patient a fool. To conclude, Sir, for great men to govern is ordinary; for able men it is natural; knaves many times come to it by force and necessity, and fools sometimes by chance; but universal choice and election of fools and knaves for government was never yet made by any who were not themselves like those they chose.'

He thus disposes of their claims on the score of services:—

‘Mr. Speaker, I shall be as forward as any man to declare their services, and acknowledge them; though I might tell you that the same honour is not purchased by the blood of an enemy and of a citizen; that for victories in civil wars, till our armies marched through the city, I have not read that the conquerors have been so void of shame as to triumph. Cæsar, not much more indulgent to his country than our late Protector, did not so much as write public letters of his victory at Pharsalia; much less had he days of thanksgiving to his gods, and anniversary feasts, for having been a prosperous rebel.’

‘The wit of irony (says Sydney Smith, in his Lectures) consists in the surprise excited by the discovery of that relation which exists between the apparent praise and the real blame. I shall

shall quote a noble specimen of irony, from the "Preface" of "Killing no Murder." It would be difficult to find a better, if not nobler, specimen than a passage in the speech before us.

'But, Sir, I leave this argument; and, to be as good as my word, come to put you in mind of some of their services, and the obligations you owe them for the same. To speak nothing of one of my Lords Commissioners' valour at Bristol,* nor of another noble lord's brave adventure at the Bear-garden,† I must tell you, Sir, that most of them have had the courage to do things which I may boldly say, few other Christians durst so have adventured their souls to have attempted: they have not only subdued their enemies, but their masters that raised and maintained them; they have not only conquered Scotland and Ireland, but rebellious England too, and there suppressed a malignant party of magistrates and laws; and, that nothing should be wanting to make them indeed complete conquerors, without the help of philosophy they have even conquered themselves. All shame they have subdued as perfectly as all justice; the oaths they have taken they have as easily digested as their old General could himself; public covenants and engagements they have trampled under foot. In conclusion, so entire a victory they have over themselves, that their consciences are as much their servants, Mr. Speaker, as we are. But give me leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and shows the confidence they have of themselves and us: after having many times trampled on the authority of the House of Commons, and no less than five times dissolved them, they hope, for those good services to the House of Commons, to be made a House of Lords.'

Shaftesbury played an active and influential part in the plots, councils, and machinations which led to the Restoration; but there is no ground for the accusation of rashness or undue zeal levelled at him by M. Guizot, who says that, 'accused, with good reason, of complicity in the insurrection (Booth's), Sir Anthony Cooper, on the report of Nevil, was declared innocent.' The only evidence against him was that of a boy, who stated that he had carried a letter from him to Booth. A fragment of his biography contains a detailed account of the manner in which Monk was with difficulty induced to take a decided course, principally under the persuasion or compulsion of his wife, a strong-minded and high-spirited woman, who deserves to be placed alongside of Lady Fairfax and Mrs. Hutchinson in the female Valhalla, when there is one. It is traditionally related that, as Shaftesbury was returning from the City after an attempt to bring about a concert with Monk, the mob surrounded the carriage,

* Fiennes, condemned to death by a court-martial for cowardice.

† Colonel Pride, who endeavoured to suppress bear-baiting by a wholesale slaughter of bears.

crying out, 'Down with the Rump.' He put his head out at the window, and exclaimed: 'What, gentlemen, not one good piece in a rump!' The joke told, and he was loudly cheered as he passed on.

During the next twelve or thirteen years his chosen field of ambition was the Court, and his freshly-revived loyalty seemed fixed. He was one of the twelve Commissioners deputed by the Commons to meet the restored monarch, and one of the small batch of Privy Councillors named during the two days' halt at Canterbury. He was also an acting member of the tribunal specially appointed for the trial, which meant condemnation, of the regicides; for which politic compliancy Mrs. Hutchinson brands him as 'a vile traitor,' on the strength of his pledge to her husband that, 'if the King was brought back, not a hair of any man's head, nor a penny of any man's estate, should be touched for what had passed.' The most Mr. Christie can urge in mitigation is, that Monk gave a similar pledge to Ludlow, saying that, 'if he suffered such a thing, he should be the arrantest rogue alive'; and that Monk was also one of the judges. Shaftesbury spoke repeatedly in the Convention Parliament, and it was he who moved the adjournment of a debate on religion, which lasted till ten at night, when the House (as recorded in the 'Parliamentary History') 'sat an hour in the dark before candles were suffered to be brought in, and they were twice blown out, but the third time they were preserved, though with great disorder.' He was raised to the Upper House in April, 1661, as Baron Ashley, of Wimborne St. Giles, by a Patent, reciting that 'at length by his counsels, in concert with our beloved and faithful George Monk, knight, &c., &c., he did a service worthy to be remembered, and most grateful to us, in the great business of restoring us to our kingdom, and delivering his country from the bitter servitude under which it so long groaned.'

According to modern notions, his removal from the Lower House was a strange preliminary to his next appointment, that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which he received on the 13th May, 1661, and held till November, 1672, when he was made Lord Chancellor. All contemporary accounts agree that he could be an excellent man of business when it suited him. Pepys entered in his Diary for May, 1663, 'I find my Lord, as he is reported, a very ready, quiet, and diligent person.' According to Lord Campbell, 'his conduct after the Restoration for the next seven years seems wholly inexplicable, for he remained quite regular, and seemingly contented. He had a little excitement by sitting as a Judge on the trial of the regicides, and joining in the sentence on some of his old associates.'

These

These trials being over, he seemed to sink down into a Treasury drudge.' The regularity was on the surface, the contentment was in mere outward seeming, and he had as much excitement as he could reasonably desire; for he was unceasingly struggling to attain a paramount position in the royal counsels, and uniformly regarded the place he held for the nonce as a stepping-stone to a higher. The rival whom he was most anxious to supersede or distance was Clarendon. The Comte de Comminges, the French Ambassador, wrote April 9, 1663:—

'Lord Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was formerly of Cromwell's Council, and who in my opinion is the only man who can be set against Clarendon for talent and firmness, does not shrink from speaking his opinions of Clarendon with freedom, and contradicting him to his face.'

Ruvigny, who succeeded Comminges, writes, in 1664, that Shaftesbury was united with Lauderdale and others, 'who spare no pains to ruin Clarendon in the free convivial entertainments, which are of daily occurrence'; adding, 'they do not scruple to speak of him with freedom in the presence of the King, who has had his own *mot*, like the rest, in the excitement of conviviality, thus giving free scope to all his guests.' These free convivial entertainments commonly took place in Lady Castlemaine's apartments, from which Clarendon studiously absented himself, leaving (like Sir Peter Teazle) his character behind him. The circle was collected with the sole view to pleasure, and constraint of every sort was laid aside:—

'The song from Italy, the step from France,
The midnight orgy and the mazy dance,
The smile of beauty and the flush of wine,
For fops, fools, gamesters, knaves, and lords combine,
Each to his humour—Comus all allows,
Champagne, dice, music, or your neighbour's spouse.'

Shaftesbury was a frequent guest at these entertainments, and was bidden to them as a congenial spirit. Pepys describes him as 'a man of great business, and yet of pleasure and drolling too.' It does not much help the matter to suppose with Mr. Christie that, temperate by nature and habit, he affected licentiousness from policy, or to accept as the true theory of his conduct, that (in the words of a contemporary pamphleteer) 'he accompanies, and carouses, and contracts intimacy and unity with the lewdest debauchees in all the nation that he thinks will anyways help to forward his private intrigues.' This would be the reverse of ordinary hypocrisy: it would be virtue paying homage to vice. If he acted thus,

thus, if he was *le fanfaron des vices dont il n'était pas capable*, he certainly played his part in a way to impose on a tolerably discerning judge of immorality, the King, who is reported to have said to him, 'Shaftesbury, you are the wickedest dog in England:' to which he replied, with a bow: 'Of a subject, Sir, I believe I am.' The currency of this story in any version (and there is more than one) is enough.*

The unbecoming levity of Charles in suffering the honestest and most trustworthy of his counsellors to be made a constant subject of ridicule in such society, is aggravated by the family tie formed by the marriage of Anne Hyde to the Duke of York. A story strikingly illustrative of Shaftesbury's penetration is told by Locke in connection with this event. 'Soon after the Restoration, he and the Earl of Southampton were dining with the Earl of Clarendon; the Lady Anne Hyde, who had been recently privately married to the Duke of York, was present. As Shaftesbury and Southampton were returning home together, the former remarked, "Yonder Mrs. Anne Hyde is certainly married to one of the brothers." Southampton, who was a confidential friend of the chancellor, but who was quite ignorant of the marriage, thought the idea absurd, and asked him how so wild a fancy could get into his head. "Assure yourself," replied Shaftesbury, "it is so; a concealed respect, however suppressed, showed itself so plainly in the looks, voice, and manner, wherewith her mother carved to her or offered her of every dish, that it is impossible but it must be so."

Clarendon's fall was precipitated by the course of events, by the national disasters for which he was held answerable as ostensible head of the administration, whether he was the real cause of them or not. No one enemy or rival can be fairly called the prime mover of his fall, and Shaftesbury was merely one of several who prepared the way for it, and exulted in it, as the removal of a formidable obstruction from his path. It is also true that, of the five members of the famous Cabal, two only, Clifford and Arlington, were privy to the secret treaty of Dover: that, unscrupulous as Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale were, the royal pledge to make public profession of the Roman Catholic religion was studiously withheld from them. But one

* Lord Campbell's version is, 'the most profligate man in my dominions.' The story is told by Lord Chesterfield not (as Mr. Christie states) with the words 'the greatest rogue in England,' but with an expression which modern manners have proscribed. ('Chesterfield's Letters,' Lord Mahon's (Stanhope's) edition, vol. ii. 334.) Lord Chesterfield introduces the story by stating that Shaftesbury, when Lord Chancellor, kept a mistress, whom he never visited, for conformity's sake. This circumstance is alluded to in the Preface to 'Venice Preserved': Antonio being intended for Shaftesbury.

of their worst acts was the shutting up of the Exchequer ; and, as Shaftesbury was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time, was an assenting party to the measure, and defended it in his place in Parliament, it matters little, so far as his reputation for public principle or honesty is concerned, whether he originated it or not. To say that Clifford originated it, that Clifford was Lord Treasurer, and that he (Shaftesbury) protested against it as both impolitic and unjust, rather aggravates than mitigates his complicity. Besides why, directly afterwards, was the Lord Treasurer's staff pressed upon him?—why was he made Lord Chancellor and an Earl? Mr. Christie is fain to admit that these dignities were crowning signs of a greatness which had been growing since Shaftesbury was taken into the King's councils to support a French alliance against Holland. ‘The public did not know, *as Shaftesbury did not know himself*, that the king was making use of his energy, abilities, and influence for the furtherance of a design known only to some half-dozen in England, for re-establishing the Roman Catholic religion with the aid of French money and troops.’ Shaftesbury's proverbial sagacity must have been unaccountably at fault, if he had not all along a shrewd suspicion of the truth ; and his subsequent conduct proves that he was ready to go as far as he could with safety to gain and retain power, foreseeing, to a nicety, where public endurance would give way.

His want of professional training was not considered a material objection to his acceptance of the Great Seal, for which Lord Orrery had been a favoured nominee no further back than on the dismissal of Clarendon in 1667. ‘For my calling into this high office,’ said Archbishop Williams, made Lord Keeper in 1621, ‘it was as most here present cannot but know, not the cause, but the effect, of a resolution in the State to change or reduce the Governor of this Court from a professor of our municipal laws to some one of the nobility, gentry, or clergy of this kingdom.’ The intervening period had been unfavourable to the formal administration of the law, and the highest court of equity was still, what its name and origin import, a tribunal in which sense and reason were comparatively untrammelled by technicalities, and a wide discretion might be exercised by the judge. The extent to which a man's conduct, bearing, or demeanour may be made the subject of what Bacon calls a pre-judiciale opinion, is shewn by the various interpretations put upon Shaftesbury's choice of an official dress. ‘For he sat upon the bench in an ash-coloured gown, silver-laced, and full-ribboned pantaloons, displayed without any black at all in his garb, unless it were his hat, which, now I cannot say positively, though

though I saw him, was so.' This scrupulous witness, Roger North, thinks it a proof of his little regard to decency and *morality*, 'that he did not concern himself to use a decent habit, as became a judge of his station,' adding that 'he appeared more like a University nobleman than a High Chancellor of England.' Lord Campbell misquotes this into a 'more like a rakish young nobleman at the University,' and says that, 'to show his contempt for all who had gone before him, as well as his contemporaries, he would not be habited like his predecessors.' Lord Chancellor Cowper explained Shaftesbury's coloured gown by the fact that he was not a barrister; and Mr. Christie sees reason to believe that it was deliberately chosen by him on that account. Another so-called freak of his has proved an apple of discord to the biographers. It can hardly be described better than in the words of Roger North :

' His Lordship had an early fancy, or rather freak, the first day of term (when all the officers of the law, King's Counsel, and Judges, used to wait upon the Great Seal to Westminster Hall), to make this procession on horseback, as in old time the way was, when coaches were not so rife. And accordingly, the Judges, &c. were spoken to, to get horses, as they and all the rest did, by borrowing and hiring, and so equipped themselves with black foot-clothes in the best manner they could. And divers of the nobility, as usual in compliment and honour to the new Lord Chancellor, attended also in their equipments. Upon notice in town of this cavalcade, all the show company took their places at windows and balconies, with the foot-guard in the streets, to partake of the fine sight, and being once settled for the march, it moved, as the design was, stately along. But when they came to straights and interruptions, *for want of gravity in the beasts, and too much in the riders*, there happened some curveting, which made no little disorder. Judge Twisden, to his great affright, and the consternation of his grave brethren, was laid along in the dirt. But all at length arrived safe, without the loss of life or limb in the service. This accident was enough to divert the like frolic for the future, and the very next term after, they fell to their coaches, as before.'

Now for the comment or moral.—

' I do not mention this as any way evil in itself, but only as a levity and an ill-judged action, for so it appeared to be, in respect to the perpetual flux of solemn customs and forms, that will happen in the succession of ages, not reducible back to antiquity, nor needing so to be, which makes usages that are most fitting in one time, appear ridiculous in another. As here the setting grave men, used only to coaches, upon the menage on horseback, only for the vanity of shew, to make men wonder, and children sport, with hazard to most, mischief to some, and terror to all, was very impertinent, and must end as it did, *en ridicule*.'

Lord

Lord Campbell insists that the object of the equestrian procession was to show off the horsemanship of the Lord Chancellor, an ex-colonel of cavalry, and spite some of the old judges who he had heard had been sneering at his decisions. 'Coaches had for many years become so common that the ancient custom of riding on horseback to open the Term had been laid aside, though they (the judges) still continued to ride the circuit on sober pads.' If this were so, one does not exactly see why they could not sit their sober pads on a slow procession to Westminster Hall. The tradition is that Mr. Justice Twisden came to grief from an encounter with a brewer's dray at Charing Cross, and, on being picked up, swore *in furore* that no Lord Chancellor should ever make him trust himself on a fourfooted animal again.* Moreover, Lord Campbell has antedated the general use of carriages. John Aubrey, writing of Dr. Harvey, some years later (1680), says: 'He rode on horseback, with a foot cloth, to visit his patients, his man following on foot, as the fashion then was, which was very decent, now quite discontinued. The judges rode also with these footcloths to Westminster Hall, which ended at the death of Sir Robert Hyde, Lord Chief Justice. Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, would have revived it, but several of the Judges, being old and ill horsemen, would not agree to it.' Mr. Christie adds that Chief Justice Hyde died in May, 1663; so that the custom revived by Shaftesbury had not been disused for more than ten years.

Lord Campbell admits that Shaftesbury never took bribes, would not listen to private solicitations in favour of litigants, and never had more than one political case before him (the *Injunction Case*) in which he came eventually to a right conclusion. 'But, except being free from gross corruption, he was the worst judge that ever sate in the court. This was inevitable; for he might as well have tried to sustain a principal part in an opera without having learned the first rudiments of music.' That, like many of his predecessors and successors, he was deficient in technical knowledge, was no reason why he should be worse than the rest, than Hatton or Williams, for example, who knew nothing of the practice of the court when they came to it. Roger North says that after he (Shaftesbury) was possessed of the Great Seal,

* Dunning had reason to make a similar vow. When Solicitor-General, he accompanied Colonel Barré to Berlin in the days of Frederic the Great, who invited them to a review, and, misled by the official title of Dunning, sent two spirited chargers for the use of the General and Colonel. In an evil hour, Dunning (like Nicol Jarvie) clomb to the saddle, and, by the aid of the pommel, stuck to it till the firing began, when his steed, getting frisky, pitched him head over heels amongst the staff, not a little to their and their great king's amusement, which was enhanced by the discovery of the mistake.

he was in appearance ‘the gloriousest man’ alive. As for the Chancery, ‘he would teach the bar that a man of sense was above all their forms. . . . He swaggered and vapoured what asses he would make of all the council at the bar; but the month of March, as they say, “In like a lion, and out like a lamb.”’ Their alleged mode of taming was this: ‘They soon found his humour, and let him have his caprice, and after, upon notice, induced him to discharge his orders, and thereupon, having the advantage, upon the opening, to be heard at large, they showed him his face, and that what he did was against common justice and sense. And this speculum of his own ignorance and presumption coming to be laid before him every motion-day, did so intricate and embarrass his understanding, that, in a short time, like any haggered hawk that is not let sleep, he was entirely reclaimed.’

The utter falsehood of this account may be demonstrated by undeniable facts. Shaftesbury received the Great Seal on the 17th November, 1672; he took his seat in the Court of Chancery on the 18th; and the minutes in the Registrar’s office show that he never sate without assessors. He had the Master of the Rolls and Mr. Baron Windham with him the first day, and either the Master of the Rolls or a Common Law judge, and Masters in Chancery, every other day till the end of the Term. He might have sate alone had he thought fit. Did he invite these learned personages to sit with him to witness his mode of trampling upon their forms?

‘It is remarkable (observes Hume) that this man whose principles and conduct were in all other respects so exceptionable, proved an excellent Chancellor, and that all his decrees, whilst he possessed that eminent office, were equally remarkable for justness and integrity.’ Quoting only the first half of this commendation, Lord Campbell adds, ‘and all the historians of the eighteenth century, reading Dryden or copying each other, write to the same effect.’ Such is the learned lord’s method of accounting for the unanimous acceptance by successive ages of the very worst chancellor as an excellent one. Dryden’s praise of Shaftesbury’s judicial character is imbedded in his bitterest satire.

‘Yet fame deserved no enemy can grudge;
The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge.
In Israel’s courts ne’er sat an Abbethdin
With more discerning eyes or hands more clean,
Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress,
Swift of despatch and easy of access.’

Lord Campbell objects that, had Dryden been sincere, his testimony

testimony ought not to have much weight, for he was probably never in a court of justice in his life; 'and though the first of English writers in polite literature, he could not have formed a very correct opinion as to the propriety of an order or decree in Equity.' This argument would disqualify any writer, not a practising lawyer, from ever embodying the public estimate of a judicial worthy—a Hardwicke, a Mansfield, an Eldon, or a Lyndhurst—in poetry or prose. But, it is urged, the panegyric was purchased. The lines did not appear in the first edition of the poem; they were added in the second, out of gratitude for a nomination to the Charter House given to the poet for his son in the intervening period by the Lord Chancellor. This story was first told by Dr. Kippis, who adds that 'when King Charles II. read these (the added) lines, he told Dryden that he had spoiled by them all which he had before said of Shaftesbury.' Examples of such alterations may be found in literary history. The first manuscript copy of 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers' contained these two lines amongst others on rhyming lords:—

'On one alone, the muse still deigns to smile,
And hails a new Roscommon in Carlisle.'

Before the poem was published, the noble poet took offence at Lord Carlisle's real or supposed neglect and substituted the couplet:—

'No muse will cheer with renovating smile,
The paralytic puling of Carlisle.'

Poets are a susceptible as well as irritable race, and Dryden might have done from gratitude what Byron did from spite. He is known to have omitted in the reprints of the 'Spanish Friar' some passages which had given offence to the Duke of York. But he left the rest of his immortal diatribe against Achitophel without one softening epithet, and followed it up by a (if possible) still bitterer attack in 'The Medal.' The date of young Dryden's admission to the Charter House on the King's (not Shaftesbury's) nomination happens to be subsequent to the appearance of the corrected edition of the poem; and, all things considered, we incline to Sir Walter Scott's theory of the correction: namely, that there must be an appearance of candour on the part of the poet, and just so much merit allowed, even to the object of his censure, as to make his picture natural: that Dryden considered the portrait of Shaftesbury deficient in this respect, and added the laudatory lines with a view to effect. Besides, the recognition of Shaftesbury's judicial merit was not altogether

altogether an afterthought. The first edition of the poem contained these lines:—

‘ Oh! had he been content to serve the crown
With virtues only proper to the gown,
Or had the rankness of the soil been freed
From cockle that oppressed the noble seed,
David for him his tuneful harp had strung
And Heaven had wanted one immortal song! ’

With regard to Charles II.’s criticism, it must be remembered that, shortly before Shaftesbury broke with the Court, his Majesty asseverated, with his favourite oath, that his Lord Chancellor knew more law than all his judges, and more divinity than all his bishops. The royal praise may serve to counterbalance the royal censure; but both were valueless. Shaftesbury had full credit for law and divinity only so long as he was ready to aid in superseding law by prerogative and divinity by papal infallibility.

At the opening of the first Session after he received the Great Seal, his devotion to the King’s wishes was exuberant and unrestrained. He attacked Holland, exclaiming ‘ *Delenda est Carthago* :’ he justified the shutting up of the Exchequer, and he sneered at the Triple Alliance. His speech was preceded by a scene which might well have ruffled his nerves, if it did not check the effusion of his loyalty. It had been settled at the Restoration that the King’s brothers should occupy seats on the left of the throne, the seat on the right being reserved for the Prince of Wales. Some years afterwards (as the incident is related by Martyn), ‘ upon the queen’s apparent barrenness, the Duke of York being looked on as the certain successor to the crown, and his power increasing at court, he took the chair on the right-hand of the throne. Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury, the first day he sat as speaker, resolved to replace the Duke in his proper seat. He informed him that he was in the wrong chair, and that his place was on the other side of the throne, as only heir presumptive. The Duke being unwilling to quit his seat, Lord Shaftesbury told him that he could not proceed upon business till the house was in form. At length the Duke was obliged to submit, but said, in a passion, “ My lord, you are a rascal and a villain.” He, with great composure, immediately replied, “ I am much obliged to your royal highness for not calling me likewise a coward and a papist.” ’

Shaftesbury speedily repented of his speech on the opening of the Session, and apologised for it on the untenable ground that he spoke it as the mouthpiece of the Cabinet or Cabal. That he was not their mouthpiece was proved, within a few days,

days, by his speech in answer to Clifford, the Lord Treasurer, in a debate on the Declaration of Indulgence, or (according to Echard) 'a project for establishing a perpetual fund to free the King from his dependence on Parliament.' Before Shaftesbury had done speaking, the Duke of York whispered the King, who was standing at the fire, 'What a rogue you have for a Lord Chancellor.' The King replied, 'Cods-fish, what a fool have you for a Lord Treasurer.' Clifford, a bigoted Catholic, went heart and hand with the Duke: and one of Shaftesbury's objects in supporting the Test Act, including the declaration against Transubstantiation, was to displace, on the chance of replacing, the Lord Treasurer. On Clifford's resignation the coveted staff was given to Osborne, afterwards Earl of Danby; and Shaftesbury saw that his power, instead of being on the increase, was on the wane. Although he did not at once break with the Court, he seems to have scented the Popish Plot and the great Exclusion battles from afar; for, affecting to think his life in danger from the Papists, he turned his house into a garrison all the summer; and, when Parliament met for the autumn Session of 1673, he stirred up a formidable opposition in the Commons to the projected marriage of the Duke with Mary of Modena. The cup of his transgressions was now full to overflowing, and the King shared the distrust of the Popish junto headed by the Duke. It was after supper at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, when the King had drunk freely, that they pressed him to dissolve Parliament. They so far succeeded that he sent the next morning for Shaftesbury, and, taking him into the closet, after some immaterial conversation, asked him if he had brought his robes, as the instant prorogation of Parliament had been resolved upon. Shaftesbury interpreted this resolution as involving his own dismissal, and ended a manly remonstrance with these words: 'But, sir, you may fancy what you please of the Romish religion, I shall leave this as a maxim with you: if you eat sage and butter in the morning, and govern well, it will make you more healthy and happy here, and bring you to heaven much sooner, than Popery or the exorcisms of its priests.'

The prorogation took place, and Shaftesbury was required to give up the Great Seal to the Attorney-General, Finch; the next morning but one, Sunday, November 9th, being fixed for the purpose. According to Martyn and Stringer, who are followed by Lord Campbell and doubted by Mr. Christie, as soon as he (Shaftesbury) arrived at Whitehall, he presently attended the King in the closet, while the prevailing party waited in triumph to see him return without the purse. Being alone with the

King,

King, he said, “Sir, I know you intend to give the Seals to the Attorney-General, but I am sure your Majesty never designed to dismiss me with contempt.” The King, always good-humoured, replied, “Cods-fish, my Lord, I will not do it with any circumstance as may look like an affront.” “Then, sir,” said the Earl, “I desire your Majesty will permit me to carry the Seals before you to Chapel, and send for them afterwards to my own house.” To this his Majesty readily assenting, Shaftesbury entertained him with conversation, purposely to tease the courtiers and his successor, who, he knew, were upon the rack for fear he should prevail upon the King to change his mind. ‘The King and the Chancellor came out of the closet talking together and smiling as they went to the chapel, which was so contrary to the expectations of those who were present, that some went immediately and told the Duke of York that all their measures were broken.’

After sermon, Shaftesbury carried the Great Seal home with him; and in the course of the afternoon his brother-in-law, Mr. Secretary Coventry, came for it, and is reported to have said: ‘My Lord, you are happy; you are out of danger, and all safe; but we shall all be ruined and undone; I desired to be excused from this office, but, being your relation and friend, they put it as an affront on me.’ Shaftesbury replied, with alacrity, ‘It is only laying down my gown and putting on my sword.’ Martyn adds, that he immediately sent for his sword—thus most prosaically converting a metaphorical form of expression into a fact.*

It is clear, from one of Colbert’s letters, that an attempt was made to induce Shaftesbury to resume office, backed by a covert bribe of ten thousand guineas from France. ‘But now,’ to adopt the keen and quaint expressions of Roger North, ‘our noble Earl and mighty statesman having, as it seems, missed his aim at Court, takes over to the country party (as it was called) openly. And from thenceforward we find the party itself at work upon a new foot. There was no more depending on the King, as formerly, to make him destroy himself the shortest way, since he showed a dexterity to save himself at any time, by a short turn, as if he had learnt the art of his great High Chancellor.’

The City was the principal scene of Shaftesbury’s machinations, and he announced an intention of taking a house there for fear of having his throat cut by the Papists if he ventured to sleep west of Temple Bar. The King, forgetting that he had not yet assimili-

* Shaftesbury was ordered to deliver up the Great Seal, and instantly carried over his front of brass and tongue of poison to the ranks of the Opposition. (Macaulay.) Why tongue of poison? The expression is singularly inappropriate and unjust.

lated the English monarchy to the French, sent a message forbidding him, at his peril, to carry out the intention, and intimating that he would do well to go down to the country as soon as the weather would permit. Amongst other aggressive measures against the Court, he carried addresses for a public fast to implore the protection of the Almighty for the preservation of Church and State against Popish recusants, for the removal from office of all counsellors Popishly affected, and specifically for the dismissal of the Dukes of Lauderdale and Buckingham, his former colleagues in the Cabinet. This was in the spring session of 1674. In the spring session of 1675 he was joined by the Duke of Buckingham, who had quarrelled with Charles, and the worthy couple worked the 'No Popery' cry in concert. The Court party retaliated by the introduction of an Act, called 'Danby's Test Act,' requiring from all persons in office or Parliament a declaration in favour of passive obedience, with an oath 'never to endeavour the alteration of the government in Church or State.' This monstrous measure would have become law but for Shaftesbury's opposition. 'Heading a small party in the Lords, and with a decided majority against him in the Commons, by his skilful management he defeated the Court, and saved the country.' Such is the enforced admission of Lord Campbell.

When the Government, hard pressed, proposed that the oath should be merely not to alter the Protestant religion, he asked, 'Where are the boundaries, or how much is meant by the Protestant religion?' Thereupon the Lord Keeper Finch exclaimed, 'Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the streets of Ascalon, that a Peer of so great parts and eminence as my noble and learned friend, a member of the Church of England, and the champion of the Reformation, should confess that he does not know what is meant by the Protestant religion!' This (says Stringer) was seconded with great pleasantness by divers of the Lords the Bishops. 'The Bishop of Winchester and some others of them were pleased to condescend to instruct that Lord that the Protestant religion was comprehended in thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy, the Catechism, the Homilies, and the Canons.' Then Shaftesbury rose again, as if for the express purpose of justifying the remark of Charles, that he knew more divinity than all the Bishops put together; so learnedly did he expatiate on the fallibility of such tests and the difficulty of extracting a clear well-defined rule of faith from any of them. Standing near the Bishops' bench, he overheard one of them, jealous probably of his encroachments on their peculiar field, remark to another, 'I wonder when he will have done preaching.'

ing.' He immediately turned round, 'When I am made a Bishop, my Lord ;' and proceeded with his speech.

This was not the only occasion on which he came into conflict with the Bishops. Speaking on a question of privilege and defending the purity of the judicial decisions of the House of Lords in spite of notorious attempts to corrupt them, he said : ' Pray, my Lords, forgive me if, on this occasion, I put you in mind of committee dinners, and the scandal of it ; as also, those droves of ladies that attend all causes. It was come to that pass, that men hired, or borrowed of their friends, handsome sisters or handsome daughters to deliver their petitions ; but yet, for all this, I must say that your judgments have been sacred, unless in one or two causes, *and those we owe most to that Bench from whence we now apprehend the most danger.*' *

Like O'Connell, Shaftesbury was vain of and renowned for his skill in defying authority without infringing the letter of the law, and, like O'Connell, he got caught by trusting too much to his dexterity. On the meeting of Parliament, which had been prorogued for a year and three months, in February, 1677, he and his party contended that so prolonged a prorogation was tantamount to a dissolution, and that there was no lawful Parliament in existence. Their arguments were treated as an insult and contempt, and after a debate of five hours the House of Lords resolved that Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton should retract and apologise, or be committed to the Tower. They were committed ; and Shaftesbury, refusing to concur with the other three who made the required submission after a few months, remained a full twelvemonth in the Tower, namely, till February, 1678, when, after aggravating his offence by applying for a *Habeas Corpus*, he obtained his liberty by the mortifying ceremony of begging pardon of the House of Lords and the King (Lord Campbell says) on his knees. Lowered and humiliated as he must have been by this episode, it is clear, from a document printed by Mr. Christie, that it was the Duke of York who made overtures to him, not he who made overtures to the Duke, in 1678 ; and, before Parliament met in the October of that year, he was himself again : the Popish plot had given him the golden opportunity he panted for :

* During the debate upon the same question in the House of Commons, some ladies were in the gallery peeping over the gentlemen's shoulders. The Speaker spying them called out, ' What borough do those ladies serve for ? ' To which Mr. William Coventry replied, ' They serve for the Speaker's chamber.' Sir Thomas Littleton suggested that the Speaker should suppose they were gentlemen with fine sleeves dressed like ladies. ' Yes ; but I am sure I saw petticoats,' rejoined the Speaker.—*Grey.*

Now manifest of crimes contrived long since
He stood at bold defiance with his Prince,
Held up the buckler of the people's cause
Against the crown, and skulked behind the laws.
The wished occasion of the Plot he takes ;
Some circumstances finds, but more he makes ;
By buzzing emissaries fills the ears
Of listening crowds with jealousies and fears
Of arbitrary counsels brought to light,
And proves the King himself a Jebusite.'

If Shaftesbury did nothing worse than prove the king himself a Jebusite (a Roman Catholic), which he notoriously was, the plot would have left no stain on his memory. But although neither its inventor nor the suborner of Oates, he certainly lent his sanction to its absurdities ; nor is it wholly without warrant that Lord Campbell accuses him of suggesting to the Londoners to prepare for the defence of the city as if a foreign enemy were at their gates, and prompting Sir Thomas Player, the Chamberlain, with the noted saying that, 'were it not for these precautions, all the Protestant citizens might rise next morning with their throats cut'*. There was also real danger from the secret compact with Louis :—

'Some truth there was, but dashed and brewed with lies
To please the fools and puzzle all the wise :
Succeeding times did equal folly call
Believing nothing or believing all.'

The manner in which Macaulay endeavours to clear Russell and Sidney is characteristic of the great champion of the Whigs. 'The leaders of the country party encouraged the prevailing delusion. The most respectable among them, indeed, were themselves so far deluded as to believe the greater part of the evidence of the plot to be true. Such men as Shaftesbury and Buckingham doubtless perceived that the whole was a romance. But it was a romance that served their turn ; and to their seared consciences, the death of an innocent man gave no more uneasiness than the death of a partridge.' The mere death of an innocent man brought about by this romance was not enough for the most respectable of the respectables, Lord Russell, who denied the king's power to remit the hanging and quartering ; and thus, when the tables were turned, was met by the vindictive and terrible retort of Charles : 'My lord Russell shall find that

* This was rivalled or outdone by Sir Boyle Roche in the Irish House of Commons, when he said that, if the Irish rebels of 1798 had their way, a guillotine would be set up in College-green, and 'our heads will be thrown upon that table to stare us in the face.'

I am possessed of that prerogative which, in the case of Lord Strafford, he thought fit to deny me.'

If faction had seared Shaftesbury's conscience, there are no signs at any time of its having hardened his heart: an impulsive is seldom a cruel nature; and his aims were uniformly high. The two most important measures of the period were his handiwork—the Roman Catholic Disqualification Act, repealed in 1829; and the Habeas Corpus Act, which the soundest political thinkers at home and abroad still look upon as the keystone of British liberty.* Results are frequently in an inverse ratio to efforts and displays. The permanent traces of the fiercest faction fight recorded in the annals of party, must be sought rather in our political vocabulary than in the Statute Book. The year 1680, says Hume, is remarkable for being the epoch of the well known epithets of 'Whig' and 'Tory; ' and in that same year,' adds Macaulay, 'our tongue was enriched with two words, "Mob" and "Sham," remarkable memorials of a season of tumult and imposture.' The great 'Exclusion' battle led to no legislative action, and little remains of the decisive debate in the Lords beyond a dim and confused image or tradition of a fierce and sustained conflict, in which Shaftesbury and Halifax figure as leaders of the opposing hosts, not unequally matched in weapons, cunning of fence or strategy. The victory rested with Halifax. 'He was animated as well by the greatness of the occasion as by a rivalship to his uncle Shaftesbury; whom, during that day's debate, he seemed, in the judgment of all, to have totally eclipsed. The king was present during the whole debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night.'† This was on the 15th November, 1680. In a letter, first brought to light by Mr. Christie, Barillon describes a scene on the 20th, from which it appears that Shaftesbury was by no means dispirited by his defeat. The subject was a Bill brought in by him to dissolve the king's marriage with Catherine of Portugal, on the ground of her barrenness:

'One of the peers represented that the remedy of divorce was very uncertain, it not being sure that the King would have children by another wife. Upon this Lord Shaftesbury rose, and, pointing to the King, who is almost always by the fireplace, said: "Can it be doubted from the King's mien that he is in a condition to have

* Burnet's strange story, that the Habeas Corpus Act was practically carried in the Lords by the counting of a very fat peer for ten, is partially confirmed by Mr. Christie, who has ascertained, from a manuscript Journal of the Lords, that the recorded number of votes on the decisive division exceeded by five the total number actually present on that day.

† Hume. Both Halifax and Sunderland were nephews-in-law of Shaftesbury. Sunderland acted with him on this occasion.

children? He is not more than fifty. I know people who are more than sixty, and do not despair of progeny." All the House burst out laughing, and the King laughed with the rest.

'Lord Clarendon gave occasion for another great ridicule, saying—to contest what had been alleged of the barrenness of the Queen—that he knew her to be like other women; that she had been *enceinte*, and given premature birth to a child bigger than a rabbit. The King remarked, laughingly, to those near, "I am not overpleased to find Lord Clarendon so well informed of everything relating to my wife."

'The Bishop of Rochester said that a marriage with a barren woman was null by all laws; and that if a man bought a horse for his breeding-stud, and a mule were given him instead, he was not bound to pay the price.'

Want of space prevents us from reverting to Shaftesbury's brief Presidency of the Council formed by the advice of Temple. The rejection of the Exclusion Bill was the crisis or turning-point of his fortunes—*ex illo retro fluere et sublapsa referri*: the tide of his popularity was so evidently on the ebb that the court took the strong step of arresting him on a charge of high treason and committing him to the Tower. On his arrival there, one of the Popish lords, whom he had been instrumental in incarcerating, affecting surprise at finding him among them, he coolly observed that he had been lately ill with an ague, and was come to take some *Jesuits' powder*. The finding of an indictment was an indispensable step, and the London Grand Jury, summoned by friendly sheriffs, threw out the bill. When the word *Ignoramus* was read aloud by the officer, a prolonged shout arose in and about the Court, and before it had well died away the whole city was in a blaze with bonfires and illuminations. The bearer of the good news to the prisoner found him playing a game of piquet, which he calmly continued, with his Countess—a got up scene, his maligners suggest, like that of Richard III. with the bishops and the Prayer-Book on receiving the offer of the Crown. When the unusual clamour was explained to Charles, he quietly remarked, 'It is a hard case that I am the last man to have law and justice in the whole nation.' It was all the harder, because the Court party, aided by venal lawyers and a corrupt press, had done their best to poison law and justice at their source. The pamphleteer, the preacher, and the poet strove emulously to prejudice the public from whence the jurors were to be taken: the bad pre-eminence was won by the highest genius, and the pride and pleasure with which we read one of the finest poems in our tongue are dashed by reflecting on the nature of its inspiration and its aim. 'Ab-salom and Achitophel' was published on the 17th November, 1681, just one week before the bill of indictment was preferred

at the Old Bailey ; and if not (like 'The Medal') planned and paid for by the King, it was undeniably composed to curry favour with the Court.*

Macaulay thinks that the reader will at once perceive a considerable difference between Butler's

‘ Politician

With more heads than a beast in vision.’

and the Achitophel of Dryden ; and he contrasts the lines in which Butler dwells on Shaftesbury's skill in anticipating changes and providing for his own safety with the lines in which Dryden gives prominence to 'his violent passion, implacable revenge, and boldness amounting to temerity :—

‘ A daring pilot in extremity

Pleased with the danger when the waves went high,
He sought the storms ; but, for a calm unfit,
Would steer too nigh the sands to boast his wit.’

‘ The dates of the two poems will,’ he suggests, ‘ explain this discrepancy : the third part of “Hudibras” having appeared in 1678, when the character of Shaftesbury had as yet been imperfectly developed.’ Whatever the difference in the mode of treatment, there is no discrepancy. The lines immediately preceding those which Macaulay quotes from ‘Hudibras’ run thus :—

‘ So little did he understand
The desp'rate feats he took in hand,
For when h'had got himself a name
For fraud and tricks, he spoil'd his game.
Had forced his neck into a noose
To show his play at Fast and Loose,
And when he chanc'd t'escape, mistook
For art and subtlety, his luck.’

Both poets proved right in this their common estimate of his over-daring confidence. Irretrievably committed against the Court, he saw no hope of safety except in a change of government to be brought about by an insurrectionary movement, which should prevent the Duke's succession to the throne. He boasted of having ten thousand 'brisk boys' in the City ready to rise at his command, was loud in his reproaches of the Whig leaders for their lukewarmness, and was actually at hide-and-

* In the Memoir prefixed to the *Globe* edition of the 'Poetical Works of John Dryden,' and in the Biographical Introduction to his edition of 'Select Poems of Dryden,' printed at the Clarendon Press, Mr. Christie states that the subject of the poem of 'Absalom and Achitophel' is said to have been suggested by the King himself. More than a hundred corrections of the text, with many valuable notes, have been supplied by Mr. Christie in these editions.

seek, to avoid being arrested, when he was informed by a friend, Lord Mordaunt, of a conference in the apartments of the Duchess of Portsmouth, of which he was suspected to be the subject. 'My Lord,' were his reported words, 'you are a young man of honour, and would not deceive me; if this has happened, I must be gone to-night.' He started immediately, in the dress of a Presbyterian minister, for Harwich, where he was detained eight or ten days by contrary winds. He got off at last in an open boat, and, after a perilous voyage, reached the coast of Holland and repaired to Amsterdam. He presented himself amongst his old enemies, the Dutch, like Coriolanus amongst the Volscians. To place him under the ægis of their laws, it was necessary that he should be made free of the City, and his freedom was conferred in a form which, by a touch of sarcasm, places the generosity of the Corporation in broad relief:—'Carthago non adhuc deleta Comitem de Shaftesbury in gremio suo recipere vult.' They also hung up his portrait in their hall, and (according to Lord Campbell), with a view of reciprocating their hospitality, he took a large house, set up a handsome establishment, and began a series of entertainments, when he had an attack of gout in the stomach which proved fatal. He died on the 21st January, 1683, in the sixty-second year of his age. Their High Mightinesses of the States honoured his memory by going into mourning and other tokens of respect. His body was conveyed across the Channel in a vessel hung with black and adorned with streamers and escutcheons. It was met at Poole, in Dorsetshire, by the principal gentlemen of the county, forming a guard of honour for the funeral, which took place at Wimborne St. Giles.

Gray asks in his 'Elegy,'—

'Can storied urn or animated bust
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can honour's voice provoke the silent dust,
Or flattery soothe the dull cold ear of death?'

Urns and busts, honour and flattery, can do none of these things; but spontaneous, impulsive, and disinterested tributes to the dead may repair injustice to the living, may soften if not repel calumny, may recal good qualities to be set against bad, and so assist the impartial judgment of posterity. We cannot believe that Shaftesbury would have been so received as an exile, or so honoured at his death, if (as Macaulay states) 'his life was such that every part of it, as if by a skilful contrivance, reflects infamy on the other'; that 'his advocates had better leave him where they find him'; that 'for him there is no escape upwards;'

upwards ;' that ' every outlet by which he can creep out of his present position is one which lets him down into a still lower and fouler depth of infamy.' Neither is it probable that, if such bitter words could be justly applied to him, he would have acquired the warm friendship and esteem of Locke, who lived in confidential intimacy with him from the commencement of their acquaintance in 1666 till his death, and left a memoir of him full of glowing praise.

The marked readiness of those who lived most with him to condone his errors, is in a great measure explicable by the fact that his personal merit was great, his private honour without a stain, his disposition kindly and generous ; and that he lived in times when public virtue had fallen into such desuetude that the want of it was hardly considered a reproach. Whatever we know (and we know a great deal) of his domestic life is to his credit ; and his family evidently regarded his affectation of royal morals as a matter of policy, betokening no profligacy at heart. It is on record that, when most anxious to confirm his interest at court, he refused to sanction grants of public money to the king's mistresses ; he disdained the French money which patriots, like Algernon Sydney, pocketed without reserve ; and he added nothing to his patrimony from the eleven years' tenure of an office (the Chancellorship of the Exchequer) in and by which one of Macaulay's pet statesmen, Montagu, became fabulously rich in four. His integrity, therefore, is not so much his weak point as his inconsistency,—rendered prominent and glaring by the fire and energy he threw into every part he played and every enterprise he undertook. His was pre-eminently the ' vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself, and falls on the other.' His changes from camp to camp were not worse than those of most of his contemporaries, but they were more noted, from the circumstance that his banner was always flaming in the van. It was in the common course of things that, having broken with the Cabal for going too far in favour of popery and arbitrary power, he should make ' No Popery !' and ' Liberty !' his war-cries in the ensuing warfare, which he waged fiercely, but not ungenerously. But his love of power was grasping and unscrupulous. It was like the Scotchman's love of money—*quocunque modo rem.* He would have power at all hazards, by any means, at any cost of principle. He would wheedle it from the populace, if he could not extort it from the Crown—

‘ *Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.*’

But (we agree with Mr. Christie) he may have been headstrong, impatient, volatile : he was not mercenary, he was not (in the narrow

narrow way) self-seeking ; and no imputation, or even suspicion, lies on him, in any part of his career, of treachery or falsehood. He betrayed no counsel or confidence ; and there was nothing cruel or vindictive in his aggressive measures, which were strictly measures of self-defence. When he moved the Exclusion Bill, he crossed the Rubicon : the die was cast : he thenceforth carried his life and fortune in his hand.

The difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion touching Shaftesbury is finely and forcibly expressed by Lord Lytton in 'St. Stephen's' : —

• Wild as the shapes invoked by magic spell,
Dire and grotesque, behold Achitophel !
Dark convict, seared by History's branding curse,
And hung in chains from Dryden's lofty verse.
Yet who has pierced the labyrinth of that brain ?
Who plumb'd that genius, both so vast and vain ?
What moved its depths ? Ambition ? Passion ? Whim ?
This day a Strafford, and the next a Pym.
Is it, in truth, as Dryden hath implied ?
Was his "great wit to madness near allied ?"
Accept that guess, and it explains the man :
Reject, — and solve the riddle if you can.'

We reject this guess or theory at the risk of leaving the riddle unsolved. There was no sign, trace, or token of madness in Shaftesbury at any time. His wildest projects, his most daring courses were premeditated. In the very torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of his ambition, he never lost his habit of self-examination or his self-command. His mind resembled the rocking-stone in the stability with which, after being moved or shaken, it settled upon its base.

'How often,' exclaims Lord Stanhope, in reference to the calumnies levelled at Marlborough and Somers, 'have such malignant falsehoods damped the brightest energies and discouraged the most active patriotism. They have quelled spirits which had not shrunk before embattled armies, which had confronted the terrors of a parliamentary impeachment, the Tower, and the block !' Adopting this reflection, Mr. Christie remarks that Shaftesbury 'bore with heroic calmness and Christian temper the gibes, accusations, and persecutions showered upon him.' We should not like to answer for his Christianity so far as it depended upon faith ; but that he possessed the Christian quality of charity in perfection is attested by the widowed Lady Russell, who said that she had never seen any one more free from gall or bitterness against foes.

In conversation with Locke, he broached two theories of character and conduct which throw light upon his own :

‘ He was wont to say that wisdom lay in the heart, and not in the head, and that it was not the want of knowledge but the perverseness of will that filled men’s actions with folly, and their lives with disorder.

‘ That there were, in every one, two men, the wise and the foolish, and that each of them must be allowed his turn. If you would have the wise, the grave, and the serious, always to rule and have the sway, the fool would grow so peevish and troublesome, that he would put the wise man out of order, and make him fit for nothing: he must have his times of being let loose to follow his fancies, and play his gambols, if you would have your business go on smoothly.’

‘ I have heard him also say (continues Locke) that he desired no more of any man but that he would talk: if he would talk, said he, let him talk as he pleases. And, indeed, I never knew any one penetrate so quickly into men’s breasts, and, from a small opening, survey that dark cabinet, as he would. He would understand men’s true errand as soon as they had opened their mouths and begun their story, in appearance to another purpose.’ One instance has been given, and Locke relates another. Shaftesbury and Sir Richard Onslow dined by invitation with Sir John Denham, an elderly widower, who before dinner told them that he wished to take their advice upon a subject of deep import to his happiness, namely, whether he should or should not marry his housekeeper, for whom he had long entertained affection and esteem. Sir Richard Onslow was beginning a strong protest, when, looking their host steadily in the face, Shaftesbury asked, ‘ Are you not married to her already?’ and he confessed that he was. ‘ Well, then,’ said Shaftesbury, ‘ there is nothing left but to send for her to join us at dinner.’ On their leaving the house, Sir Richard Onslow asked what put him on the scent. ‘ The man and the manner,’ he replied, ‘ gave me a suspicion that, having done a foolish thing, he was desirous to cover himself with the authority of our advice. I thought it good to be sure before you went any farther, and you see what came of it.’

His ready wit and humour were inexhaustible. Speaker Onslow relates that Shaftesbury was one day conversing with a friend with a lady in the room. ‘ Unconscious of her presence, he observed aloud: ‘ Men of sense are all of one religion.’ ‘ And what religion is that?’ she broke in. The Earl, turning round and bowing, replied, ‘ *That*, Madam, men of sense never tell.’

When (1680) he was living at Thanet House, Aldersgate Street, a country clergyman inquired for ‘ my lord,’ and, being introduced, fell upon his knees before Lord Shaftesbury (who was in a grey silk dressing-gown), and said, ‘ My Lord, I humbly ask your blessing.’ The Earl held his hand over him and said, ‘ I

give

give you my blessing as Earl of Shaftesbury, which perhaps may do you as much good as my Lord of London's; *but he lives over the way.*' The clergyman started to his feet and ran out of the house as if pursued by the Evil One, with whom Shaftesbury was then commonly identified by the Church.

Lord Campbell says that 'as to his literary merit he was infinitely inferior to Bolingbroke,' which he was; and Lord Macaulay says that 'nothing that remains from the pen of Shaftesbury will bear a comparison with the political tracts of Halifax.' Does anything remain of Halifax that will bear a comparison in its way with Shaftesbury's sketch of Mr. Hastings? But it is not as an author or man of letters that Shaftesbury must be judged, but as a man of thought and action, a politician, an orator, a statesman, a master mind made up of many varying gifts and qualities, a 'great faulty human being' in whom the faults are indissolubly blended with the greatness.

It was to Shaftesbury's only surviving son that Dryden alluded in the lines :

' And all to leave what with his toil he won
To that unfeather'd two-legged thing, a son,
Got, while his soul did huddled notions try,
And born a shapeless lump, like anarchy.'

This son was a very handsome man, and these lines were supposed to point to his inferiority of understanding. They were more resented by his son, the third Earl, author of the 'Characteristics,' than any other portion of the satire. After the third Earl, occurs a long interval, during which no lineal descendant rose to celebrity. But let not those who maintain the hereditary quality of genius or character, despair; for in this instance we are reminded of the river which, after running many miles underground, emerges clearer, purer, and less turbid than at its source. After a noiseless descent of nearly two centuries, the name and honours of the Earls of Shaftesbury have devolved upon one who inherits all the domestic virtues, with much of the capacity, intellectual vigour, high courage, and eager animated eloquence of their founder—one in whom ambition is chastened by the pure aims which make ambition virtue—who has uniformly employed his advantages of rank, wealth, and station to alleviate human misery, to improve the moral and material condition of the poor—who stands pre-eminent amongst British nobles for elevated, disinterested, untiring benevolence and philanthropy.

ART. II.—*The Handwriting of Junius Professionally Investigated.* By Mr. Charles Chabot, Expert. *With Preface and Collateral Evidence.* By the Hon. Edward Twisleton. London. 4to. 1871.

THE Work, the title of which is placed at the head of the present article, possesses a value quite independent of the immediate question which it discusses. Its direct object is to prove by a minute and exhaustive examination of the Junian manuscripts and of the letters of Sir Philip Francis, that both of them were handwritten by the same person; but indirectly it supplies most valuable information and rules for guidance to those engaged in the investigation of subjects in which a comparison of handwriting is more or less involved. It owes its origin, to a great extent, to accidental circumstances, which have such an important bearing upon the investigation before us, that it is necessary to set them forth fully:—

‘In the Christmas season of 1770, or 1771,’ says Mr. Twisleton, ‘when Mr. Francis was on a visit to his father at Bath, he danced at the Assembly Rooms more than one evening with a young lady named Miss Giles. This lady, born in 1751, was daughter of Daniel Giles, Esq., afterwards Governor of the Bank of England; and in January, 1772, she became Mrs. King by marrying Joseph King, Esq., of Taplow. It was the custom at balls a hundred years ago for a lady to retain the same partner during the whole of the evening; so that the fact of Miss Giles having thus danced with Mr. Francis would imply more of an acquaintance than would necessarily be involved in a young lady’s dancing with a gentleman at the present day. Subsequently, she received an *Anonymous Note*, enclosing *Anonymous* complimentary Verses, both of which she believed to have been sent to her by him.

‘The note was in the following words:—

‘The inclosed paper of Verses was found this morning by Accident. The person who found them, not knowing to whom they belong, is obliged to trust to his own Judgment, and takes for granted that they could only be meant for Miss Giles.’

‘The Verses were as follows:—

1.

‘When nature has, happily, finished *her* Part,
There is Work enough left for the Graces;
‘Tis harder to keep than to conquer the Heart;
We admire and forget pretty Faces.

2.

In the School of the Graces, by Venus attended,
Belinda improves ev’ry Hour;
They tell her that Beauty itself may be mended,
And shew her the use of her Pow’r.

They

3.

They alone have instructed the fortunate Maid
In Motion, in Speech, and Address;
They gave her that wonderful Smile to persuade,
And the Language of Looks to express.

4.

They directed her Eye, they pointed the Dart,
And have taught her a dangerous Skill;
For whether she aims at the Head or the Heart,
She can wound if she pleases, or kill.

'The Verses and the Note are each written on a separate sheet of common letter paper, and the handwriting of the two is different. The reason of this is obvious. The humour of the compliment required such a difference. The two documents, though wholly unconnected with St. Valentine's Day, must be regarded in the light of a valentine; the essential idea of which is, that whereas certain Verses in praise of a young lady had been found by accident, Miss Giles alone merited such praise, and the Verses were therefore sent to her as to the person for whom they were intended. Hence, it would have been out of keeping with the plan of the valentine if the Verses and the Note had been in the same handwriting.'

We need not for our present purpose relate how the existence of the two documents came to the knowledge of Mr. Twisleton, and how he has been enabled to make public use of them. That the two documents were really sent by Francis to Miss Giles no one can entertain any reasonable doubt after perusing Mr. Twisleton's narrative, and one circumstance, which we shall presently lay before our readers, places the fact beyond question.

The connexion of these two documents with the investigation into the handwriting of Junius arises thus. The Anonymous Note is in the handwriting of Junius. This will be at once evident, we think, to any one who compares the facsimile of the Note with the facsimiles of the Junian Manuscripts, and is placed beyond all question by the Report of Mr. Netherclift, printed in the volume before us, in which he proves, by detailed reasonings, that the two must have been handwritten by the same person. As the Anonymous Note was in the handwriting of Junius, and as Francis had evidently sent it, it was taken for granted as a natural consequence that the Anonymous Verses were in the natural handwriting of Francis. This was at first the opinion of Mr. Twisleton himself and of many other literary and legal gentlemen to whom he showed the verses, and it was confirmed by the external evidence and the tradition among the descendants of Mrs. King. But now comes the most interesting

resting part of the story. Mr. Twisleton, whose caution and love of truth are most strikingly exhibited in every point of the investigation, would not finally adopt this conclusion till it had been verified by a professional expert. He accordingly applied to Mr. Netherclift, who had previously examined the handwriting of the Anonymous Note, as we have already said; but finding that this gentleman, in consequence of a serious illness, could not undertake the investigation, he placed the case in the hands of Mr. Chabot, another professional expert. Mr. Chabot, however, after comparing the Verses with the Letters of Francis, pronounced an opinion directly contrary to what was expected. He maintained not only that he should not be justified in stating that the Verses were in the handwriting of Francis, but he thought that he could prove the negative, viz., that Francis had not, and could not have, handwritten the Verses; and in corroboration of this opinion he pointed out numerous peculiarities in the Verses which were not in the Letters, and numerous peculiarities in the Letters which were not in the Verses.

And here we may remark, in passing, that the conduct of Mr. Chabot on this occasion should be borne in mind by those who are in the habit of indulging in insinuations against experts.* Mr. Chabot, in giving this opinion, shewed his independence by opposing the views of the person by whom he was professionally employed. In fact, the case which he had been called in to support seemed to have broken down in consequence of his evidence. Mr. Twisleton at once acquiesced in the professional opinion of Mr. Chabot; but recollecting from the recently published 'Life of Francis' that his cousin and familiar friend, Mr. Richard Tilghman, was with Francis at Bath when the Verses were sent to Miss Giles, it struck Mr. Twisleton that Francis might possibly have availed himself of the services of Tilghman as an amanuensis. Fortunately, in the Letter Book of Francis, which was in Mr. Twisleton's possession, there were six Letters written

* The following observations of Mr. Twisleton on the subject of 'experts' deserve to be remembered in the present investigation.—'The word "expert" is often used very loosely. It is frequently used to designate lithographers, or gentlemen connected with banks, who come forward as witnesses once or twice in their lives to express their belief that a particular document was or was not written by a certain individual. The word has, then, a meaning very different from that of general experts in handwriting, recognised as such in courts of justice, like Mr. Chabot and Mr. Netherclift, to whom cases of disputed writing are systematically submitted from time to time for their professional opinion, and who are prepared to state detailed reasons for every such opinion which they give. Having taken some pains to ascertain this point, I have been assured that during the last fifty years the number of such experts in London has been very few, and that there are only two such experts in London practice now. Hence, tales about experts should be received with distrust, unless names and particulars are mentioned, so that it may be ascertained in what sense the word "expert" is used.'

to Francis by Tilghman. These were now submitted, together with the Verses, to Mr. Chabot, who expressed his unhesitating conviction that the Verses were in the handwriting of Tilghman, and embodied his opinion in one of the Reports here printed. It would seem that Francis, with his usual caution, was unwilling to bring his own handwriting into any connection with that of Junius, and accordingly wrote the Note himself in the Junian hand, employing his friend Tilghman to copy the Verses, who probably never saw the Note.

We have already referred our readers to Mr. Twisleton's narrative for the proof of the essential point that the Note and the Verses came from Francis; but we will now mention the circumstance to which we alluded, and which proves uncontestedly that Tilghman was acquainted with the Verses. In 1772 Francis, who was in Italy, wrote a letter to Dr. John Campbell, a leading *littérateur* of the day. He was evidently proud of this letter, and attached so much importance to it, that he sent a copy of it to his friend Tilghman, who had returned to Philadelphia in America, of which place he was a native. The letter contains the following Latin Epigram, which Francis wrote upon a marble lion in the Medici Palace:—

‘Ungue oculoque minax, orisque horrendus hiatu,
Imperia in sylvis tristia solus habet.
Hunc catuli fugiunt, conjux, fulvique parentes,
Vix domini gressus auserit umbra sequi.’

Tilghman fully appreciated Francis's letter to Dr. Campbell, but, in regard to the epigram, he indulged in the following criticism in his reply: ‘I have no objection to the epigram of the old lion, provided you will change the word conception for translation, or imitation:—

‘He roared so loud and looked so wondrous grim,
His very shadow durst not follow him’—*Vide Pope nepti Baſtovs.*

I have written this, partly out of revenge, and partly to show my reading and knowledge of languages.’ This criticism would be naturally unpalatable to Francis, who, accordingly, in a Letter, which has not been preserved, seems to have waged battle for the originality of his epigram. Tilghman replied in the following letter, which ends with the quotation of the two first lines of the second stanza of the Verses:—

‘**MY DEAR FRANCIS,**

‘I have receiv'd your packet of the 17th of July. You are very tenacious of your epigram. I observe you contend for it as if your reputation as a poet depended on it. I did not condemn the composition—

composition—I only said it was not an original, and I say so still; but yet I am ready to allow you can weave originals, because

“ In the School of the Graces, by Venus attended,
Belinda improves ev'ry hour.”

Upon this Mr. Twisleton remarks:—

‘ Now, on an attentive consideration of this paragraph, it seems clear that Tilghman himself cannot be regarded as the author of the two lines, inasmuch as, in that case, the quotation of them would be wanting in point, and be nearly irrelevant. The subject under discussion is a poetical composition of Francis, and Tilghman, while he stoutly denies the originality of that particular composition, declares himself ready to allow that Francis can weave originals, and then quotes the two lines of the Verses. This quotation would be singularly inappropriate if Tilghman was merely quoting two lines of his own composition; while it was apposite, and might have been soothing to Francis after the assault on his epigram, if it alluded to Francis's Verses. The latter, therefore, may safely be adopted as the correct explanation of the passage; and the meaning of it is very much the same as if Tilghman had written, “ I deny that the conception of your epigram was original, but I do not deny that you can weave originals, for your power to do this has been proved by your verses on Belinda.” At the same time, he probably quoted these two particular lines from a catch of fancy in a play of words; to say that, as Belinda, in the School of the Graces, “ improv'd ev'ry hour,” so Francis improved what he borrowed, and thus made his compositions originals.’

The circumstances we have narrated above having enabled Mr. Twisleton to test the sagacity and independence of Mr. Chabot, it occurred to him as probable that, if sufficient materials were placed at Mr. Chabot's disposal, he would be able to give a sound opinion on the much more important question whether Sir Philip Francis did, or did not, handwrite the Letters of Junius. In regard to Francis, Mr. Twisleton procured, from a grand-daughter of Sir Philip Francis, through Mr. Merivale, one of the two authors of the ‘Life of Francis,’ a Letter-Book containing forty-two original Letters written and sent by Francis to his brother-in-law or to his wife in the years from 1767 to 1771 inclusive. And in regard to Junius, not only had the Trustees of the British Museum recently purchased all the original Letters and writings of Junius in the possession of Mrs. Parkes, which had belonged first to Mr. Henry Dick Woodfall, and afterwards to her late husband, Mr. Parkes, but Mr. Murray readily gave access to the original Manuscripts of the Letters of Junius to Mr. Grenville which were in his possession. Under these circumstances Mr. Twisleton gave formal written instructions to Mr. Chabot ‘that he should submit the handwriting of Junius

Junius to a searching comparison with the Letters of Sir Philip Francis, and should state, professionally, his opinion in writing whether the Letters of Francis and of Junius respectively were, or were not, written by the same hand.'

Subsequently Mr. Twisleton requested Mr. Chabot to report whether the negative could, or could not, be proved respecting Lady Temple and Lord George Sackville, as well as the affirmative respecting Sir Philip Francis. This request was suggested to Mr. Twisleton by what had passed respecting the Anonymous Verses, when Mr. Chabot had negatived Francis's claim before Tilghman had been discovered as their handwriter; and it seemed to Mr. Twisleton interesting to ascertain whether there were, or were not, any habits or peculiarities of writing in Lady Temple, or Lord George Sackville, which appeared to Mr. Chabot incompatible, or not easily to be reconciled, with habits or peculiarities in the handwriting of Junius.

The result is contained in two elaborate Reports, occupying 197 quarto pages, one on the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis, and the other on the handwritings of Lady Temple, Lord George Sackville, and others. These are followed by facsimiles, taken by photo-lithography, of the letters of Junius and of the proof-sheets of these letters, as well as by similar facsimiles of the letters of Sir Philip Francis and of the other persons to whom the authorship of the Junian Letters has been at various times ascribed. Thus we have an amount of evidence which has never previously been presented to the public; and, indeed, as far as Francis is concerned, all the facsimiles of his autographs which have been published in 'Junius Identified,' in the 'Chatham Correspondence,' and in the 'Memoirs of Sir P. Francis,' do not, combined, quite equal in the number of words the first Letter of Francis contained in the volume before us.

There is one peculiar feature in these Reports to which Mr. Twisleton directs special attention:—

'As far as is known, they are the only instance in which an expert has deliberately published the result of his investigations into the handwriting of Junius and Francis; and most undoubtedly, they are the only instance in which any such expert has written professionally, and subscribed his name to his opinion. Still, although Mr. Chabot has written his Reports under professional responsibility, and they thus deserve to be read with more than ordinary attention, he is desirous—and I publish his Reports with the same desire—that his conclusions should in no respect be accepted on grounds of mere authority, but that they should be judged of entirely by the reasons which he advances in their behalf.'

In seeking to prove that two different handwritings have been made

made use of by the same person, it is important to observe the method pursued in the investigation. Most persons are content with a general comparison, without endeavouring to ascertain the principles which govern the handwriting, or the characteristic habits in the two handwritings under discussion. They thus form their judgment by the impression left upon their minds by general similarity, without that careful examination of the peculiar and distinctive formations of individual letters which characterise the writing. ‘The principles which underlie all proof by comparison of handwritings are very simple, and when distinctly enunciated, appear to be self-evident. To prove that two documents were written by the same hand, coincidences must be shown to exist in them which cannot be accidental. To prove that two documents were written by different hands, discrepancies must be pointed out in them which cannot be accounted for by accident or by disguise. These principles are easy to understand, but to exemplify them in observations is by no means always easy.’ It is the merit of these Reports that they give an analysis of the handwriting by examining separately the elements or letters of which it is composed. It would be impossible, however, to convey any adequate idea of the method pursued by Mr. Chabot in his investigation without entering into minute details; and even then they would be hardly intelligible without constant reference to the lithographed plates, which we have not the means of reproducing on our pages. But we can promise such of our readers as will take the trouble to study Mr. Chabot’s remarks and reasoning, with the help of the lithographed plates, a rich mine of instruction on a subject which had never yet been explained in any systematic treatise. We may first state in general the conclusions at which Mr. Chabot has arrived on the long-disputed controversy respecting the Junian handwriting.

‘I find generally,’ says Mr. Chabot, ‘in the writing of the Letters of Sir Philip Francis so much variety in the formation of all letters which admit of variety as to render his handwriting difficult to disguise in any ordinary manner, and consequently easy to identify. I discover also in the writing of the Letters and Manuscripts of Junius variations in the formation of certain letters, in some cases very multifarious, and of frequent occurrence, and that these variations closely correspond with those observed in the writing of Sir Philip Francis. They are, however, chiefly confined to the small letters in both handwritings; the habitual formation of capital letters being seldom departed from in any essential particular in either. I find also, in some instances, wherein Junius makes exaggerated formations of certain letters, exact counterparts of them are to be found in the writing of Sir Philip Francis, and in some cases as nearly as possible with the

same

same frequency. I further find in the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis a repetition of all, or nearly all, the leading features and peculiar habits of writing, independent of the formations of letters, which so distinguish the Junian writing. These are so numerous, so varied, and in some cases so distinctive, that, when taken collectively, it is scarcely within the limits of possibility that they can be found in the handwriting of any two persons. I am, therefore, irresistibly driven to the conclusion that the Junian Manuscripts and the forty-four Letters of Francis have all been written by one and the same hand.'

It is obvious, upon a momentary glance, that the letters of Junius are written in a feigned hand:—

'Upon examination, I find that the principal features of the disguise consist of the very common practice of altering the accustomed slope, and, in many cases, writing in a smaller hand, whilst that which is of more importance, viz. the radical forms of letters, is repeatedly neglected. It is difficult, whilst the mind is engaged on the subject-matter of the writing, to avoid occasionally, indeed frequently, falling into some of the habits of writing peculiar to the writer. The simple expedients of altering the usual slope and size of the writing may be maintained without difficulty, but it becomes very trying to attend to details at the same time. I have never met with a writer who could do so, and sustain a consistent and complete disguise throughout a piece of writing of moderate length.'

One of the most striking characteristics of the Junian handwriting is the fineness of the strokes. It had been often remarked that Junius must have written with an extremely fine pen. His handwriting is finer and smaller than that of Francis; and a finely made pen, as Mr. Chabot remarks, would be a necessary auxiliary to enable a person, like Francis, who habitually wrote in a bold hand, to reduce the size of his writing. Moreover, a bold handwriting would instinctively suggest the contrast of a fine and diminished style of writing for a feigned hand. It has been suggested to us by a friend that Junius may have maintained without effort the persistent fineness of his lines by using a crow-quill—a suggestion which seems to us very probable, though we do not remember to have seen it made before.

Mr. Chabot brings forward two distinct classes of evidence to identify the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis with that of Junius, one relating to the formation of letters, and to peculiarities connected therewith, and the other to habits of writing which do not necessarily depend on such formations and peculiarities. The former class cannot, as we have already

said, be made intelligible without reference to the plates; but certain specialities will be readily understood by the help of a few woodcuts.

First as to the general construction of the Junian handwriting:—

Upon an attentive examination, it will be found that the slope of the Junian writing differs from that of Francis's principally in the down-strokes of the letters; and that the slope of the up-strokes, which is very horizontally inclined, is as nearly as may be, the same in both. This will become clearly apparent upon an examination and comparison of the following facsimiles:—

FRANCIS.

me^u the^u proo^u the^u

JUNIUS.

the^u same^u place^u

Some writers make both the upper and lower turns of their letters angular; others give them considerable roundness; the results are two opposite styles of writing. When Francis wrote rapidly, his writing partook of both characteristics in an eminent degree. See the first seven lines of the 3rd page of his Letter, No. 38 (Plate 202), wherein the upper turns of the letters are extremely angular, and the lower turns are well rounded, in addition to which the latter are extremely wide. If he altered the down-strokes—by making them more upright, without making any corresponding alteration in the up-strokes of his writing, those three qualifications would necessarily be augmented and become more distinctly apparent. Be that as it may, they are the principles upon which the Junian hand is constructed.

When Junius altered the natural tendency of his hand, which he sometimes attempted for the purpose of disguising it, by making the lower as well as the upper turns of his letters angular, the two leading characteristics of extreme breadth to the former and narrowness to the latter still remain (see his Letter to Woodfall, No. 3). It is not only the fineness and smallness of the writing, but also the angularity of so many of the lower turns of the writing of that Letter that occasions the strong contrast of its general character to that of the Letters to Woodfall, Nos. 7, 9, 12, and 22, and others of the Junian writing.

Although many of the Letters of Junius contrast with each other in their general appearance, the construction of the writing of all is based upon these principles:—In all, the upper turns of the letters are angular and cramped, and the lower turns wide and free; and the latter are habitually, though not always well rounded, agreeably with the

the natural tendency of Francis's writing, particularly when he wrote rapidly. The extreme width of the lower turns of the letters frequently occasioned in the Junian hand as much space between the letters as between words, as shown in the subjoined facsimiles:—

comon hardly have
had the may are
may allever that

‘The following word, taken from Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville, forcibly illustrates these three peculiarities:—

attachment to

‘In that facsimile the upper turns of the letter *h* and *m* are angular in the extreme, and the lower turn of the letter *h* is so round and wide that it occasions almost as much space between the two letters as is afforded between that word and the word following it.’

The following may be mentioned as some of the specialities in the handwritings of Junius and Francis:—

‘I. Sir Philip Francis was apt to write the letter *i* in the word “time” upside down, as in the following facsimiles:—

time time
↓ ↓

He has done so in eight of the twenty-one instances wherein that word occurs in his Letters. He would, therefore, be liable to repeat that habit whilst writing in a feigned hand.

Accordingly I find, on the 2nd page of Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville, that word written in the same remarkable manner, thus:—

Moreover, the general character of the writing of that word corresponds closely with the two instances taken from Francis's writing.

‘II. But, further, Francis, having written the word “time,” in the middle of a sentence, in the peculiar manner shown, had the habit of

occasionally making an addition to the small letter *t*, which had the effect of converting it (improperly) into a capital letter, thus:—

found time your time
+
second time
+

Both of those peculiarities occur in the word "time" written on the 1st page of Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville, thus:—

mean Time

The Letter from which that word is taken is dated only a month after the date of Francis's Letter from which the first of the two facsimiles of the word "time" is taken, and it occurs in the same phrase, viz. "in the mean time." The form of the addition made by Junius does not exactly correspond with that by Francis, because he was disguising his hand; but the habit or intention is the same, notwithstanding the difference of form. This disguise, however, like many others adopted by Junius, was not uniformly maintained. There is another instance in which no difference of form appears. Francis occasionally made this addition to the small letter *t* when he wrote the word "thing" in the middle of a sentence where no capital letter was needed, as in the following facsimiles:—

Every thing	any thing
any thing	every thing

'Junius has made a similar addition, and in like form, to the letter *t*, in the same word ("things"), also written in the middle of a sentence, thus:—

of things

• 14

‘ It will be observed in each case that, if the addition be removed, the word will remain written with a small letter *t*, commenced with an upstroke in the usual manner, and that the entire word has been written by a single operation of the pen, sustained on the paper until the word has been completed.

‘ Those two peculiarities are by no means frequent in the Junian writings; their occurrence in Francis’s hand suggests the source whence they are derived. They occur in other words in his writing at irregular intervals, insufficient to be regarded as habits of writing, but rather as inadvertencies to which he was liable. Another instance of an inverted letter *i* occurs in the word “writing,” and “write,” in Francis’s Letters, thus:—

It also occurs in similar words in Junius to Woodfall, thus:—

‘ In the same way that Francis formed the letter *i* similarly to a letter *r*, so he formed (and far more frequently) the letter *r* like a letter *i*. The writing of Junius is equally plentiful in these irregularities.

‘ III. In Junius to Woodfall, the two letters *v* and *e* of the *second* syllable of the word “Cavendish” are omitted. The omission is signified by a character formed somewhat after the following model, thus: This mark is the brand of Francis’s hand, and, corroborated by other evidence, stamps that Letter as having emanated from him. The omission of the three letters *u*, *a*, and *r*, of the *second* syllable of the word “February” in the dating of that Letter is signified by a mark in perfect keeping with that employed by Junius, as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

FRANCIS.

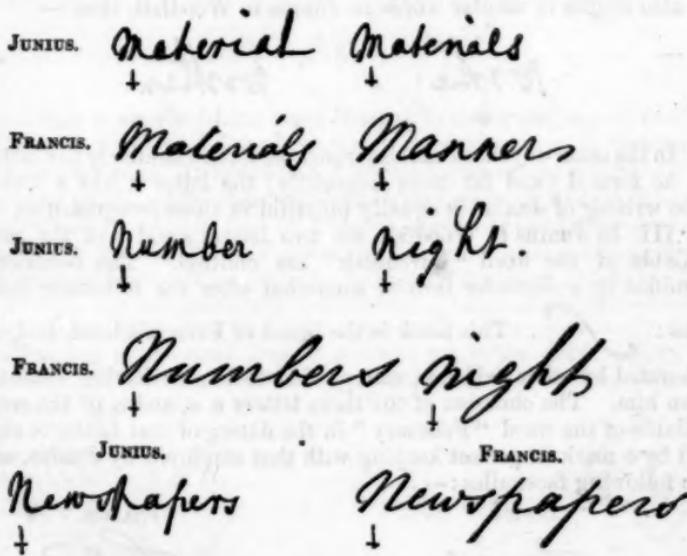
‘ I do not remember having seen this mode of shortening a word in any other handwriting. It may have been common in the last century, but no instance has attracted my attention in a very large amount of different handwritings of that period which I have examined in the British Museum. It occurs once only in the Junian hand; but I find three other instances in the Letter Book on the backs of Letters by Francis besides that already given, sufficient to show that that mark of abbreviation was a peculiarity specially belonging to his hand.

‘ The

‘The preceding are instances of specialities in regard to forms, in all three of which, in combination, few if any other writers can be found to participate with Junius and Francis. I find in their hands not only coincidences of special formations of letters but of special uses for which particular formations only of certain letters are employed; and, notwithstanding those formations are of a common character, the application of them to particular uses, to the exclusion of other common formations, gives them considerable importance.’

We may also notice another speciality in the two handwritings relating to the letters *m* and *n*.

‘The junction of two words had the effect of materially altering the character of the formation of certain letters in the two handwritings now under examination. Both Junius and Francis frequently formed the letters *m* and *n* in a somewhat distinctive manner, as in the following facsimiles:—



It will be observed that roundness of form characterises the upper turns, commencing the letters *m* and *n*, in the above examples. Those letters might have been joined to the words preceding them and still have preserved that character; and would do so in hands wherein roundness of form is habitual. This, however, was not so either with Junius or with Francis. When Junius joined either a letter *m* or a letter *n* to the word preceding it, he altered the character of those letters in a very marked manner by changing the round form into a very angular one. Francis also fell into the same habit, as is evinced in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

JUNIUS.

a Maxim and markets you might
 + + +
 a Maxim and markets you might

FRANCIS.

all Matter a more
 + + +
 solemn manner;

JUNIUS.

car neither to
 + + +

FRANCIS.

done neither to
 + + +

Moreover, they were both prone to join words commencing with *m* or *n* to the words preceding them.

‘Francis, on very rare occasions, commenced the small letter *m*, when *disjoined* from the preceding word, not only angularly but in a very distinctive manner, as in the subjoined examples:—

My me Thy more

Two instances of the letter *m* thus formed occur in the Junian hand, as in the words “man” and “money,” written in the *Essay* sent to Mr. Grenville, as in the following facsimiles:—

man *money*

‘Thus, three distinct formations of the letter *m*, at the beginnings of words, distinguish alike the handwriting of both Junius and Francis.’

We have selected the above similarities out of many hundreds of a like kind, merely as examples of the mode of investigation adopted by Mr. Chabot in dealing with the formation of letters. We now proceed to mention some instances of habits common to Junius and Francis, which are not necessarily dependent on their mode

mode of forming letters. Mr. Chabot enumerates nine such instances:—

1. The mode of dating Letters.
2. The placing a fullstop after the salutation.
3. The mode of signing initials between two dashes.
4. Writing in paragraphs.
5. Separating paragraphs by dashes placed between them at their commencement.
6. Invariable attention to punctuation.
7. The enlargement of the first letters of words.
8. The insertion of omitted letters in the line of writing, and not above it, and the various modes of correcting miswriting.
9. Mode of abbreviating words, and abbreviating the same words.
10. Misspelling certain specified words.

Of these several points of agreement in habits between the handwritings of Junius and Francis, the first is the most striking, and deserves special study. The datings of the Letters of Junius are characterised by the following nine points:—

1. The placing the note of place and time at the top of the Letter, and not at the foot or close of it.
2. The writing the whole in one line only.
3. The writing the name of place.
4. Placing the day of the month before the month, and not after it.
5. Placing a stop after the name of place.
6. Placing a stop after the day of the month.
7. Placing a stop after the name of the month.
8. Placing a stop after the figures of the year.
9. Writing at full length such a month as 'January,' 'February,' or 'October.'

The following facsimile, taken from Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville, illustrates the nine points:—

*Ths
London. 20. October. 1760.*

Now, it is remarkable that these nine points, and particularly the first eight, are found combined in most of the existing Letters of Francis. Many of these points, taken separately, are of common concurrence in the openings of Letters; but their combination is likely to be extremely rare. Mr. Chabot says he has never seen them combined, except in Junius and Francis; and

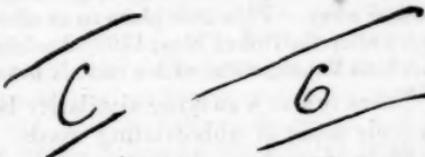
and Mr. Twisleton, who has examined more than 3000 Letters in the 'Grenville Papers,' the 'Anson Papers,' and other documents of the same kind, likewise states that he has never seen those points united in any other writer. Mr. Chabot, therefore, we think, is justified in adding that, 'upon comparing a paper written anonymously with the known Letters of a suspected party, such a combination in each document would carry suspicion to the highest point, and, united to a few only of other coincidences of equal importance, would, by an impartial mind, be deemed conclusive as to the reality of the suspected fact.'

Another habit which Francis had in writing was to put a full-stop after the salutation, thus: 'Sir.' 'My Lord.' This we find in forty-one out of the forty-two Letters in Francis's Letter-Book. 'The habits of different persons differ in this respect. Some put a comma, a few put a fullstop, a very few put a semi-colon, and the great majority of writers put no stop at all after the salutation. Others do not follow any fixed rule, but sometimes put no stop, sometimes put a fullstop, and sometimes put a comma. What was remarkable in Francis was his settled habit of marking his salutations with a fullstop. On scrutinising Junius with a knowledge of this habit, it will be found that in this volume there are twenty-five salutations of Junius; that he placed after every one of them either a fullstop or a line of separation; that he substituted the line of separation in seven instances only, which are in informal Letters to his printer; while in twelve other Letters to his printer, and in all his formal Letters, such as the three Letters to Mr. Grenville, the first Letter to Lord Chatham, the Letter signed "Vindex," and the Letter signed "Scotus," a fullstop invariably follows the salutation.'

We may also direct attention to the manner in which Junius signed his Letters. He rarely subscribed himself otherwise than with the single initial capital letter C, which he placed between two lines, thus: *—

This practice is not traceable in the earlier Letters of Francis,

* It may be remarked, by the way, that these two forms of the letter C can be traced to the hand of Francis, as shown in the following facsimiles:—



Claret Chitchat
Cause Candidate

but

but during the writing of the Junian Letters he seems unconsciously to have adopted himself the form of signature which he had assumed as a disguise. On two occasions, whilst the Junian Letters were being written—viz. on the 3rd May, 1769, and on the 14th July, 1770—he added two lines, precisely as in the Junian signature, thus:—

It is interesting to observe, as Mr. Twisleton has pointed out, that this Letter of the 3rd of May, 1769, was written only two days before the private Letter of Junius to Woodfall, No. 2. Francis signed his initials, *P. F.*, between two dashes on the Wednesday, and Junius signed his initial letter, *C*, between two dashes on the Friday.

In connection with this subject the following anecdote may be mentioned, for which Mr. Twisleton was indebted to Mr. W. J. Blake, of Danesbury, to whom it was told by his father, the late Mr. William Blake:—

‘After the publication of “Junius Identified,” Mr. William Blake was in a country house with Sir Philip Francis, and happened to converse with him on the poetry of Lord Byron, to which Sir Philip expressed his aversion. This induced Mr. Blake to single out for his perusal the well known lines in the “Giaour,” beginning with “He who hath bent him o’er the dead.” Francis read them, went to a writing table, seized a piece of paper, wrote down on it a string of words which he extracted from those lines, ending with “nothingness” and “changeless,” added below them the word “senseless,” and then rapidly subscribed his initials between the two dashes. On observing the signature, Mr. Blake said to him, “Pray will you allow me to ask you, Sir Philip, do you *always* sign your initials in that manner?” Sir Philip merely answered gruffly, “I know what you mean, Sir,” and walked away. This took place in or about the year 1817, forty-eight years after the 3rd of May, 1769, the date of the Letter in this volume in which the signature of his initials between two dashes first occurs.’

There is also a striking similarity between Junius and Francis in their mode of abbreviating words. This will be seen by two or three examples. Junius and Francis occasionally abbreviated the words ‘though’ and ‘would,’ thus: ‘tho,’ ‘wo’ as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

FRANCIS.

So also both Junius and Francis occasionally abbreviated the words ‘do not,’ and ‘your,’ in the following manner:—

Junius

JUNIUS.

don't

4:

FRANCIS.

don't

y:

Junius and Francis both punctuated their writing habitually; and where a sentence ends in the middle of a paragraph, they frequently give force to the punctuation by substituting a dash for a period, and sometimes more effectively by employing both. Occasionally they add this dash to every other form of punctuation, in the following manner, thus:—

, — ; — : — ? — ! —

The most remarkable instances are those of the notes of exclamation and interrogation, involving in each three operations of the pen, thus:—

JUNIUS.

FRANCIS.

! ? . / — ? .

The attention which Junius and Francis paid to punctuation had been previously noticed by Mr. Taylor:—

‘Nothing affords greater scope for diversity of practice than the mode of punctuation. It is a common thing for writers to be very careless in this matter: but Junius and Sir Philip are particular in the use of stops, pointing with minute accuracy even the most trifling notes. The principle upon which this is done shows the closest conformity of plan. It may seem a trivial circumstance to some, but the introduction of the *short stroke*—or *dash*—between words as well as sentences, to the degree in which it is done by both of them, is characteristic of the writers.’—*Junius Identified*, p. 376.

On the nature of the evidence thus adduced, the following remarks of Mr. Twisleton deserve attention:—

‘It is to be remembered that the evidence of the identity of Junius and Francis as handwriters is cumulative; that is to say, the force of the evidence depends not on any one single coincidence, but on numerous coincidences varying materially in their individual strength, which, when viewed in connexion, lead irresistibly to one inference alone, though each by itself may be inconclusive. A common

common fallacy in dealing with such evidence is to take each coincidence separately, and to show that a similar coincidence exists in some other writer. This would be a perfectly legitimate mode of reasoning, if any one coincidence so dealt with were adduced as in itself conclusive; but it fails to meet the requirements of the case, when the argument is based on the combination of many such coincidences collectively, and not on the separate existence of any one of them. Perhaps the best illustration of the force of cumulative evidence is one which has long since been made, but which is not, on that account, the less valuable. It is the inference that dice are loaded, founded on the observation that the same numbers—say, double sixes—are thrown so many times, say fifty times running, that the fact cannot possibly be accounted for by chance. In such a case it would be vain for an advocate to attempt to shake the inference by stating after each individual throw that every dice-player sometimes threw double sixes, or occasionally threw many double sixes in succession. The point would be that the double sixes are thrown fifty times running.

‘ Applying this illustration to Mr. Chabot’s Reports, it would be well, after studying them, to review connectedly all the instances of habits which he has pointed out as common to Junius and Francis. In page 134, ten such habits are specified, which are not necessarily dependent on the mode of forming letters. Of these, the very first habit is likely to be so rare that it will probably be difficult to find a parallel in any contemporary of Junius and Francis. If such a parallel is discovered, the point will arise whether such habit is found in conjunction with the second habit; and if this is so, whether these two are found in conjunction with the third habit, and so forth. And then, if all these ten habits are found combined in any other individual, the question will present itself whether the same person unites the nine characteristics enumerated in pages 101 and 102. And, if even those characteristics belong to him, a question will still remain whether the same individual combines the nine habits as to the formation of letters which are specified in page 133. There is thus a union of at least twenty-eight habits in Junius and Francis; some of them involving a complex variety of minor habits or peculiarities: and all these habits are to be viewed in connection with the evidence, which shows that Francis has left the mark of his undisguised hand on the Proof Sheets of Junius. Commencing with the facsimiles in this volume of the autographs of seventeen different contemporary writers, search should be made to ascertain how many of those twenty-eight habits co-exist in any other autographs; and the ultimate point to be decided will be whether the combination of all of them in Junius and Francis can have been accidental.’

Previous investigators had called attention to the paper upon which Junius and Francis wrote; but though this is a matter of less consequence than the handwriting, the observations of Mr. Chabot deserve notice:—

‘ I have examined in every way most minutely the quality of the paper,

paper, both as regards colour, texture, and thickness, of Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville, on the 6th February, 1768, and I find it perfectly agrees in each of those particulars with that of Francis's Letter, written little more than two months previously, viz. on 5th December, 1767. The two sheets of paper on which those Letters are written also agree in the following particulars:—

- ‘ The device of the water-mark is the same.
- ‘ The initials of the maker are the same; and
- ‘ The water-lines, which are not quite parallel, are the same width apart, showing that the paper has been made in the same frame or mould.

‘ And, further, I find the two sheets of paper are so exactly of the same size and shape, both having been cut slightly out of truth, whereby the top edge of the paper is not mathematically parallel with the bottom edge, that I cannot doubt they have been taken from one and the same quire of paper. And, furthermore, I find that the colour of the ink with which those two Letters have been written is the same in both. Where the ink lies thinly, the writing is pale and somewhat brown; whereas where the writing has been written with a full pen, it is quite black.’

Finally, we will mention one more fact, which appears to us of equal, if not greater importance, than any of the preceding ones. The original proof sheets of the Letters of Junius are preserved in the British Museum, and several of them are lithographed in the volume before us. They contain various obliterations, which, upon a narrow scrutiny by Mr. Chabot, were found to conceal precisely the same words and figures as those which now stand in their places, and which are made to appear as corrections of the obliterated writing. The words obliterated are in the handwriting of Francis: the words written over them in that of Junius. This is especially seen in the dates of the Letters. The dates were not inserted in the manuscripts as sent to the printer, but were added in the proof sheets. It would seem that Francis, being more off his guard in correcting the proofs than in writing the Letters, inadvertently inserted the dates in his natural handwriting; but, upon discovering the mistake he had committed, he carefully blotted out these dates, and rewrote them above the obliterations in his feigned hand. But, notwithstanding all the pains he took, the original writing can still be deciphered behind the obliterations.

‘ To assist in concealing these inadvertencies, and perhaps for the purpose of misleading those who might seek to lay them bare, Francis has previously to making the broad marks of defacement tampered with the writing, by the introduction of superfluous letters or portions of them—

them—a practice often resorted to when obliterations are made in wills, but which generally fails in effecting its object, as in the present case. Thus in the first obliterated date, tails have been added to the capital *J* (first written as a letter *I*), and to the figures 2 and 6. A dot has been placed over the first letter *a* in "January," and the second letter *a* has been altered into a letter *t*, thus: *21 January 1769*'

On examining the photographed proof-sheets we find that all the original dates have been obliterated and written in the feigned hand, except in one instance, namely, in the Letter to Dr. William Blackstone, where Francis forgot to make the obliteration, and has left the date [29. July. 1769.] in his own handwriting. We subjoin a facsimile of this date, together with facsimiles of two dates written by Francis, in his private letters, in the very same month and year.

JUNIUS.

29. July. 1769.

FRANCIS.

5. July. 1769 30. July. 1769.

After this, can any one doubt that the Letters of Junius were written by Francis?*

* If the hypothesis should be started that Francis handwrote the letters for another person, but was not himself the author of them, we would submit for consideration the following observations of Mr. Twisleton:—To make intelligible the precise bearing of the handwriting on the authorship, it may be remarked that the knowledge of who was the handwriter would be conclusive as to who was the author for any one who entertains a strong conviction of the truth of any one of the four following propositions:—1st. That the known character of the handwriter forbids the supposition of his having submitted during four or five years to be the amanuensis of another author. 2ndly. That Junius, in his Dedication to the English Nation, would not have volunteered the assertion that he was the sole depositary of his own secret, if all the while he had put himself in the power of another person by making use of him as an amanuensis. 3rdly. That the private Letters of Junius to Woodfall, and the corrections in the proof sheets bear internal marks of having been written, not by an amanuensis, but by the author himself. 4thly. That, independently of handwriting, the evidence which points to the handwriter as the author is so strong, standing alone, that although it may possibly not be conclusive, it justifies vehement suspicion, and attains a high degree of moral probability. Each reader must judge for himself whether one or more of these propositions commands his assent. For any one who believes in the truth of all the four, it would be idle to undervalue the strength of moral conviction as to the authorship, which must arise from the fact of the handwriter having been definitively ascertained. And, at the very lowest, if Francis was the handwriter, this throws out of competition with him for the authorship every individual candidate in regard to whom it cannot be shown that he was more competent and more likely than Francis to have composed the Junian Letters, and that he might possibly have made use of Francis as his amanuensis.'

We

We have come to this conclusion after a careful examination of the evidence before us, and are not deterred from expressing it by the apprehension of being taunted with inconsistency. In a previous number of this 'Review'^{*} we advocated the claims of the second Lord Lyttelton for the authorship of Junius, and, on a subsequent occasion,[†] we stated various reasons against supposing Francis to be the writer of the Junian Letters. We are not insensible to the force of the arguments brought forward in the latter of these articles: we candidly confess that we sat down to the study of the Reports before us with a strong impression that it was impossible to identify Francis and Junius by a simple comparison of their respective handwritings; but truth and justice compel us to confess that we have risen from them with the conviction that Mr. Chabot has proved his case. We are conscious that the examples we have quoted may convey to our readers an inadequate idea of the conclusive nature of Mr. Chabot's arguments. They are only a few out of many hundred proofs; and they derive their chief force, as we have already remarked, from their cumulative character. Taken separately they are striking, but might in some cases be accidental: taken collectively they are irresistible, and their similarity cannot be explained by any conceivable number of accidental resemblances. If, therefore, the instances we have cited are not sufficient to convince some of our readers, we would ask them to suspend their conclusion till they have consulted the book itself, which, if we may judge by the impression produced upon our own minds, will convert the most incredulous.

We have already remarked that this work possesses an independent value apart from the Junian controversy. We had intended to point out its bearing upon other branches of enquiry, but having exhausted our space, we must content ourselves with referring to the important assistance it will render to all persons connected with the administration of justice.[‡]

'It sometimes happens,' says Mr. Twisleton, 'that it is impossible to detect the author of anonymous letters or of a forged signature, except by a comparison of handwritings. A bad and base man may successfully have taken such precautions that no human eye saw his hand while it

* 'Quarterly Review,' vol. xc., p. 131.

† *Ibid.*, vol. cxxiv., p. 322.

‡ The Courts of Common Law have long admitted the principle that a comparison of handwritings may be employed as an instrument in the investigation of truth, but till within the last few years it was limited to two cases—1st, the case of ancient documents, and 2ndly, in reference to documents already in evidence before the court; but these restrictions were abolished by the Legislature in civil causes by the 'Common Law Procedure Act' of 1854, and likewise in criminal cases in 1865.

was penning a particular document, and that no external evidence is in existence to trace that document into his possession. In such a case, everything in a trial may depend on the special knowledge which is brought to bear on the internal evidence of the document itself by the Advocates, the Jury, and the Judge. From ignorance of the subject an advocate sometimes does not ask the proper questions of an expert, whose evidence is favourable to his cause. From similar ignorance an advocate on the other side is frequently driven into the subterfuge of declaiming against experts, when, if he had a little knowledge of the subject, he might weaken the force of adverse evidence by two or three reasonable objections. And if in a trial either the judge or a single prejudiced juryman held the opinion that no certainty could be arrived at by comparison of handwritings, or that in such comparison it was a better test to look to general character than to individual letters, there might easily be an absolute miscarriage of justice. If accused of writing malicious and libellous anonymous letters, a guilty man might escape, or an innocent man might be condemned. When important interests were at stake a genuine will might be rejected as a forgery, or a forged will might be accepted as genuine.*

In conclusion, we congratulate Mr. Twisleton, not only upon having settled, as we think, once for all the long-disputed controversy respecting the authorship of the Junian Letters, but upon having produced the only work which has yet appeared in the English language, conveying systematic instruction on the comparison of handwritings. The book opens a new and interesting vein of inquiry, will be essential to all engaged in antiquarian or legal pursuits, and ought to find a place in every well-appointed library.

* Mr. Twisleton adds in a note:—‘In the Matlock Will Case (*Cresswell v. Jackson*), which was tried before Lord Chief Justice Cockburn and a London Special Jury in 1864, three codicils to a will were rejected as forgeries. In this case, in which Mr. Chabot gave evidence against the codicils, everything, as far as handwriting was concerned, depended on minute differences, which he pointed out, and which the Chief Justice, on the 1st of March, 1864, in a summing up of remarkable ability, brought in detail under the notice of the jury with his own comments. If the case had been tried by a judge under the influence of either of the principles mentioned in the text, the forgery would probably have been successful. The summing up of the Lord Chief Justice was published the same year from a transcript of the short-hand writer’s notes (*London, Alfred Boot, Dockhead, 1864*). It will amply repay perusal as a specimen, generally, of intellectual power; but it also deserves special attention as a luminous model of the manner in which evidence founded on a comparison of handwritings may be presented to a jury.’

ART. III.—1. *La France devant l'Europe.* Par Jules Michelet. Seconde Edition. Florence Lyon et Bordeaux, 1871.

2. *La Révolution.* Par Edgar Quinet. Cinquième Edition, Revue et augmentée de la Critique de la Révolution. 2 vols. Paris, 1868.

3. *La Guerre de 1870. L'Esprit Parisien Produit du Régime Impérial.* Par Emile Leclercq. Troisième Edition. Bruxelles, 1870.

4. *The Holy Roman Empire.* By James Bryce, D.C.L., Fellow of Oriel College, and Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford. Third Edition, Revised. London, 1871.

5. *Deutschland und die Kaiseridee. Eine historisch-politische Untersuchung.* Von Dr. Octavius Clason. Bonn, 1870.

6. *Das neue Deutsche Reich auf dem Grunde Germanischer Natur und Geschichte.* Von Dr. H. Veta. Leipzig und Heidelberg, 1871.

7. *Preussens Deutsche Politik, 1785, 1806, 1849, 1866.* Von Adolf Schmidt, ord. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Jena. Umgearbeitete bis auf die Gegenwart fortgeführte dritte Auflage. Leipzig, 1867.

8. *Zur Französischen Grenzregulirung. Deutsche Denkschriften aus den Verhandlungen des zweiten Pariser Friedens.* Berlin, 1870.

9. *Die Reden des Grafen von Bismarck-Schönhausen.* Erste, zweite und dritte Sammlungen, 1862-70. Berlin, 1870.

IF there were two revivals, neither of which, this time last year, could have been considered imminent,—the one was of a French Republic, the other of a German Empire. Still less could it have been expected that the fall of an Imperial throne in France and the restoration of an Imperial throne in Germany, would be precipitated by one and the same stroke of destiny.

There has been a third revival—always too closely attendant or consequent on events that shake the political order of things in France—the revival of the old pretension of Paris to rule over the whole country, and of the suburban operative masses to rule over Paris. The first of these pretensions was asserted in a most momentous matter last September, when, on the investment of Paris, the so-called Government of National Defence refused to accept an armistice, and the opportunity offered with it for taking the vote of France for or against peace. What an Iliad of woes might possibly have been spared to France had that vote been

taken!* But the Defence Government then took it upon them to act as if Paris were France, and Villette and Belleville have now taken it upon them to act as if they were Paris. The old fatal discord has broken out again between the city populace, who think they have everything to gain, and the people of the country, who know they have everything to lose from a Paris democratic dictatorship, whose leaders and followers now, as in 1793 and 1848, have settled in their own minds that what a republic means, primarily and essentially, is *panem et circenses* for the *quondam* working class, who have been playing at soldiers during this last half-year, within the walls of Paris, while the élite of the citizens, in station as well as in character, and their provincial military and marine auxiliaries, have been doing the principal work of war on the ramparts. The dread and horror diffused by the like essential characteristics of the old Jacobin ascendancy at the Terror-epoch—and surviving even to this day amongst the rural millions in direct contact with the soil, and looking for prosperity solely to the undisturbed reaping of its produce—we find vividly exemplified in the following incident related in the epistle introductory to a work which well deserves the attention of our readers:†

‘Our friend, M. Vatel, whose indefatigable activity and conscientious spirit of historical research you are well acquainted with, lately undertook a journey to St. Emilion, in order to ascertain for himself the exact circumstances of the death of the three Girondins, Buzot, Petion, Barbaroux, to see the cave where they took refuge, and the loft where Salles and Guadet were captured. Immediately on his arrival, he proceeded to a minute inquiry; he put himself in communication with the surviving witnesses of these already remote occurrences. He interrogated them on the spot, appealed to their recollections, and obtained answers of extraordinary clearness and precision to all his questions. But he threw the whole district into alarm. Nobody could imagine that the mere research of truth,

* George Sand, in an interesting recent paper, entitled ‘Journal d'un Voyageur pendant la Guerre,’ remarks, under the date of 26th September last, ‘I do not see that it was impossible to proceed to the elections, even after the implacable answer of King William (relative to revictualling). There was, indeed, a grand and generous audacity, on the part of the Government of Defence, in summoning us to continued resistance, at the foreseen cost of the most terrible sacrifices. But to forbid France from voting was a course which passed all bounds of allowed audacity, and entered the domain of temerity. It involved a contradiction. We were supposed capable of rushing to arms against odds of ten to one, while we were supposed incapable of discussing, through our representatives, the terms of an honourable peace. . . . The more loudly you proclaim the Republic, the more must the nation feel entitled to exercise their political rights by virtue of the liberty the Republic promises them.’

† ‘La Démagogie en 1793 à Paris,’ &c. Par C. A. Dauban. Paris, 1868.

the

the disinterested passion of historical accuracy, could be the sole stimulant of a curiosity so ardent and so inquisitive. They began to interrogate M. Vatet in his turn. The old men asked him with manifest uneasiness—“Are they going to bring all that back again upon us? Are we going to be brought back again to the time of the worthless notes and the great terror—[*la grande épouvrante*]?” The guillotine and the assignats—that’s all they kept in mind of the Revolution. Ah yes!—set about making Republicans of these good folks!

How comes it to pass that France allows Paris to revolutionize her once or twice every fifteen or twenty years, with almost the regularity with which London looks forward to her normal decennial commercial crash and panic? In other words, how does it happen that ‘the principles of 1789’ are hitherto a political failure—by the direct or indirect confession of every candid and instructed French champion of those principles?

The remoter causes of this constantly recurring evil are traceable to the times of absolute monarchy, whose concentration of power in few irresponsible hands holding the reins of administration at the Capital, and sending forth their despotic decrees to the provinces, has been too little changed in all the revolutions which have taken place since. The *proximate* cause of the often-repeated success of a revolutionary minority in the capital has been the utterly untrustworthy composition and character of the National Guard. The cannoneers of the National Guard gave the victory to Jacobin anarchy, to be followed by Jacobin tyranny, in 1792-93. The cannoneers of the National Guard have repeated the same part now, though, happily, amidst surrounding circumstances which preclude all prospect of eighteen months of ‘Terror’ and of ‘Public Safety.’ Twenty years back Alexis de Tocqueville described their habitual effectiveness, negative or positive, intentional or unintentional, in promoting revolution, in the following passage of a conversation which has fortunately been placed upon record, and which is full of instruction and warning, not only for France, but England, if we ever should be tempted to trust to a force so composed for preserving public order.

‘There is not a more revolutionary institution,’ he continued, ‘that is to say, an institution more productive of revolutions, than a national guard. Just after a revolution, to be sure, it is useful, as a protection of property, but its instincts are to bring one on. The majority of its members have no political knowledge; they sympathise with the prevalent feeling, which is seldom favourable to a government. Some wish to give it a lesson, others would like to overthrow it. Very few, except in moments of excitement, like those of June, 1848, choose to expose themselves in its defence; and one National Guard who joins

the mob does more harm than all the good that can be done by twenty who support it. The mob have not the least respect for the uniform; *but the soldiers will not fire on it.**

But the main cause of what we have not feared to designate as the political failure of 'the principles of 1789' is to be found in the exaggerated and overstrained character of those principles themselves. To enjoy freedom is not enough for Frenchmen—they must have invented it. The doctrines and traditions of freedom, which have succeeded in Europe and America, must be discarded as antiquated for 'the principles of 1789,' which have failed in France. Every one of the candid and instructed French champions of those principles touches closely on the true cause of that failure; and then almost every one of them flies off at a tangent, as if 'the principles of 1789' had some intoxicating occult quality in them to drive wise men mad. It is a malady of French *amour propre*, best described by Shakespeare's Olivia:—'O you are sick of self-love, Malvolio!' The French monomania, which finds everlasting expression in 'the principles of 1789,' consists in assuming that Frenchmen are the original inventors and world-patentees of a perfectly new model of human rights and liberties. Fourscore and odd years of bitter experience have indeed impressed the conviction on the wiser minds of France that every political fabric erected on their patent model has proved a failure. This sense of ever-recurring failure—of real retrogression from the point of political liberality and public spirit which had been reached by the better minds of the eighteenth century in France—pervades every chapter, we had almost said every page, of Edgar Quinet's 'Revolution.' Yet it fails to lead him to recognise distinctly, as the primal source of that failure, the attempt to make all things become new in an old country, —an attempt which constituted the whole boasted originality of 'the principles of 1789': a Malvolian originality, engendering Malvolian illusions, and ending in Malvolian disappointment. A recent French correspondent closes his letter with an observation bearing very aptly on this point:—'We have a people who are very good, in spite of their errors; intelligent bourgeoisie, wealthy classes, few poor; we have even an ancient dynasty, whose mind is open to all the modern ideas; but we want an aristocracy, and without an aristocracy there is neither respect nor discipline in a nation. What is it that has so frequently compromised France during three-quarters of a century? The want of respect and discipline which naturally results from the false principle of equality.'

* 'Memoir, Letters, and Remains of Alexis de Tocqueville.' London, 1861.
The

The final consequences of the false principle above noted have been signally manifested in the war just closed. Prussia had preserved the essential aristocratical elements in her system,—the unbroken traditions of established authority, and habitual obedience to it. France had lost them. France often boasts the complete fusion in her territory of races originally distinct, which has rendered her people more homogeneous than any other. Pity she cannot also boast that they are more united. Pity she cannot also boast that concord of classes in a solid social order; that softening of the unavoidable inequalities amongst men, by habits and associations so powerful in old communities, which have not turned their backs upon their own history; those independent influences of voluntarily-recognised station and voluntarily-accepted authority, without which a nation has throughout its provinces no rallying-points of public sentiment or action, no political life, except in its turbulent and corrupt cities.

Mallet Du Pan, writing towards the close of the last century (in 1797), with immediate reference to the envenomed enmity at that time existing between parties in the French legislature and the executive power (the Directory)—which at length exploded in its military *coup d'état* against the Opposition party and the murderous exile *en masse* of the latter to the swamps of Guiana, observed, and the observation has been confirmed by too many examples since—‘A great deliberative assembly in France will never be anything but a bear-garden, or else a fire-ship’ [*Une grande assemblée délibérative en France ne sera jamais qu'une pétaudière ou un brûlot*’].*

Whatever be the justice or injustice of so sweeping a description of French assemblies, it may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that a *French Republic* has never hitherto been anything else than a scourge or a sham. And it may be affirmed, equally without fear of contradiction, that the French people has never been Republican, unless as Sganarelle was a doctor—*malgré lui*. The two first French Republics, and the present third one, are alike of Parisian creation; and the power of Paris (thrice exercised) to affiliate her illegitimate political offspring on France is the anarchic consequence of the monarchic centralization of centuries:—

‘The absolute preponderance of Paris over the provinces,’ says the honest republican Quinet, ‘which armed the Crown with such irresistible power, served equally for its overthrow. How should the old régime have failed to be destroyed as soon as it was attacked? No

* ‘*Mémoires et Correspondance de Mallet Du Pan*,’ vol. ii. pp. 306.
communication

communication between the nobles in the provinces. No means, outside of Paris, of mutual understanding, or concerted action. The old servitude, which had produced universal isolation, had produced universal impotence. The only really organised force which still survived was the monarchy.'

A king who, at the decisive hour, could have played the part of a king, might have changed the whole course of events in the first French Revolution. But it would have been a miracle if the last of a line of absolute monarchs, born in the purple, had possessed personal energy to wield that force which still survived in the monarchy, so as to keep the Revolution, accomplished in the mind of the nation, out of the hands of the mob. 'I am inclined to think,' says Tocqueville, 'that, had the Revolution been made by a despot, it might have left us less unfitted to become one day a free people than it has left us now, made, as it was, by the people's hands and in its name.' Neither by nature nor by nurture, however, was Louis XVI. the despot to make a Revolution; nor by his utter inexperience of parliamentary tactics (an inexperience shared by his subjects) was he capable of the part of a constitutional monarch whom a revolution might leave still enthroned when it had blown over. The Parisian Demus, stimulated by Mirabeau, contrary to his own better mind, would accept no constitutional franchises as a gift from 'despotism'; and Louis XVI. was too little of a despot to get it to take what monarchy without suicide could give. Then, as since, the great body of the French nation was anything rather than Republican. But neither the Government, nor any independent class or party, was strong enough to prevent a small minority in France—a small minority in Paris—from setting up what they called a Republic. 'The living soul of the Revolution,' says Quinet, 'resided in a small number; that is why the nation got so soon tired of it.' Singular, that a writer who sees so clearly and avows so candidly that the First Republic was no choice of the nation, fails to see with equal clearness, or avow with equal candour, that the Paris populace had no right to choose a form of Government for the French people! Quinet, to do him justice, has no palliatives or euphemisms for the crimes of the Revolution; but he labours under the inability, common to his compatriots generally, to see that the crimes of 1793 followed, by an almost fatal consequence, from the systematic repudiation of all pre-existing authority in 1789.

Of the Second French Republic, again instituted by the Paris populace in February 1848, it must at least be acknowledged that it tempted no perjuries, for it exacted no oaths, except the oath of the President—and that was broken. Almost from the first

hour

hour of its existence every one conspired aloud against it. As well the upholders of civil and proprietary rights—the vast majority of the nation—as the democratic and socialist assailants of those rights, and advocates of unrealised Utopias, agreed—if they agreed in nothing else—in impatience of the Republic; the former because they could not bring themselves to believe that it would secure public order, the latter because they found it too fond of order and not fond enough of Utopias. Never surely was universal suffrage less justified of her children. Never was more clearly manifested how little hold on the minds or hearts of Frenchmen had the mere name and form of Republic; how easy an enterprise would be that of overthrowing it even in form and name. ‘When such events,’ says Edgar Quinet, speaking of the 18th Brumaire—but not, we may suppose, without a side glance at the 2nd December—‘when such events are accomplished, not only without resistance on the part of contemporaries, but even with their complicity, be well assured that the recurrence of similar events is certain. Great, indeed, must be the temptation to enslave nations, which harbour no resentment, preserve no recollection even, of their enslavement.’

It is a remembered saying of the late Charles Buller, of genial memory, that the first British Reform Bills were carried by ‘enormous lying.’ It might be said that the third French Republic was brought to the birth by the sudden revelation, on the news of Sedan, of the enormous official and other lying with which Paris and France had been amused till that hour. ‘*Nous avons été abreuvés de mensonges,*’ was the expression of Frenchmen themselves. For the moment, the fumes of false glory and false self-solace were dissipated. But if the magic cauldron of Imperial wizardry was upset by that earthquake-shock, the lying oracles of the Empire were worthily replaced by the lying oracles of the Republic.

A Belgian writer, M. Emile Leclercq, has published an amusing little series of specimens of the ‘*esprit Parisien*,’ consisting of Paris newspaper-cuttings, before and since Sedan:—

‘It is Paris,’ he says, ‘that gives the tone—the key-note, sets men and ideas in motion, instigates and stimulates, by turns threatens and sings. The provinces only follow slowly and reluctantly the impulse communicated by Paris. Without Paris, France in all probability would show herself a nation not less sensible, not less pacific than England. If I am wrong in that supposition, so much the worse for France.’

‘The Parisian has always believed that changing his flag could set cripples on their legs again, efface all stains, and clear all consciences. Catastrophes always appear to him confined to forms, when they are really accomplished in facts. The true Parisian has a sort of naïveté and

and enthusiasm, which make him see everything entirely different from the reality. Accordingly, what seemed to him most urgent on the 4th September, 1870, was to proclaim a Republic. The Parisian again began crying “*Vive la République!*”—as in February, 1848. But to proclaim a Republic was not precisely to make Republicans start from the soil. Neither in Paris nor in France were there Republicans in strength sufficient to form a powerful party. Republics are not to be improvised with proclamations or patriotic songs.

Four or five years back, while Paris was yet gay, soon after the publication of Napoleon III.’s ‘*Histoire de Jules César*,’ three remarkable historical figures made their appearance at a fancy ball in that capital. Midmost of the three marched cocked-hatted, grey redingoted, military-booted, the living ‘counterfeit presentment’ of the first Napoleon. On the one side of him, hook-nosed, laurel-crowned, apparelled in martial garb of old Rome, marched an exceedingly imperator-looking figure, who could be nobody else but *Jules César*. On the other side, an imperial-crowned Frankish figure of about A.D. 800, looking as if he might just have risen from his knees before Pope Leo III., who, as is known, by a well-studied impromptu, saved his dear son Charlemagne the trouble of putting the imperial crown on his own head. Solemnly stalked the august trio arm in arm among the motley Parisian masqueraders, exclaiming from time to time, ‘*Malheur à ceux qui ne nous comprennent pas!*’

Paris has been scared out of her laughing mood since by the apparition of a *fourth* imperial figure—no fancy one this time. The Versailles *Galérie de Glaces* has mirrored trans-Rhenane uniforms, and echoed to Lutheran chants saluting a German Emperor,—sights and sounds in the proud palace of the Grand Monarque, which might almost have been expected to bring up the ghost of Louis XIV. himself in phantasmal protest against the double profanation.

‘Of those who in August, 1806,’ remarks Mr. Bryce, in his interesting and instructive work on ‘*The Holy Roman Empire*,’ ‘read in the English newspapers that the Emperor Francis II. had announced to the Diet his resignation of the imperial crown, there were probably few who reflected that the oldest political institution in the world had ceased to exist.’ Those (including the learned author of the above-cited work himself) who, since its first edition, have read the English newspapers of January, 1871, must have become aware that, if German Cæsarism has lived into the nineteenth century, German Cæsarism has not died out in it, or has sprung to life again, Phoenix-like, from its ashes, on stronger wing, and with sharper beak than ever.

But on the threshold of our attempt at treating of German Cæsarism,

Cæsarism, we are met by the question—Does there exist—has there ever existed—can there ever in the nature of things exist, any such historically legitimate personage as a German Cæsar? The question thus put sounds little short of flat blasphemy. Is, then, the Berlin Reichstag a mere Parliament of Laputa?—is stalwart William the mere 'simulacrum' of an Emperor?—burly Bismarck the mere 'sham' of a Chancellor? Mr. Carlyle, at least, we already know, will not say so. Whence this suggestion of a doubt whether Cæsar, Chancellor, Reichstag, and all the rest, may not be but the baseless fabric of an anachronistic vision—to leave not a wreck behind? We find it in a brief essay from the pen of Dr. Octavius Clason, of Bonn, which, brief as it is, gives evidence of original thought and extensive reading. The author begins by showing what few readers of Roman history (unless they happen to be also writers of it, who have a paradox or pet crotchet to support) will be disposed to deny—viz., that Roman Cæsarism was illegitimate in its first creation, and could confer no legitimacy on any new graft on its old trunk. Secondly, that the title of 'Holy Roman Empire of the German nation,'—the compound title adopted as that of the German empire from the days of Maximilian I. to those of Francis II., when it expired—besides involving an absurd contradiction in terms, affirmed a falsehood in fact, viz., that there ever really existed a German empire from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1806. There existed, indeed, German kings, who were decorated first by Popes, and afterwards by princely and priestly Electors, with a Holy Roman Imperial title, the idea attached to which was oddly compounded of a supposed unbroken succession from that most unholy Roman empire founded on force by Julius, and consolidated in fraud by Augustus Cæsar, and of mediæval conceptions of feudal lordship and vassalage, which required, to complete the theory of feudalism, a lord paramount of the world, from whose grant all ownership of land must be supposed to have emanated. But it was as Roman Emperors, and not as German kings, that they could claim this world-sovereignty, the actual exercise of which eluded their grasp from age to age, till at length their efforts to realise the dream of empire in Italy, and translate into fact the succession of Augustus, conceded to them in form and name, fairly broke down their German hereditary sovereignty beneath the weight of their elective and illusory Roman Emperorship. The head of the Holy Roman empire was, in idea and imagination, Lord of the World; the German prince who wore its crown, found it a crown of thorns; and we agree with Dr. Clason, that no epoch can be singled out at which

the

the 'Holy Roman Empire of the German nation' was a solid political fact.

From the date, indeed, at which the Holy Roman Empire began to call itself *German*, it necessarily forfeited the whole of the vague prestige which had clung to its name. That prestige, like that of the Holy Catholic Church, with which it was closely connected, depended entirely on the idea of an universal empire. To nationalise was to destroy it.

'Its last characteristic distinction,' says Dr. Clason, 'was destroyed, when, in 1838, the electoral princes resolved at Rhense that the Roman Imperial Crown should thenceforth be independent of Rome and Italy, and conferred in Germany. From the date of that decision the imperial idea was stripped of all life or reality. The Roman Emperor as such had no longer any power left, even in imagination; and therein his position was markedly distinguished from that of the Russian and French Emperors of modern times. The Russian and French Emperors are, or were, powerful *as such*; the Holy Roman Emperors only as German kings. And when modern German kings had lost much of their former power, and the royal and imperial titles of the Austrian sovereign became, as it were, two air-castles, in either of which his dignity might dwell at discretion, the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation still remained standing, exanimate and ossified as it was, the derision of foreigners, the shame and sorrow of natives. The wretched thing at length in 1806 terminated its existence; and no one perceived that anything was altered in State relations, when Francis II. ceased to be Roman Emperor, and called himself Emperor of Austria instead.'

The conception and preparation of that great national revolution in Germany, which led by rapid process to the late terrible international struggle, terminating, for the time being, in the military 'effacement' of France, date from very long back—far back, indeed, into the good-for-nothing old age of the Holy Roman empire, of which Voltaire said that it only fell short on three points of deserving its name, viz., that it was neither *Holy*, nor *Roman*, nor an *Empire*. Nearly a century back, in 1785, Frederick the Great of Prussia called into existence the so-called *Drei-Fürsten-Bund*, the first imperfect form of that North German Confederation whose final formidable development in 1866, on the ruins of Austrian power in Germany, frightened France from her property, provoked her to begin arming before she was attacked, and to challenge trial of battle before she was full-armed. More than a half century back, the most eminent statesmen and diplomatists of Prussia signed their names to memorials addressed to the Allied Powers at Paris, in 1815, demanding precisely those territorial guarantees for the security

security of the German frontier from renewed French inroads, the concession of which, at the cost of France, was then denied by European diplomacy, and has now at length been extorted by 'blood and iron.'

The Germans have a fault, which is certainly not peculiar to them,—of seeing things from their own point of view, and as telling in their own favour. From the established inveterate German point of view, France is the national *Erbfeind* who, for ages back, and ever since Germany was a nation, has continually been walking into her. If this cannot be called an untruth, it must be called a half-truth. 'Where the carrion is,' says the proverb, 'there the eagles gather.' The eagles of France have certainly gathered too often over the prostrate body of Germany; but how can the blame be laid exclusively on the *Erbfeindschaft* of France, if that body offered itself, by its helpless prostration as her natural prey, and if one or other of its members was ever and anon calling on foreigners to arbitrate in German quarrels, to take part in the conflicts between German creeds, or redress the balance of power between German princes? If Germany from the pre-eminent Power of mediæval Europe sunk to no power at all, as she may be said to have done from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, that 'effect defective' can no more fairly be charged on France as its first cause than on Spain or England.

If it is not just to charge exclusively on Gallic rapacity the successive inroads on Germany in past centuries, for which the door was opened by appeals to foreign intervention by native German ambitions struggling for larger shares of German soil, or of German sovereignty, neither is it just to trace back German divisions and discords to no remoter source than the

* It is curious at the present day to look back to the projects, entertained so far back as early in the eighteenth century, to effect the restitution to Germany of the then recent conquests of France. Frederick I. of Prussia, in 1712, says Ranke, 'hoped to bring about a peace by which the empire would be secured for ever, and *Strasburg restored to Germany*, when the unexpected change of policy took place in England'—the Tory change of Ministry which brought about the peace of Utrecht. Towards the middle of the century, during the Austrian war of succession, that original and enterprising veteran of diplomacy, old Lord Stair, in his zealous efforts to aid Maria Theresa to retrieve her sacrifices to Prussia at the expense of France, started similar projects of restitution of French conquests to Germany, more extensive than the present day has seen realised, and sought even to engage the great Frederick in an Anglo-Austrian league to carry them out. 'The whole scheme,' says Ranke, 'appeared to him most romantic. When they had won several great battles against France, had re-conquered the most important strong places in the Netherlands, and the city of *Strasburg*,—when they stood with a large army under the walls of Paris, it would be time enough to indulge in such dreams.' 'In the actual situation of things,' said Frederick, 'it was like attempting to pluck the moon from heaven with your teeth.'—('Hist. of Prussia,' Sir Alexander and Lady Duff Gordon's translation, iii. 29.)

great religious schism of the sixteenth century. On the celebration at Fulda, in 1857, of the eight-hundredth anniversary of St. Boniface, Bishop Ketteler, of Mayence, addressed a large assembly of Roman Catholic clergy and laity in an elaborate speech, in which he reminded them that 'the former political unity of Germany had only been rendered possible by her ecclesiastical unity, and had necessarily come to an end when the churches became divided.' We need scarcely remind any reader of mediæval history what sort of political unity ecclesiastical unity had produced in Germany, from the days of the Seventh Gregory, or the Third Innocent, downward. The stirring up of royal sons against fathers, of princely vassals against imperial lords-paramount, the disruption of all moral and religious ties between subjects and sovereigns, openly or covertly promoted by the Holy Roman See to the detriment of the Holy Roman Empire, from age to age—these were sources of disunion set flowing by the Popes long before the Reformation, and to which was first due the rise and growth of those quasi-independent German principalities, whose rivalries became the never failing seed of intestine strife, and foreign influence or invasion, inevitably terminating—unless Germany were to share the fate of Poland—in the concession of avowed supremacy to that which at length proved the strongest of the conflicting powers.

It is a strange fact that a forged prophecy in Latin verse, entitled 'Vaticinium Lehninense,' since ascertained to have been written towards the close of the 17th century, probably at Berlin, but which was foisted on modern Protestant credulity as the composition of an old Catholic monk, Frater Hermannus, should, at successive epochs, in an age so sceptical as that of Frederick II., and afterwards in an age so critical as that of Frederick William III., have exercised a really considerable influence not only on the popular mind in Prussia, but even on the minds of persons of elevated political station, in leading them to look forward to the erection of a new German empire under the house of Hohenzollern. 'Such predictions,' says Professor Schmidt, 'have a secret charm even for cold and sober intellects. Such intellects, whether for pastime or from curiosity, condescend to exert themselves in seeking to discern an occult sense in nonsense; while, for superstitious tempers, such predictions even become stimulants to action. It is the demoniac element in superstition that, to justify its own indulgence, it strives to bring about what in its blind zeal it regards as the will of destiny.'

'The characteristic ingredients of this *Vaticinium Lehninense* are, firstly, hatred of all that is foreign, especially of all that is French; secondly, embitterment at the attitude of dependence on Austria taken

up

up by the policy of the House of Brandenburg under Frederick I. The whole country is called upon to lament that the successor of the Great Elector does not tread more faithfully in his father's footsteps. Thirdly, a desire is expressed for the ecclesiastical as well as national unity of Germany, the future attainment of which is predicted with the greatest confidence. The shepherd should recover his flock—Germany her King, *Recipit Germania Regem*. Further, it was mysteriously announced that this great Revolution would connect itself with the destiny of the last Ruler of the House of Brandenburg.'

'It was about the year 1714,' says Professor Schmidt, who has critically investigated this curious subject in a previous work, 'that this "Vaticinium Lehninense" was first circulated and eagerly read in MS.' It emerged a second time into vogue in the early years of the reign of Frederick II., when that monarch, in alliance with France, had brought about the election of a Bavarian candidate to the Imperial dignity, which had so long been almost regarded as hereditary in the House of Austria. Again, in the early years of the present century, this egregious vaticination attracted an extraordinary amount of attention. The words 'Recipit Germania Regem' were interpreted, taken with their context, to announce the future attainment of the imperial throne in Germany by the House of Brandenburg; and even the designation of the prince under whom this should take place as *stemmatis ultimus* had the flattering gloss put upon it that he should be the last of Brandenburg Hohenzollerns, inasmuch as he should be the first of that house who should rule over entire united Germany. When, at the epoch of Napoleon I.'s foundation of the Confederation of the Rhine, the overthrow of the old German empire actually came to pass, the prophecy seemed near fulfilment.

'It is a fact,' says Professor Schmidt, 'that new editions of it were called for, that the verse above-cited received popular application to Frederick William III., who was then reigning, and that the Minister Von Hardenberg himself, even at a later period, showed an extraordinary interest in the so-called "Vaticinium Lehninense." It was he who promoted Wilken's investigation into its origin—an investigation which remained some ten years or more unpublished, till it found at length a place in my periodical.'

There is a curious comparison and contrast to be drawn between the two most momentous epochs of French and German history viewed in relation to each other—1806 and 1870. The former of these witnessed Napoleon I.'s suppression (by non-recognition) of the Holy Roman German Empire—(a contradiction, as we have said, in terms, and a contradiction to facts.) The second witnessed the involuntary creation, by Napoleon III., of a second German

German Empire—by declaring war against Prussia, and thus uniting the whole of Germany, exclusive of Austria, under the Prussian standard. There is something whimsical, though not fanciful, in the reflection that the imperial uncle and imperial nephew, though by modes of working and with immediate results very different, alike promoted the ends which Europe now sees in course of accomplishment. By declaring the downfall of the House of Hapsburg from its German-Imperial pre-eminence, Napoleon I. cleared the field unconsciously for the ultimate realisation of the German policy, in which a bold and vigorous initiative had been taken in the previous century by the greatest sovereign who had held the sceptre in the House of Hohenzollern. The great Frederick had done all that could be done in a single strenuous reign towards the overthrow of Austria from an imperial position, and towards the succession of Prussia, under whatever name or form, to the like single supremacy. Under the unstable sway of his feeble and feather-brained successor, the great Frederick's policy had gone to sleep, but in the next reign was re-awakened (so far as timid and abortive projects went) upon Napoleon's repudiation of the Austrian Empire in Germany and ominous creation of the Confederation of the Rhine under his own protectorate. It is not the least singular incident of that memorable chapter of European history that Napoleon's assumption of the imperial title in France in 1804 had been ostensibly encouraged by Frederick William III. of Prussia, then his nominal ally, and that, on the other hand, Napoleon, by the organ of Talleyrand, then his foreign minister, equally held out encouragement to the assumption of the imperial title in Northern Germany by the Prussian monarch. Napoleon had just assumed that title in France. Francis II. had just, in like manner, assumed it in Austria, in the probable presentiment of soon having to surrender that of German Emperor. The suggestion seemed to offer itself as it were spontaneously that the fourth great continental Power should take the same title. 'But thoughts occur continually,' says Professor Schmidt, 'which are entertained more willingly than expressed, and which, for that very reason, one does not like to have suggested by others.' Besides, Prussia, of all Powers, was least likely to be taken by the bait of a barren title, or to be bribed by that title to the close alliance in which Napoleon wished to engage her. Accordingly the King replied that he was content with his present position, and desired nothing more than to retain the rank to which Providence had raised his house.

It was two years later, in July, 1806, that the French Imperial Government made a second overture to Prussia, in a despatch of Talleyrand,

Talleyrand, communicating to the French ambassador at Berlin the ratification of the Confederation of the Rhine, the recognition of which it was desired to obtain from Prussia. 'It is now for Prussia,' said the French foreign minister, 'to use so good an opportunity for the aggrandisement and consolidation of her system. She will find the Emperor Napoleon well disposed to support her views and plans. It is in her power to unite under a new federal compact the States which still continue to belong to the German Empire, and to obtain the imperial crown for the House of Brandenburg. Or she can, if she prefers it, form a Confederation of the North German States, which lie more within her sphere of action. The Emperor is ready to accord his sanction beforehand to any arrangement of that kind Prussia may think fit to make.'

This second French proposal coincided too exactly with the schemes Prussia was already concocting for the union of Northern Germany, by way of counterpoise to the Gallo-Rhenish Confederation, not to be warmly responded to, while its hollowness was yet undetected. 'The King,' said Haugwitz, in his overflowing acknowledgments to Laforest, the French ambassador at Berlin, 'regards himself not only as the ally of France, but as the personal friend of the Emperor Napoleon, and as such he will zealously contribute to whatever can aid the consolidation of his dynasty.'

This diplomatic honeymoon did not last long,—only till the detection of the infidelity of the French Lothario. The immediate object of Napoleon and Talleyrand was obtained by the recognition Prussia was thus coaxed to give to the Gallo-Rhenish Confederation. And it soon appeared that France was counter-working in the smaller German Courts the negotiations attempted by the Court of Berlin for a North-German Confederation. This project, ostensibly encouraged by France in the first instance, was thwarted underhand by the covert representations and menaces with which the North-German princes were assiduously plied by French diplomacy. 'There was a monstrous irony,' says Professor Schmidt, 'in the Janus-headed diplomacy of the French Empire, which, on the one hand, invited Prussia to the formation of a Northern league, and on the other hand, as it were, annexed to the formation of that league the condition that nobody in North Germany should belong to it but Prussia herself.'

It was not, however, the *sourdes menées* of France in the matter of the North-German Confederation that was the proximate cause of the war of 1806 between France and Prussia. That war was precipitated by a species of provocation precisely similar to that which, sixty years afterwards, caused the war of 1866 between Prussia

Prussia and Austria. If we may venture a very trivial comparison, both wars were just such as never fail to declare themselves when one dog tries to snatch a succulent bone from the jaws of another. In the first case, the bone of contention was Hanover; in the second, Schleswig-Holstein. It may be worth while to pause and review the effects at the earlier epoch—when Prussian policy was confronted with that of the First, not of the Third, Napoleon—of that persistent earth-hunger, that insatiable appetite of territorial aggrandisement, which in every age has been the prime motive and ruling passion of Prussia. It was the great Frederick who, in his lawless invasion of Silesia, first gave that appetite full swing; and Prussian partisans ever since have adopted, with more or less unreserve in expression, what we may term a Prussian reading of public law, reminding us of its prototype in that of the bold Border raiders, of whom our poet sang—

‘For them—the good old rule
Sufficeth them—the simple plan
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.’

It was once said in apology for the French Doctrinaires when in power, ‘They put their maxims into practice. ‘No,’ was the reply, ‘they put their practice into maxims.’ (*‘Ils pratiquent leurs maximes.’ ‘Non! ils maximent leurs pratiques.’*) We must say we like best those of the thorough-going apologists of Prussian annexation-policy from the great Frederick downward, who least seek to disguise it under sophistical palliations or hypocritical pretexts. To prove that policy right, without distorting the plain facts of history, it is requisite to start from the postulate that all accomplished facts are right, provided they *are* accomplished permanently. That is just the postulate Professor Schmidt does start from. He has too much respect for his mission as a historian to distort facts; but when facts are accomplished—no matter *how*—in favour of Prussia, he assumes a ‘higher law,’ under which ‘whatever is, is right.’ This saves much trouble.

Mere annexation-policy may, however, mislead a nation into ambiguous attitudes, which render its conduct unintelligible alike to friends and unfriends, and strip it of all external supports and alliances at the very crisis of its fate. This was never more signally shown than by the Prussian history of 1806-7. Prussia’s engrossing object at that epoch was to annex Hanover; it was the one immediate object on which she had set her heart, and had set her teeth—to recur to our doggish simile. All the other points on which Napoleon and Talleyrand had played fast and loose with her would have failed to screw her courage to the sticking-point of

of taking up arms against France—after having observed a ten years' (not unbribed) neutrality while the *Erbfeind* was overrunning the rest of Germany with his arms. But to find that, while French diplomacy was dangling before her eyes the bait of Hanover, Talleyrand was assuring Lord Yarmouth, the English negotiator at that time for peace, that the pure and simple restoration of Hanover to England would find no difficulty on the part of the Emperor Napoleon—filled the measure of Prussia's wrongs and wrath. The impression made at the Court of Berlin by this disclosure, which had been let out by Lord Yarmouth himself *after dinner* to Marquis Lucchesini, was indescribable. The pain of King Frederick William, says Professor Schmidt, 'knew no bounds when he learned for certain that France had the intention again to take from him the Electorate. His exasperation rising to the highest pitch goaded him to decisive measures. On the 9th of August was decreed the mobilisation of the Prussian army.' The 14th of October saw the military ruin of Prussia at Jena.*

There is a noticeable analogy between the precipitate rupture of Prussia with France in 1806 and that of France with Prussia in 1870. In both cases, the efficient causes of war were causes of some standing; in both, the immediate impulse to war was an impulse of wounded *amour propre*; in both, a dynasty found its most cherished schemes of dynastic policy shelved with something like contempt by the deeper and more daring policy of an ally-antagonist; in both, the baffled party fancied by a sudden rush to arms to retrieve his compromised position and damaged prestige; in both, the result was signal, exemplary, and most crushing overthrow. In the instance of Prussia, the darkest hour of her defeat dismemberment and impoverishment heralded the dawn of her revived moral, military, and political greatness. A future chapter of European history will

* Mr. Fox exposed with just severity, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons in 1806 (he had then become Prime Minister) the unprincipled and shameless conduct of Prussia throughout these transactions, which began in her disgrace, to end in her downfall:—

'The Emperor of Russia,' he said, 'after he had left Austerlitz, abandoned the whole direction of his troops that remained in Germany to the King of Prussia, and this country had promised him powerful assistance in pecuniary supplies. These were the means which he possessed of giving weight to his negotiations; and what use did he make of them? Why, to seize a part of the territory of those powers who had been supporting him in the rank and situation that had enabled him to negotiate on fair terms with the French Emperor. At first he pretended only to take interim possession of the Electorate of Hanover, till the consent of its lawful sovereign could be obtained to its cession at a general peace; but latterly this thin disguise was laid aside, and he openly avowed that he accepted it in full sovereignty from France, to which it belonged by right of conquest. Such a proceeding rests upon no other conceivable foundation, but that worst emanation of the disorders and calamities of Europe in recent times, the principle of transferring the people of either States from one Power to another, like so many cattle, upon the footing of mutual ambition or convenience. . . . The pretext that Prussia received this territory from Napoleon, to whom it belonged by right of conquest, is as hollow as it is discreditable. It was merely occupied in a temporary way by the French troops; it formed no part of the French Empire; above all, its cession had never been agreed to by this country; and where is there to be found an instance in history of such a cession of a military acquisition pending the contest?'

have to tell whether 'the uses of adversity' will be equally 'sweet' for France in this as for Prussia in the last generation. But it depends on France alone to make them so. Nothing like the ruin inflicted, threescore and odd years back, by France on Prussia, has Prussia, with united Germany at her side, now inflicted on France. By the 7th Article of the Peace of Tilsit in 1807, 'the diplomatic grave,' as Professor Schmidt says, 'of the last illusions,' 2882 (German) square miles of territory were all that was left to Prussia by France, out of 6053, which she had been completing the acquisition of at the expense of poor Poland on one side, and of the spoils of the ecclesiastical princes of the empire on the other—acquisitions made by truckling to Russia first, to France afterwards, and betraying the cause of Europe to each in succession for the territorial aggrandisement of Prussia. But if Tilsit avenged Europe on Prussia, the merciless severity of the provisions of that treaty prepared in turn the vengeance of Prussia on France—a historical lesson not unworthy the attention of more recent conquerors.

If Prussia could emerge renovated and purified from so desperate a situation as that which was made for her—or rather which her half-hearted and Hanover-filching policy made for herself in 1806-7—why should not France emerge renovated and purified from a situation far less desperate now, if there is in France now the same *vis renovatrix*, the same unexhausted moral energy, as there then was in Prussia? There is, indeed, the vital question. It is not the mere amputation of national territory, it is not the mere occupation by an enemy's troops of a nation's capital; it is not the mere draining of her monied resources to the last drop—(*non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo!*)—it is not any or all of these things that can crush a nation, if the national spirit itself is not crushed. The national spirit of France is now put by German conquest and exaction to a test only less stern than that of Prussia was under the armed heel of the First Napoleon. We hope it may stand that test, and retrieve the situation as nobly as Prussia did after Jena.

The next attempts to invest Prussia with the national executive power of Germany were made in the revolutionary years 1848 and 1849. This time the proposals of empire proceeded from an Assembly (the Frankfort Parliament) the offspring of revolution, not from a soldier who had found in revolution a stepping-stone to absolute power. Prussia again held back from acceptance of the proffered Imperial crown, under a sovereign of larger views than Frederick William III., if not of character much firmer, or much more favourable to the successful realisation of schemes of dynastic or national ambition. In fact, Prussia

Prussia has had no king, since Frederick the Great, whose daring policy would have prompted him to grasp a sceptre offered to his hands on popular parliamentary conditions, with the mental reservation of throwing his sword in the scale at some decisive future moment to redress the balance of power between himself and his subjects.

The sword has been thrown in the scale now with a witness, and empire in Germany has been offered now for a third time to Prussia—and this time accepted—under auspices and influences very different from those under which it was offered by the Frankfort Parliament of 1848. That Parliament asserted for itself unlimited powers of democratic legislature, and took upon it expressly to exclude the German princes, the members of the old Bund, whose functions had been self-suspended, but not abdicated, from all voice in the formation of a new Constitution, or the choice of a new emperor. Such assumption of exclusive constituent power by a democratic assembly would have been of itself sufficient to deter a monarch who, like the late (or present) King of Prussia, proclaimed himself to hold his crown by the grace of God and the right of birth, from accepting a title of nominal and precarious sovereignty *under* a popular Parliament. But, this time, it is the Princes and Free Towns of Germany that offer the Imperial title to King William I., as the formal recognition of imperatorial functions already triumphantly exercised—the crowning of an edifice of German national aggrandisement already substantially erected.

What is an Emperor? A personage at any rate as different as possible from the former French doctrinaire definition of a constitutional king—viz., a chief of the State, who reigns, but does not govern. An emperor of the Augustus-Cæsar type was a disguised despot, who pretended not to be what he was—what his honest uncle had openly proclaimed himself—(and was therefore assassinated)—viz., perpetual *Imperator*, in the city as well as the camp. An emperor of the Charlemagne or Otho type was a Frankish or German sovereign, who pretended (with papal consecration) to be what he was not—a legitimate successor to the world-sovereignty of the Cæsars, as the popes pretended to be heirs (by forged testaments) to the Roman dominion of those Cæsars. An emperor of the modern Prussian type is a soldier-king, invited chiefly by three minor kings to call himself emperor, because it would not have suited those three minor kings, not yet 'improved out of existence,' to bow down to him, as a feudal or federal superior, under any designation of less dignity than the newly-revived imperial title.

Will the Prussian empire be peace? The future answer to

that question must depend on the degree in which the general German character may have digestive vigour sufficient to absorb and assimilate to itself the particular Prussian character. While Prussian partisans have never been tired of denouncing 'Particularism' in all other quarters, Prussia is herself the great exemplar of particularism in German history. To this very day her spokesmen cannot celebrate the unity of Germany without finishing off with a flourish of trumpets on the exaltation of Prussia. At Longchamp her soldiers acclaimed their new Emperor as Prussia's King. The question of the future is, whether the imperial title—awarded with reluctant alacrity to this great Cuckoo in Mother Germania's nest, by the fluttering councils of those of the lesser nestlings which still keep their place in it beside that terribly *mauvais coucheur*—will permanently express the military power and policy of Prussia, or whether that domineering individuality, military and political, may haply, by degrees, merge and lose itself in the United Germany of the future, whose natural development the friends of European peace and progress would fain look forward to as likely to be pacific, rather than warlike.

In the mean time, it would be quite useless to disguise from ourselves what Prince Bismarck has taken no pains to disguise from any one—viz., that this war, closed as it has been by this peace, cannot fail to leave resentments in France towards Germany as bitter—we would hope not so lasting—as were those of Germany towards France after the campaigns of Austerlitz and Jena, the Peace of Tilsit, and the years of galling and grinding tyranny that followed. Waiving for the moment all higher questions of political ethics, it may be doubted whether it is consistent with political expediency, placed on the lowest grounds, permanently to exasperate a high-spirited people you cannot wholly crush. Machiavelli's maxim was to crush those whom you cannot conciliate, and the Bismarckian corollary to that axiom is, France cannot be conciliated, so must be disabled for mischief to the utmost extent possible. We have already, in passing, adverted to a fact which may not have been known or remembered by some amongst our readers—that all the leading Prussian, and some South German statesmen, in 1815, advocated exactly the same policy of taking those territorial 'securities' against future French aggressions—which their political and military successors have now taken—in memorials addressed by them to the Allied Powers at Paris. These memorials are subscribed with such names as Wilhelm Von Humboldt, Stein, Hardenberg, Von Knesebeck, Von Winzingerode, and Von Gagern. Austria drew back from supporting, as she did at first,

first, the territorial claims then put forward, as soon as she found they were meant to include no aggrandisement or advantage for Austria. Russia and England cast their weight in the opposite scale. 'Alexander was quite too magnanimous,'—Germans have never been tired since of repeating. The Duke of Wellington, in a despatch addressed to Lord Castlereagh on the 11th August, 1815, set forth as follows the grounds on which good policy seemed to him to dissuade the Allied Powers from insisting on territorial cessions such as would prolong the war-feeling in the French national heart. If such demands, he said, were enforced on the sovereign and people of France—

'there is no statesman who would venture to recommend to his Sovereign to consider himself at peace, and to place his armies upon a peace-establishment. WE MUST, ON THE CONTRARY, IF WE TAKE THIS LARGE CESSATION, CONSIDER THE OPERATIONS OF WAR AS DEFERRED TILL FRANCE SHALL FIND A SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY OF ENDEAVOURING TO REGAIN WHAT SHE HAS LOST; and after having wasted our resources in the maintenance of overgrown military establishments in time of peace, we shall find how little useful the cessions we shall have acquired will be against a national effort to regain them. . . . In my opinion, then, we ought to continue to keep our great object, the genuine peace and tranquillity of the world, in our view, and shape our arrangement so as to provide for it. . . . Revolutionary France is more likely to distress the world than France, however strong on her frontier, under a regular government, and that is the situation in which we ought to endeavour to place her.'

These counsels of calm wisdom prevailed in 1815, and peace was preserved between France and Germany for more than a generation of man. We should be sorry to charge on Prussian policy now the conscious intention of keeping open the hereditary feud—the *Erbfeindschaft*—with France, as the best guarantee for the consolidation and aggrandisement of the Prussian military system. But so long as France shall wince under the enormous securities to keep the peace now exacted of her, and so long as Germany shall retain possession of Metz as a 'standing menace,' and conspicuous evidence of national humiliation to France, so long may Prussia look forward to the future with well-grounded confidence that it will cut out work for her which Germany can transfer to no other arms. The progress of Prussia to empire has been throughout military, and it would seem that no otherwise than in the shape of undivided military command, to which national necessities, in the future as in the past, shall secure obedience, can she very long retain undisputed possession of that imperial position which a good moiety of Germany, with its 'Particularist' sympathies and antipathies, would

would otherwise refuse her. For our own part we have some difficulty in conceiving by what other qualities Prussia can retain empire than those by which she has gained it.* Assuredly neither with rose-water, nor Cologne-water, were the immense displacements of power in Europe effected in favour of Prussia, which have been witnessed within the last lustre of European history. Austria struck down—France struck down—Prussia is perforce recognised in her achieved supremacy. But is it possible to suppose the military aristocracy and their monarch—who have placed Prussia where she stands—*unconscious* of the sustained efforts which will be required to keep her at that pitch of pre-eminence? They are not going to step off the Prussian pedestal of their present ascendancy; and that pedestal is cast from the bronze of the captured cannon of every Power which has thrust itself athwart Prussia in her path to empire. She has fought her way up to the military command of Germany; and she well knows she cannot let the arms rust by which that command was won. Till the whole of Germany remaining yet unannexed, including German Austria, shall be finally absorbed into the Prusso-German empire ‘one and indivisible,’ we cannot, judging from her antecedents, foresee for Prussia a satiated appetite for power, or satisfied sense of security.

It is well observed by Professor Schmidt, to whose treatise on ‘Prussia’s German Policy’ we have had occasion to refer so frequently in our present article, that human ambition is an essential element in all human arts and affairs, and that to make Prussian ambition in itself a matter of accusation against Prussia,

* We extract the following *military* view of the Prussian system, published a good many years back in a little volume, entitled ‘Ten Months at Berlin.’ The formidable development since given to that system may find equal favour in military eyes with its earlier growth. Our object is to place its real nature before eyes not military, and to furnish matter for serious reflection to peaceable people, whether in Germany or elsewhere:—

‘Prussia, at least, is undoubtedly right in never losing sight of military ideas. She rose by the sword, she fell by the sword, and by the sword she rose again to a greater splendour than ever. In the recollection of her imminent danger, she has rallied round and invigorated her military institutions. There is no danger of her ever attributing to lazy diplomats the honour of victories gained by her armed forces. She knows that between hostile nations the sword is the only true persuader. To the sword she must look for the maintenance of her very existence. She has therefore become a nation of soldiers; consequently, with her, the military profession must ever be held in the highest honour. Prussia has no navies to attack her enemies’ ports, no commerce to raise the wealth which might bribe them into friendship; with her, “arms” must *not* “yield to the gown.” With Russia to the east, France to the west, and Austria to the south, the little kingdom of the great Frederick, if she desire peace, must be always ready for war. She perfectly understands her position, and makes it her chief study to improve and elevate that to which she owes everything she possesses,—her gallant and well-disciplined army.’—*Ten Months’ Residence in Berlin, &c.*, by Major [now General] Whittingham, C.B., London, 1846.

is to make it a matter of accusation against her that she has any energy or spring of action at all. This is perfectly true; but it is not the less a grave question for both Germany and Europe what sort of action Prussian history in the past renders probable as that which Prussian ambition will take in the future, and how far any sufficient counteraction to her characteristic military policy is likely to spring up in the German nation at large, supposing it to continue pacific in its wishes and understood interests.

ART. IV.—1. *Calendars of State Papers, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.* London, 1856-1870.

2. *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages.* London, 1858-1870.

3. *Librarians and Founders of Libraries.* By Edward Edwards. London, 1865.

IT is possible that our readers may have seen near Temple Bar, close to the proposed site of the New Law Courts, a large stone building of unusual proportions and not less unusual style. Its lancet windows and portly tower surmounted with pinnacles cannot be mistaken among the forest of dingy chimney-pots and rickety tenements of Fetter Lane and the neighbouring alleys. This is the New Public Record Office, still in progress, and slowly advancing towards completion. Although one portion of the building has now been erected for several years, another generation will, in all probability, pass away before the whole is finished, according to the original designs of its architect. The neighbourhood around is classic ground. Like all things else, it has seen the ups and downs of life, it has experienced the caprices of fashion and gentility. Here fluttered in happier days poor Oliver Goldsmith and his peach-coloured coat. Here met, at Dr. Johnson's residence in Bolt Court, the greatest of artists and the greatest of politicians; and here the prying, bustling James Boswell, most assiduous of hero-worshippers, gathered leaf by leaf his immortal crown. In Fetter Lane still stands the house of Dryden the poet, now converted into the base uses of a beer-shop, once commanding an extensive view of the Master of the Rolls' garden, with its flowers and fruit-trees. Here also, at a still earlier period, was 'the quiet retreat' of Gilbert Burnet the historian, and of his patron, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, not more famous for his law than for his marriage with Lord Bacon's niece, the last of her family. Now, poets, painters, and historians have taken wing. The 'quiet retreat'

treat' has been invaded by the shrill whistle of the steam-press and the rattle of manufactories. Except a dingy chrysanthemum here and there, or a patch of grass in some forgotten and neglected corner, nothing remains of the Master's garden. Part of it is occupied by the Judge's chambers, part by the huge block of the National Record Office.

Externally, the new building has not much to recommend it on the score of artistic beauty. To which of the recognised styles of architecture it ought to be referred would puzzle Mr. Ruskin himself to determine. Its pinched buttresses, squared and graduated with the undeviating precision of rule and compass, its quadrangular windows glazed with talc, the absence of all ease and freedom in its meagre ornaments and narrow proportions, reveal the mechanical graces of official Gothic. Evidently, it is intended to be more solid than beautiful, more useful than elegant. The interior is even less attractive than the exterior. A square vestibule, badly lighted, conducts the visitor to a number of narrow passages flagged with brick; iron doors to the right and left, marked with cabalistic numerals and furnished with small circular ventilators, divide these passages with geometrical exactness. Here are preserved in iron gratings, furnished with shelves of slate, the national records and State papers. Story succeeds to story, with imperturbable uniformity, from roof to basement. No thought of beauty or general effect has entered the mind of the architect, or, rather, has been permitted to enter it. There is none of that gracefulness of outline or grandeur of design which strikes the beholder in the galleries and Reading Room of the British Museum or the Houses of Parliament. The light and cheerful proportions, the polished floors, the oak, and the mahogany of the French Foreign Archives, even the sombre ecclesiastical dignity of Simancas, find no place here. One thought, that of security, has absorbed all other considerations; and except the edifice were shelled by an invading army, or stormed in a civil insurrection, it is impossible to conceive what evil accident could ever befall it or its contents. Here, at all events, it may be supposed that, after escaping numerous perils of fire, water, and official neglect, the national records had found, like Æneas, a safe resting-place at last.

The collection is enormous. Into this vast receptacle the Law Courts, the Treasury, the Admiralty, the War Office, the Home, Foreign, and Colonial Departments, have disgorged their voluminous contents. The public acts of this nation, from the Doomsday of William the Conqueror to the Coronation Oath of Queen Victoria, the pulsations of the great machine of government, with all its complex operations, are here chronicled and recorded in

in all their immense variety from day to day and from hour to hour. Here is to be traced the open and the secret history of the nation; its transactions at home and abroad; its most subtle and mysterious negotiations; the employment of its treasures; the number and disposition of its forces; the musters of its population; the distribution of its land, its forests, and its manors; the rise and progress of its nobility and great families; its proceedings in Parliament: its charters, its patents, its civil and criminal judicature. Whatever, in short, this kingdom has for eight centuries done or proposed to do by the complicated functions of its Government and Administration, restless as the sea and multitudinous as the sands upon its shore, is here committed to safe, silent, and impartial witnesses. Stored up in iron gratings, classified and arranged, preserved, as far as human skill can preserve them, from innumerable perils, the public records of this kingdom now slumber in their new repository of stone and iron undisturbed, except when removed from their shelves to gratify the curiosity of the antiquarian or assist the researches of the historian.

With materials so vast, yet so important, two questions have perpetually arisen from early times: first, how are they to be most efficiently preserved; and next, how turned to the best account. Happily, the nation has suffered little from foreign invasions. Such misfortunes as have overtaken Strassburg, and destroyed its libraries and its manuscripts, are comparatively unknown here. Even in the Civil Wars of the 15th century, and in the Great Rebellion of the 17th, though the rage of party might dismantle or destroy mansions, monasteries, and cathedrals, it left uninjured the national muniments. Whether Romanist or Protestant, Cavalier or Roundhead, gained the ascendancy, all alike in turn respected the archives of the kingdom and preserved them from sacrilegious violence. Their worst enemies have been of an ignobler kind—rats and mice, fire, damp, and mildew: the negligence, in some instances, the misplaced confidence in others, of those who were appointed to preserve them. Dispersed in various quarters of the metropolis, some at the Tower, some at Carlton Ride, some in the Chapter House at Westminster, others at the Rolls House; exposed to weather, dust, and smoke; stowed away in sacks, boxes, and hampers; unmanageable from their vastness and unwieldiness; little known, and therefore attracting little attention, successive Governments were contented to believe that these muniments were, in some sense preserved, and equally contented that they should be of no use to any one. Careless and ignorant of their value so long as no inquiries were made, every obstacle was multiplied and all

access

access was sedulously barred, whenever such access was desired, except in the case of a few favoured inquirers. History in this country has always found devotees and admirers in one guise or another. Even from the time of the Reformation some few, chiefly among the clergy, have busied themselves with historical or biographical or topographical investigations. At no period, not even in the fanatical ascendancy of the gloomiest Puritanism, have the people of England been wholly indifferent to their national antiquities. The love of the past, the appeal to precedent, feudal castles and monastic ruins, parochial and cathedral churches, the visible memorials of former greatness, taste, genius, and faith, have helped to foster this historical spirit. Then, again, the general stability of our English aristocracy and gentry, undisturbed by violent political convulsions, rooted mainly on the same soil, and surrounded for ages by the same tenantry, has handed down the historical traditions of great families from generation to generation and associated them with the sympathies of the living. We need not the statues of the Howards, the Stanleys, and the Cecils: we have their breathing representatives amongst us.

To those who fostered and gratified these national tastes and inclinations, generally at their own cost, and rarely with any expectation of remuneration, a liberal use of the national archives would have been a great boon; as in truth, the freest access to these papers ought to be considered the best justification for the cost bestowed upon their preservation. But their appointed guardians, whose official emoluments depended for the most part on fees levied from inquirers, were not forward in promoting the wishes of antiquarians, nor were Ministers of State much inclined to listen to the applications of students. For any but historical and archaeological purposes, nine-tenths of these papers had long ceased to be of any importance. Modern diplomacy was not liable to be compromised by the revelation of any secrets they contained. All the precautions that prudence required might have been easily secured by laying a prohibition upon such papers only as referred to events subsequent to the Peace of Versailles. But the formalities of office would admit of no such commonplace distinctions. A mysterious belief prevailed that Secretaries of State drank wisdom and inspiration from the despatches of Cardinal Wolsey, or solved the Gordian knot of policy by profound studies of the diplomatic correspondence of the 16th and 17th centuries. Who could tell whether in the debates of the House of Commons ministerial policy might not be assailed, or some question asked, which could not be conveniently parried, without a reference to the State papers of the Tudors or the

the Stuarts? So those who would have turned these papers to the best account were jealously excluded from the use of them. And even when the rule was relaxed by Secretaries of State, like Lord Russell, combining literary taste with statesmanship, when a more liberal spirit was willing to make a partial concession to historians and biographers, the necessity was imposed upon the applicant of strictly defining the nature of his inquiry, the class of papers he proposed to examine, and the exact limits of his search. The interpretation of these conditions was left to the discretion of the keepers or the clerks of the office. It was at their option to produce or keep back whatever documents they pleased, and the inquirer had no remedy. Official catalogues, in many instances, did not exist; in no instance could they be consulted. The system of arrangement varied with the office: not uncommonly in the same office under different keepers. What could an inquirer do, hampered as he was by these restrictions? He might complain; but he had no means of substantiating his complaints. He might suspect; but his suspicions necessarily recoiled upon himself. In defence of a policy so vexatious and so frivolous, nothing could be urged except the old immemorial argument of tyrannical custom. And as, whenever any modification or reform was proposed, they alone were consulted who were most concerned in maintaining abuses, these restrictions bade fair to continue immovable, like the laws of the Medes and Persians. How they were swept away, and a wiser and more gracious system introduced, we shall have to tell hereafter.

But in spite of all these precautions for excluding the public, it was discovered that the great purpose, on which that exclusion was founded, had not been secured. Idle and ignorant curiosity, exposure to the avarice of collectors, the thumbs and fingers of careless readers, may inflict injury and loss on valuable books and papers; but public indifference has always been incomparably more prejudicial. Keepers of libraries and museums grow careless of treasures nobody cares to inspect, and no one inquires after. The true worth of these things is in the eyes and ears of the public, and no precaution is so effectual, no supervision so sure or so searching as publicity. Statesmen in general are too much absorbed in the pressing duties of the day to trouble themselves with the griefs of scholars or the cares of historians. Yet occasionally they have been compelled to rouse themselves from their apathy. As late as the year 1836 a select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed, on the motion of Mr. Charles Buller, to inquire 'into the present state of the Records of the United Kingdom.' The result of their labours is preserved in a portly Blue-book extending to

to 946 pages. Among the witnesses examined on that occasion was Mr. Henry Cole, and this is the description he then gave of the condition of one class of the public muniments, under the old system of exclusion: 'Some (he says) were in a state of inseparable adhesion to the stone walls; there were numerous fragments which had only just escaped entire consumption by vermin, and many were in the last stage of putrefaction. Decay and damp had rendered a large quantity so fragile, as hardly to admit of being touched; others, particularly those in the form of rolls, were so coagulated together, that they could not be uncoiled. Six or seven perfect skeletons of rats (exhibited by the witness to the Committee) were found imbedded, and bones of these vermin were generally distributed throughout the mass' (Report, p. 427). After so racy a description, our readers will be prepared to hear of the minor evils of dirt, soot, neglect, and disorder. 'Sackfuls of records' are described by one witness as tumbling on the floor, others 'literally covered with filth.' Another witness produces a mass of documents 'in a state of actual fusion.' The doors and cases were insecure, the depositaries 'dirty as a chimney-sweeper's room.' Large quantities of parchments 'were purloined and sold to the glue-manufacturers.'

Such were the results of a system when the public were jealously excluded from the use of the national records and the custodians of them were answerable to no regulations except to those of their own devising. Nor were these isolated instances confined to the last generation. Century after century reveals the same story of dirt, waste, and destruction, of inefficient keepers, of careless and penurious governments, of spasmodic attempts at reform, followed by long intervals of inactivity and neglect. Complaints of the disorderly condition of the public records and the want of proper Calendars, date as far back as the Chancellorship of Bishop Stapleton, in the reign of Edward II. In the days of Elizabeth numerous documents had disappeared for years, until they were accidentally discovered by Master Hobby 'searching for a place to put gunpowder in.' When Charles II., in a fit of politic good humour, appointed Prynne, whose ears had been cropped for the freedom of his satire in the days of Charles I., Keeper of His Majesty's Records in the Tower, the following pungent account was rendered by the new Custodian to his royal benefactor: 'No sooner received I your royal patent for the custody of your ancient Records in your Tower of London . . . but I designed and endeavoured to rescue the greatest part of them from that desolation and corruption in which . . . they had for many years, for a large part, lain bound together in one confused chaos, under corroding putrefying

putrefying cobwebs, dust and filth, in the darkest corner of Caesar's Chapel in the White Tower, as mere useless relics not worthy to be calendered or brought down thence into the office amongst other Records of use. In order thereunto I employed many soldiers and women to remove and cleanse them from their filthiness, who, soon growing weary of this noisome work, left them almost as foul as they found them.' 'In raking up this dunghill,' continues Prynne, 'according to my expectation I found many rare, ancient, precious pearls and golden Records. . . . with many original Bulls of Popes (some of them under seal), letters to and from Popes, Cardinals, and the Court of Rome, besides sundry rare antiquities, specially relating to the Parliaments of England.'* Even as late as the reign of George III. large masses of public papers had so effectually disappeared that their very existence was forgotten. In 1763, Mr. Edwards tells us,† an officer of the Board of Trade had occasion to refer to certain documents of the age of Charles I., and applied for that purpose to the Privy Council office. Nothing was known there of the papers or even of the office to which they belonged; 'but a venerable clerk had a dim recollection that he had heard, in his youth, of the existence of some old books in the room near the gateway of Whitehall, and suggested a search, which, after many adventures with decayed staircases, locksmiths, flocks of pigeons, and accumulations of filth, proved eventually to be successful.'

So much for the way in which the government of this country had settled to its own satisfaction, until very recently, one question of paramount importance, the preservation of our national papers, or, to adopt the euphuistic phraseology of Mr. Charles Buller's Committee, 'had manifested their solicitude for the safety of the Public Records.'

But it is time to turn to another branch of our inquiry, and examine what attempts have been made by the Government of this country to render its imperial muniments more generally accessible. Towards this result a most important preliminary step has been taken within the last few years. Formerly dispersed in twenty or thirty different localities, all the public papers of the nation have now been happily concentrated in one spot. They are no longer exposed to the perils of decay or mildew; neither 'rats nor mice' find harbour now among royal letters or accounts of the wardrobe; efficient precautions have been taken against theft, negligence, and disorder. Another reform not less important and beneficial to literary inquirers has been recently introduced. Under the old system, the public property of the

* Edwards, p. 261.

† Ibid., p. 201.

nation,

nation, by some extraordinary delusion, had come to be regarded as the private property of its custodians, and as held by them for their exclusive emolument. Indexes and Calendars, made in official hours, were considered as the 'private and marketable property' of the clerks and keepers. It was their object, naturally enough, to sell their services at the highest possible rate; to exclude the public from consulting the Records except through the one accredited channel; to keep all information to themselves, or so overlay it with extraneous matter, that their own emoluments might experience no diminution. 'The fees for searches,' says Mr. Edwards,* 'ranged in amount from two guineas to ten. The Calendars were usually worded in an equivocal and misleading way, expressly to whet the searcher's appetite. Fresh searches brought new fees. If a paragraph of a few words only in the long-sought document would fully answer the patient searcher's purpose, he could not have it. To the essential line or two were united, with Mezentian rigour, hundreds or perhaps thousands of dreary lines, that brought no information to the searcher, but brought in some cases a hundred guineas or so to the officer. It is still remembered that on one such occasion, when, after payment of multitudinous fees, caused by the ingenious construction of the Calendars, and by other cognate circumstances, the precious paragraph was at length disinterred and the weary and well-nigh disheartened fee-payer asked, finally, how much a copy of that paragraph would cost, the obliging functionary turned over the membranes, made his mental calculation, and in a gravely official tone replied, "one hundred and forty-five pounds, Sir!"'

These extortionate and vexatious regulations have now been swept away. Access to the State Papers and public muniments is as free and unfettered as to the manuscripts of the British Museum. Every inquirer may inspect whatever papers or parchments he pleases. He may take whatever copies he requires without restriction. On presenting his card to the Deputy Keeper, the treasures of the Record Office are thrown open to his use and inspection. In all these respects the liberal regulations at the new repository present a striking contrast to those of any other country. In France, the papers of the Foreign Office (*Archives des Affaires Etrangères*) cannot be approached, except through the medium of numerous rigid formalities. No copies are allowed, not even pencil memoranda, of any documents, however remote, or however disconnected with modern politics. The visitor might as well request permission to examine the sacred volumes of the Imperial correspondence, in its green velvet and gold bindings, as

extort permission from the rigid archivist to take an extract from the despatches of Marillac or Chatillon, whose ambassadorial functions date from the Reformation. At Brussels it is not much better. At Vienna, at least until a recent period, the correspondence relating to Wallenstein and the Thirty Years' War was jealously withheld. At Madrid the chance of pursuing historical inquiries is precarious and capricious. Nowhere is the privilege of reading or copying the national State Papers and correspondence so full and unreserved as in England. Nowhere is the reader more at his ease; less fettered by restrictions, or made less painfully sensible of the obligations conferred upon him. In all these respects Lord Romilly has left nothing to be desired.

Here then it must be admitted that a great advance has been made, with the sanction of the Government, in the direction pointed out by Mr. Buller's committee; far greater, perhaps, than the most sanguine member of that committee could ever have anticipated. For the preservation of the public records all has been done that was required. For making those records useful and accessible to the nation, we have something more than a good beginning. And yet not more than a beginning. For imagine a reader turned adrift without handbook, catalogue, or index of any kind, into a library of half a million of manuscripts of which he knows neither the titles nor the contents. By what intuition, by what prophetical insight, can he expect to discover what he wants? How is he to select from the vast and heterogeneous masses such papers as immediately bear upon his own researches? Without guide or index it is impossible for him to know whether further inquiry will be rewarded with success, or further examination will confirm or contradict his previous impressions. Catalogues are therefore indispensable, were it for no other reason than that of giving efficiency to the privilege of consulting these collections, conceded by the Government and sanctioned by the nation. It is absurd to collect and preserve our national muniments, at a great cost, and then suffer them to fall a prey to neglect and vermin. It is absurd still, if possible, to build a National Record Office at a vast cost* for storing these muniments, and yet exclude the public from consulting and using them. But absurdest of all is it to concede this right, to incur all these expenses, and then neutralise them all, by withholding the only means that are required for rendering the privilege real and effectual. The preparation of indexes and catalogues may be the last step in the

* The first block of the New Record Office cost 88,490*l.*, and there are four more blocks to come according to the designs of the architect.

process, it is the first in the convenience of the reader, and it is more indispensable to him than any other. It is of less consequence to him how papers are arranged or where they are placed, provided only he can obtain a correct knowledge of their contents. Without this knowledge, the most exquisite order, the most perfect arrangement, are no better than a sealed fountain. It might have been right for the Committee of the House of Commons to direct, as a first and principal requirement, that the public muniments should be methodised and arranged. As a preliminary step to their due preservation, as a foundation for future operations, no advice could be sounder. But to arrange and methodise with no intention to ulterior proceedings, to arrange and methodise with no view to use, is both wasteful and preposterous. To erect a vast and cumbrous machine, of many parts, at a heavy cost, and then withhold the only thing requisite to make it work, is neither wise nor economical. Two courses were open to the Government; either to have left the records in their original state, abandoning all idea of a General Record Office, or by a wise and judicious liberality to justify the expenditure incurred in its erection by making these records available for the studies of historians and biographers; of all, in short, who are interested in the use of them. The Government has adopted the latter alternative. We think not only wisely, but with the full sanction of the nation. It has incurred no inconsiderable expense in building a general Record Repository. It has appointed officers to superintend and carry on the necessary operations. To give effect to these measures, to justify what has been done, indexes and catalogues are indispensable.

But here is the difficulty. If previous keepers had framed catalogues of these papers and parchments in the first instance; if their successors, as their stores accumulated, had done what is now doing under the Master of the Rolls, the task would have been comparatively easy. On the other hand, the neglect of centuries has now to be repaired. Documents of the greatest value and interest have increased from year to year, until the new building, spacious as it is, has grown already too narrow for its accumulating hoards. Hundreds of busy heads and hands at the Home, the Foreign and Colonial Office, at the Treasury, the War Office and the Admiralty, in the Chancery, the King's Bench, and the various Law Courts, are daily and hourly engaged with Cyclopean activity in copying or ingrossing innumerable sheets of paper and parchment, doomed eventually to find their last resting-place in the new Record Office. How to grapple with the enormous mass, how to select from such multifarious collections, what catalogues to make and how to make them,

them, are grave and puzzling questions. Equally puzzling is it to know how to satisfy the wants and requirements of all, or of the greatest number of readers. One man is exclusively interested in the problems of history, another is wholly indifferent to such speculations. This man is investigating the genealogy or ramifications of some great family; another is inquiring into the variations of prices; a third wishes to discover the relations of land and capital, the improvement or deterioration of labour, the social development or decline of this class of the population or of that. The materials required by one set of readers are of no interest to another. Who shall decide upon such conflicting claims? Each has something to urge in his own behalf, and all may light upon discoveries of great moment to the present or future welfare of this country.

Then with what class of record shall the work of indexing commence, supposing that competent hands can be found to undertake the task of making Catalogues or Calendars? For, commonplace as such labour may appear to be, it demands qualifications of a peculiar kind not readily met with; extreme accuracy, unwearyed diligence, a thorough knowledge of the subject, tact and judgment to discriminate what is important and essential from what is not. If the funds for such a work were unlimited, it might be easy to satisfy all demands. But that is not to be expected. All that can be done is to apply the annual grant voted by Parliament in the most economical and judicious manner. Whether this has been done or not we now propose to inquire.

Of the vast multitude of papers deposited at the Rolls, some are exclusively legal and technical; others historical and diplomatic, like the 'State Papers' proper; others miscellaneous relating to the Exchequer—an ample category embracing in its comprehensive range all that relates to the treasures, revenues, finances of the Crown and the country; issues and receipts; subsidies, mint, wardrobe and household accounts; works and public buildings; blood-money, secret service, forest accounts, and the like. To these must be added the papers of the Admiralty, the War Office, the old court of the Star Chamber, and others of minor importance.

Even for an uninitiated reader, it would scarcely be difficult to judge of the relative value and attractiveness of these various classes of documents, numerous and perplexing as they seem; and if he had any doubts, they might be removed by turning over the pages of any popular living historian. The correspondence of kings, of statesmen, of ambassadors, takes precedence of all others; for without them the great drama of history, the intrigues

of Cabinets, the moving incidents of flood and field, are nothing better than an unmeaning panorama and dumb show. Historians have sometimes been laughed at for their almost exclusive affection for heroes, kings, and demi-gods. It has become a fashion of late to insist upon social and economical questions, the rate of wages, the prices of food, the distribution of wealth, the laws that determine the development of humanity, as more suited to the functions of philosophic history, as if kings were of less importance to us than 'their tax-gatherers.' But so long as the world will persist in thinking that, in the history of the Tudor times, it cannot dispense with Henry VIII., his wives and his ministers, or in that of Mary and Elizabeth, with the fires of Smithfield and the Spanish Armada, or in that of the Stuarts with Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell; so long as history will gather round the actions and lives of individual men events of the greatest interest to all, and send its readers to sleep when it assumes the garb of philosophy, so long will the historian stick to the concrete elements of flesh and blood, and value mainly, if not exclusively, those materials which are in this way best suited to his purpose.

Perhaps it was out of deference to some such feeling as this that the Master of the Rolls was guided in selecting the papers and correspondence of the State Paper Office for commencing his operations. On the 7th of December, 1855, Sir John Romilly addressed a letter to the Lords of the Treasury, stating 'That although the Records, State Papers, and documents in his charge constituted the most complete and perfect series of their kind in the civilised world, and were of the greatest value in a historical and constitutional point of view, they were comparatively useless to the public from the want of proper Calendars and Indexes.' He added that, in order to effect this object, it would be necessary for him to employ a few persons fully qualified to perform the work which he contemplated. The Treasury assented to the proposal, and from that period is to be dated the commencement of that class of the Rolls publications known by the somewhat vague and unattractive appellation of 'Calendars of State Papers.' Of the editors employed by the Master of the Rolls four were already in the service of the Government, Mr. Lemon, Mr. Thorpe, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Sainsbury. To Mr. Lemon were entrusted the Domestic papers of the reign of Elizabeth, to Mr. Thorpe the Scottish papers from 1509 to 1603, to Mr. Hamilton the Irish, and to Mr. Sainsbury the Colonial Series.*

* See 'Calendars of State Papers,' p. i.

Of the editors taken from out of doors, the Domestic papers of the reign of James I. were committed to Mrs. Green, those of Charles I. to the late Mr. Bruce, the Foreign papers of the reign of Elizabeth to Mr. Stevenson, who has since resigned, and the entire correspondence of the reign of Henry VIII. (which could not be divided, like the others, into separate series) to Mr. Brewer. On the death of Mr. Lemon the papers of Elizabeth were transferred to Mrs. Green, who had already completed her 'Calendar of the State Papers of James I.'

Of these Calendars forty-five volumes have already appeared; eight of them edited by official and thirty-seven by unofficial editors. This disparity is not to be attributed to any deficiency of zeal and ability on the part of the former, but to the fact of their being employed on official duties from which the non-official editors are exempt. It must, however, be considered as a complete justification of the Master of the Rolls in asking, and of the Lords of the Treasury in granting, the supplementary assistance required by Lord Romilly. If the work had been left to official editors alone, it is clear from the rate of progress that a century must have elapsed before any one series of these Calendars could have been completed.

For the prosecution of this work the Treasury grants an annual sum of 1500*l.* Two editors, in addition to those already mentioned, are employed abroad; Senor Gayangos, in the place of the late Mr. Bergenroth, and Mr. Rawdon Brown at Venice.

On the manner in which the several editors have executed their tasks we do not propose to enter. After selecting men of ability and known experience, the Master of the Rolls did wisely in prescribing the fewest general rules, sufficient to ensure a certain degree of uniformity, but leaving to each editor a discretion and freedom as to details. It must be satisfactory to the nation and to Lord Romilly to find that his judgment in this respect has been justified by the result; and the use already made of these works by the public journals and the approbation bestowed on them is the best proof of his sound discretion. Already they have furnished new details and more correct views, not only to the grave historian, but to writers catering, like the Messrs. Chambers, for wholesome instruction or amusement for the passing hour. Popular they are never likely to be, in the full meaning of the word, for a 'Calendar of State Papers' conveys to many readers no other idea than that of a dry and colourless abstract of formal diplomatic papers. As Acts of Parliament and international treaties are papers of State, all State papers, in ordinary estimation, must be something like Acts of Parliament

or antiquated diplomacy. It never seems to have occurred to those who think thus, that as Kings and Queens, at least in earlier times, could have no individual existence apart from the State, the knowledge of their personal history is mainly to be derived from their correspondence, that is, from their State papers.

But the popular notion of the dryness and repulsiveness of diplomatic documents is founded on the common misapprehension that they are exclusively concerned with grave affairs of State, whereas, in fact, they descend to the minutest details of social life and domestic manners ; and for this sufficient reason. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was the custom of the Government of this country to confiscate all the letters and papers of attainted persons, without distinction. Thus it was that the diaries, the household accounts, the private correspondence of the accused were transferred to the Exchequer, and there they remain to the present day. Imagine such a process as this suddenly put in force against a nobleman or statesman in this century. Imagine the correspondence of the husband and the wife, their household bills, their rent-books, their private journals, seized unexpectedly and religiously preserved in some government office. Could any personal history be more various or more minute ? Such was the process not once but frequently repeated in the reigns of the Tudors ; in such a reign especially as that of Henry VIII., when every individual of the nation was violently tossed from side to side ; and every foremost leader was brought in succession to the block. Whether they were nobles, like Buckingham or Henry Howard Earl of Surrey—whether ministers of the highest station, like Wolsey and Cromwell, trusted with State secrets—whether criminals of lofty rank, or inferior agents, their private papers and correspondence, with the rest of their property, escheated to the State ; and though their lands might be restored, much of their correspondence was detained, and remains to this day in the national archives. Thus it is that all kinds of miscellaneous information, familiar letters, tutors', tailors', shoemakers', and even milliners' bills ; the daily, personal, and household accounts, the passing gossip and speculations of the time, have joined company with instructions to ambassadors, projects of alliance, the deep mysteries of State, the fall of princes and the death-warrants of nobles. So the tragedy and comedy of the world has been blended together strangely and grotesquely enough by the natural operation of the law, and not from any system or contrivance.

And even in regard to the purely diplomatic correspondence of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which lively and ignorant critics affect to speak with so much disdain, it must be remembered

remembered that ambassadors and statesmen in these earlier ages condescended to the humbler functions of 'Special Correspondents.' Newspapers at this day hold a part, and not the least essential, in diplomacy. A correspondent at the seat of war is a lay ambassador, who sends home, for the benefit of the ministry, information as precise, as trustworthy, as secret, as expeditious, as any that is received at the Foreign Office. Probably more so; probably a wise and sagacious minister is enabled to test more accurately the pulse of the times, to fathom more precisely the tide of public opinion, by these unofficial than by the gravest official reports. But when no such means of information existed in the days of the Tudors and the first Stuarts, ambassadors themselves acted as caterers of news; they were 'Special Correspondents' for their own Courts. What plenipotentiary, now-a-days, would not think it beneath the dignity of his vocation to transmit a description of the personal appearance of the Sovereign to whom he was accredited; of the shape of his leg or the colour of his beard, the dress he wore at church or on horseback, how he rode or how he walked, what were his pastimes and the manners of his court, the age and features of his wife and children, the fashions, the foibles, the ceremonies, the banquets, the gossip in and out of doors, the thousand little personal traits of character, the innumerable small details which give life and animation to history? Such topics are too trivial for the purple and fine linen of modern diplomatists. It would fall wholly beneath its dignity to record how Henry VIII. gave 4*d.* to a boy to throw up his cap for a snow-ball; how Anne Boleyn was mobbed by a crowd of angry women as she sate in a bower with her royal paramour; how her daughter, Queen Elizabeth, with her *beaux yeux* and her Latin terrified the outlandish ambassador; how her successor James I. hated cold water; or how his son Charles I. demeaned himself with Henrietta Maria? The liveliest materials of history have been banished now-a-days to newspaper paragraphs and special correspondents; but it was not so then. For then it was as much a part of an ambassador's function to cater news for his royal master, as to worm out the secrets of government, to send home as faithful an account of the ordinary doings and talk of the times, as of the combinations of kings and statesmen. In illustration of these remarks we submit the following extracts, taken from Mr. Brown's 'Venetian Calendar,' not because they are more exclusively interesting than many others, but because readers of Shakespere, who may not be readers of history, may more easily judge what sort of information is to be found in these Calendars. The writer refers to an entertainment given in 1527 by Cardinal Wolsey:—

* I wrote

‘ I wrote to you on the first, transmitting the King’s reply to Luther’s letter. Last evening I was present at a very sumptuous supper, given by Cardinal Wolsey, there being amongst the guests the Papal, French, and Venetian ambassadors, and the chief nobility of the English Court. I considered myself out of place beside a very beautiful damsel, each of the guests having one to his share. During the supper the King arrived, with a very gallant company of masqueraders, and his Majesty, after presenting himself to the Cardinal, threw a man at dice, and then unmasked, as did all his companions; whereupon he withdrew to sup in one of the Cardinal’s chambers, the rest of the guests continuing their repast, with such variety of the choicest viands and wines as to be marvellous.

‘ Supper being ended, they proceeded to the first hall, with which you are well acquainted, and when a very well designed stage had been prepared on which the Cardinal’s gentlemen recited Plautus’ Latin comedy, entitled the ‘ *Menaechmi*. ’ On its conclusion, all the actors, one after the other, presented themselves to the King, and on their knees recited to him some more and some less, Latin verses in his praise. Having listened to them all, the King betook himself with the rest of the guests to the hall where they had all supped, the tables (at which they seated themselves in the same order as before) being spread with every sort of confection, whereof they partook.

‘ After the marvellous collation a stage was displayed, on which sat Venus, at whose feet were six damsels, forming so graceful a group for her footstool, that it looked as if she and they had really come down in person from heaven. And whilst everybody was intently gazing upon so agreeable a sight, the trumpets flourished, and a car appeared drawn by three boys stark naked, on which was Cupid, dragging after him, bound by a silver rope, six old men, clad in the pastoral fashion, but the material was cloth of silver and white satin. Cupid presented them to his mother, delivering a most elegant Latin oration to their praise, saying they had been cruelly wounded; whereupon Venus compassionately replied in equally choice language, and caused the six nymphs, the sweethearts of the six old men, to descend, commanding them to afford their lovers all solace, and requite them for past pangs. Each of the nymphs was then taken by the hand by her lover, and to the sound of trumpets they performed a very beautiful dance. On its termination the King and his favourites commenced another with the ladies there present, and with this the entertainment and the night ended, for it was already day-break. I then went home sated with so much revelry, and am dispatching a public letter for the Signory, to be given to Sir John Russell, now on the eve of departing for France on his way to the Pope.’

London, 4th January, 1527.

The second extract refers to the same Cardinal after his fall.

‘ On the 11th ultimo, I wrote account of current events here, and most especially of the recent arrest of Cardinal Wolsey. Subsequently the King, having determined on his removal to this castle of London

(i.e. from

(i.e. from York), sent Captain Kingston with his guard to effect it. On arriving at a place sixty miles hence (*sic*) he found the Cardinal very ill, and in bed, so that the day before he had confessed and communicated; and although the captain exhorted him to hope for the best from the King's clemency, declaring that he was to convey him at his entire convenience, and that he might remain where he was so long as he pleased, yet at the end of two days he departed this life, at the close of which he drew a deep and loud sigh; and some six hours afterwards there was put into the earth that personage who had prepared for his remains a more costly mausoleum than any royal or papal monument in the world, so that the King intends it to serve for himself, *post multos et felices annos*, having caused the Cardinal's arms to be erased from it.

'It is said that his right reverend lordship's indisposition was preceded by two very bad symptoms. When first arrested, owing to mental depression, he would take no food, *nisi coactus*, and then came flux, and he could not retain anything in his stomach. According to report, his mind never wandered at the last, and on seeing Captain Kingston, he made his attendants raise him in his bed, where he knelt; and whenever he heard the King's name he bowed his head, putting his face downwards. He then asked Captain Kingston where his guards were, and being answered that lodging was provided for them in several chambers on the ground floor of the palace (*palacio*), he requested they might all be sent for into his presence. So as many having entered as the place would hold, he raised himself as much as he could, saying that on the day before he had taken the Sacrament, and expected soon to find himself before the supreme Judgment seat, so that at such an extremity, he ought not to fail speaking the truth, or leave any other opinion of him than such as was veracious; adding, "I pray God that Sacrament may be to the damnation of my soul, if ever I thought to do disservice to my King," and so on.'

But besides the circumstantiality and vividness of detail, the documents contained in these Calendars have the advantage of being contemporary with the events they record. They reproduce not only the facts but the very atmosphere of the past, with a fidelity no imagination can realise, however powerful. The ablest of modern histories are necessarily tinged with the passions and prejudices of the historian, with the spirit and thoughts of his own times. The more strongly he sympathises with his own age, the more dramatic his faculties, the more creative his fancy, the stronger is his propensity, the more irresistible his temptation to invest the past with the colours and drapery of the present. The best are liable to this weakness, whilst inferior writers rather glory in it than attempt to avoid it. They falsify and exaggerate from design, as the readiest means of attracting popularity. But these Calendars furnish the best corrective for this tendency. Occupied solely with the passing current of events, steeped exclusively

clusively in the passions and prejudices of the past, and with the thoughts and emotions awakened by them, contemporary letters reproduce for modern readers not only the acts but the agents, as they lived and felt, as they trod this earth, with their schemes and devices, their hopes, their ambition and their fears. Theirs is the glistening of 'real eyes,' the aches of real hearts, but of eyes and hearts as they glistened and ached in days long gone by. These are the advantages of contemporaneous letters and journals—of papers such as these Calendars contain. They may not be history, but they are the truest and most authentic materials for history. They are the sources to which the historian must resort for the clearest, the most correct, the most satisfactory information.

If, then, the Master of the Rolls and the Government had done no more to make such materials accessible they would have deserved the gratitude of the nation. Something they were bound to do. They could not allow the public free access to these papers without providing a catalogue of some sort, for the due use as well as for the needful security of such invaluable collections. One Committee of the House of Commons after another had insisted upon this as a chief and primary obligation. 'Public indexes and calendars should be completed forthwith, either by the ordinary diligence of the persons usually employed for the purpose, in each office, or, if necessary, by extra assistance provided by public expense,' is the recommendation of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed as far back as 1800, reinforced and reiterated by the Select Committee of 1836. Yet, towards this necessary and indeed imperative measure, no steps were taken until within a recent period. The necessity was urgent; for without catalogues and indexes these national documents might as well be buried in the tombs of the Capulets, and, until catalogues are completed, all other means for diffusing a knowledge of these papers must be not only incomplete but unsatisfactory.

This raises a question whether it would not have been more acceptable to the public, as some have thought, if the money now expended on Calendars had been devoted to printing the documents themselves, or, at least, a selection from them. In determining this question, it must be remembered that no selection would have answered the primary purpose of the Calendars. The necessity would still have remained of compiling indexes of the public papers, sufficiently copious to satisfy the purposes of literary inquirers, and save the needless wear and tear of delicate documents, many of which are in a frail and perishable condition, catalogues sufficiently distinct to identify the papers when needed; and produce them when required; and, lastly, to prevent

prevent loss and embezzlement. It was not absolutely necessary for these purposes that such Calendars should be printed; but then it would have been requisite to multiply copies of them in manuscript; and no manuscript calendar can ever be so handy or so complete, or so useful to the public as a printed one. The main object of making the records of the kingdom and their contents better known would have been in great measure overlooked. Readers in foreign lands, or at a distance from the metropolis—and they are generally those who have most leisure and inclination for historical studies—would have been virtually excluded from the benefit. How great is the disadvantage of a manuscript calendar as compared with a printed one, is evident from the spare and meagre use of those papers in the British Museum, of which only a manuscript calendar exists. Even in point of economy, it is very doubtful whether in the end a manuscript catalogue has any advantage over a printed one, whereas, in all other respects, its inferiority is too manifest to admit of dispute.

But a stronger argument on this head remains, and one which appears to us conclusive. During the last five centuries and a half the history of our State Papers and our national Records is a series of prodigious efforts made at long intervals by energetic keepers and enlightened Governments to rescue them from gross neglect, disorder, and embezzlement, followed by most unfortunate relapses. The labours of men like the Master of the Rolls, alive to the value of the collections committed to their charge, and desirous of consulting the truest interests of the nation, have collapsed more than once under less enlightened and less active successors. Their reforms have fallen into abeyance, and old abuses have regained their former supremacy. We do not anticipate such a destiny for Lord Romilly's labours. We do not anticipate that some future Record historian will have to say of them what he has to say now of the reforms of Chancellor Stapleton, of Lambarde, of Prynne, of George Grenville, of Lord Colchester, of every one, in short, who ever grappled manfully with the abuses of our Record Offices, that their efforts were transient and fruitless. It is not to be imagined that, some thirty years hence, a Committee of the House of Commons will produce a Report of documents consigned to disorder and oblivion, of manuscripts stowed away in forgotten pigeon-holes and neglected corners; but this we will say—or rather Mr. Edwards shall say it for us—that 'the systematic preparation of calendars for the public use, and for the public use alone, are obviously the sufficient and only remedies' against such fatal contingencies. It is only by printed Calendars of our national papers, which men can take home and con over in the leisure of their studies, that the value of these papers

papers can be fully appreciated. It is only by such Calendars and the researches suggested by them, that the almost inevitable tendency of these papers to get mislaid or forgotten can be effectually counteracted. And as there are no manuscripts at home, or even abroad, in public or in private, at all comparable to our own in historic importance, and none so intimately connected with our national credit, so there are none which have a stronger claim on the attention and liberality of the Government.

There must then be Official Calendars of the whole collection for office purposes, and no selection of documents will satisfy these requirements. If they can be made besides generally useful to the public, that is a gain, and that utility has been one object of the Master of the Rolls. As Keeper of these Records, as bound by the repeated recommendations of the House of Commons, calendars and inventories for the better use and safer custody of the Records under his charge were with Lord Romilly a primary obligation. Nor until such calendars have been completed is it easy to see how any satisfactory selection can be made. Supposing, what is hardly probable, that all who were interested in consulting these papers could agree upon a principle of selection, long before such a selection had approached its completion new papers would have turned up, additions and alterations would have had to be made, a new series would be required to supplement the first, whilst the varying tastes, pursuits, and requirements of many readers would have remained unsatisfied. Hardly any two judges would be found to agree why this document should be selected and that rejected. Nor indeed is it possible for the most skilful to lay down abstract rules as to the relative importance of any class of historical papers. Their real importance cannot always be measured until they are viewed in their connexion with others. Their true meaning and value are not patent at first sight, nor perhaps until subsequent researches have long after flashed an alien light upon them, and invested with an unexpected gravity what by itself seemed trivial and unimportant. In all researches of this kind no editor can be trusted to select for another. He may methodize, index, and catalogue, leaving the inquirer to sift his materials and push his investigations further, if needful; but the task of selection each man must undertake for himself. With a thoughtful historian that selection will vary at every stage of his investigation—at every hour when fresh light dawns upon him. What at first filled him with rapture, he will upon maturer inquiry reject; what seemed insignificant at first sight, tedious and even repulsive, will often commend itself to his riper judgment; for of history it is true what Bacon said of physical causes:

‘ It

'It cometh often to pass that mean and small things discover great, better than great can discover the small.' As to the other alternative of publishing all documents indiscriminately at full length, we prefer to quote the able remarks of Mr. Tytler, the Historian of Scotland:—

'To print all the records and muniments. . . . would require an enormous sum; so it comes to a choice or balance between having a correct knowledge of the contents of all the records and letters, illustrating English history, and having a small corner of our history, perhaps extending to twenty or thirty years illustrated by the Records themselves. No historians familiar with the use of original materials would hesitate, I think, to use the Catalogues. By them he would be enabled to collect all the scattered lights which might illustrate the general History of England from a large mass of original documents. In the other way he would acquire a minute knowledge of a very curtailed portion; but the lights thrown upon important points of history within this portion would be proportionably scanty. Besides this, it is evident that were the whole, or even the greater portion of the records to be printed, it would only be the substitution of an unfathomable sea of "print" for an unfathomable sea of "Manuscript." In the end, to render such a mass available to the historian, catalogues and indexes, with a brief analysis of the documents, would be found necessary. Thus, at last, you must have *Catalogues raisonnés*. Would it not be easier and far less expensive to have them at first? Again, when any serious difficulty or obscure point occurs, a historian, in his anxiety for truth, must inspect the original. Hence he may in many instances dispense with printing the record or letter itself, but without the catalogue he remains ignorant of its existence. The advantages of first making catalogues are also great when viewed in connexion with the plan of afterwards printing a selection of the records themselves. Being once acquainted with the whole mass of records, letters, state papers, &c., in short, all the materials illustrating the civil, ecclesiastical, or constitutional history of the country, this selection will be made under the most favourable circumstances. The most valuable for the purpose of history will be chosen, and there will be the greatest chance of all being printed from originals. Lastly, the benefits resulting from this plan of forming catalogues, will be most important in checking the progress of historical error.' *

These arguments appear to us unanswerable. But whilst there is one class of critics who set such an inordinate value on our public muniments that nothing will satisfy them short of printing all at full length, there is an opposite class who reject them all as equally unworthy of credit. They are possessed by a strange notion that of all historical evidences State Papers are the least trust-

* Report of Select Committee, p. 715.

worthy.

worthy. It is the fixed creed of these objectors that statesmen and ambassadors indulged in a perpetual masquerade, and joined in a general combination to hide the truth, not only from the public—which might appear plausible—but from each other—which must appear absurd. Without, then, insisting on the fact that State Papers were secret papers, never intended for the public eye, and therefore not likely to offer any temptation or advantage for disguise, what possible motive, it may be asked, could there be for a foreign ambassador in a foreign Court to pervert the facts which fell under his own observation? Why should the Spanish, the French, or the Venetian envoys residing in England transmit to their respective governments studious misrepresentations of what was passing around them? That would have been to neutralize the very purpose of their mission, and unquestionably have exposed them at once to disgrace and dismissal. Or, if such had been the practice of any one of them, can it be imagined that all were embarked in the same ridiculous plot? Did all combine in the same tale of misrepresentation, and were all their despatches written by consent in a sort of ambassadorial conclave? If not, the inconsistency displayed in their separate reports and despatches would certainly have betrayed them. It is hardly needful to expose seriously so transparent a sophism—so transparent indeed and so absurd, that it could never have been entertained for a moment by any one who possessed any real knowledge of the subject, or had taken the trouble to verify his suspicions. Ambassadors, like other men, have their national and individual prejudices. They are liable to be misled by those about them. They are exposed to the temptation of sending home their own views of the facts, and of selecting those facts which are most in accordance with their own prepossessions and their own interests. Statesmen have objects to be gained by diplomacy and state-craft, the free use of which they consider legitimate; and no one in reading their reports would accept them all implicitly as simple, unbiased representations of the truth. But the same objection will apply to every kind of correspondence, oral or verbal. Dr. Johnson's conversation is no more to be received for a faithful representation of Whiggery than the journal of Whitelock or the Presbyterian Dr. Baillie is to be regarded as an accurate description of Charles I. and the Cavaliers. The thoughts and the writings of politicians, like those of other men, are variously coloured by passion, by prejudice, by employment, by party, by the desire of success or the fear of discomfiture. Are they for this reason absolutely and entirely false? If the historian is to reject them on this ground, he must equally reject all testimony; and all history, whether of his own

own or of any other time, becomes impossible. But the correspondence of statesmen is not more distorted by prejudice and falsehood than that of ordinary men, not even when engaged in some diplomatic intrigue they may have wished to deceive the outside world; for though they might hide their real intentions from others, they could have no object in deceiving their own agents and ambassadors. Outside the charmed circle the world is deluded and deceived, but once within it and all things appear in their true colours. This is the advantage of such publications as these Calendars. They take the reader behind the scenes; they lay bare before him the puppets and the real men, the phantasies and the facts, the true and ostensible motives. If there be deceit, they furnish him with the means of detecting it. They enable him to divide the false from the true. Moreover, they supply him with the cross lines of evidence; they furnish the means of comparing statement with statement, of confronting one witness with another. Testimony may be false, events in history may be perverted, mathematical accuracy is nowhere attainable; but society stands on no better testimony than this. Its contracts, its laws, its dealings, and its obligations rest on no surer foundation. Does any man question its sufficiency in the actual business of life? Then why should he doubt its sufficiency for the past?

So long indeed as the old and exclusive system prevailed, there was a tendency among historians, in their triumphant possession of a few diplomatic papers, to rear specious and paradoxical theories on the slender and barren foundation of a very small number of original discoveries. Some inquirer, more careful or more fortunate than others, had the good fortune to enrich his pages with extracts from the national archives. Through their help he has been enabled to discover new facts, to remove antiquated prejudices, to place past events in a clearer and more certain light. Confident in their support, it was natural that he should overrate their importance in their novelty. The tendency to convert history into a panorama of brilliant and disconnected pictures, often exaggerated in themselves, still more exaggerated from the disproportionate prominence assigned to them, was naturally fostered by the possession of a few contemporaneous documents in which the authenticity and minuteness of the facts, or the unexpected revelations afforded by them, contrasted strangely with the cold, meagre, and uncertain outlines of the accepted and traditional belief; and thus, naturally, comprehensiveness of view and justness of conception were too often sacrificed to brilliancy of detail and richness of matter. But whereas formerly, in consequence of strict official restrictions, a few

few ears only could be gleaned, now a whole harvest is offered to the world; where access to a few papers and liberty to print them was fettered by vexatious regulations, thousands are now thrown open to view.

Were there, then, no other advantage to be gained from these Calendars of the Master of the Rolls, it is no slight one that in placing before the reader the whole facts, so far as they can be known, they set before him the order in which these facts occurred, their connexion, and their relative proportions. For history generally a more just and equitable treatment is thus secured; a more careful and considerate adjustment of all its parts. Hasty and imaginative writers are thus deterred from imposing their own conceptions upon their readers, and careless ones from wandering too far from the plain truth without control or fear of detection. Till now readers had no alternative except to surrender themselves implicitly to the guidance of the historian who could move their feelings and enlist their sympathies most strongly, if not always by the most just and legitimate means. No means were at hand for testing the fidelity of their guide or the certainty of the path through which he was leading them. It could not be expected that they should submit to the same laborious process, or prosecute researches amidst obscure and confused documents, or reconcile contradictory statements, or determine the weight of conflicting evidence. It was not possible for them to ascertain when the historian had abandoned the calm impartiality of the judge for the partial province of the advocate. So not only modern history, but English history in particular, has continually presented the strange and unedifying spectacle of different writers, possessing apparently the same opportunities, and drawing their information equally from the same original documents, arriving at opposite and irreconcileable conclusions; thus lending plausibility to the notion that truth is unattainable, at least in all that pertains to the history of this country, whatever may be said for that of Greece or Rome.

Happily a better era is at hand, not merely in the superior authenticity, accuracy, and minuteness of the information supplied by these Calendars, but in the facility for testing and applying it. Here, at all events, the reader possesses an infallible means of verifying history, of counteracting partial or exaggerated statements. He is enabled to trace the real progress and development of events; to ascertain their order, their proportions, and their natural significance.

To the value of the materials thus carefully tabulated and digested the chronological arrangement adopted in these Calendars has contributed not a little. Merely as a matter of arrangement a chronological

chronological order, for all historical purposes, is superior to any other. It is the simplest and the most intelligible in principle, the most practicable in execution. If disarranged—and to accidents of this kind all papers are liable—it is most easily replaced. But a classified arrangement, whether of books or historical documents, specious as it may appear to some, is illusory, and sooner or later ends in inextricable confusion. Hardly any two persons can agree on the classification in the first instance; still less on the manner in which it ought to be carried out. If it be too minute it defeats itself, if too narrow it fails to meet all requirements. The other principle—if principle it can be called—of allowing all manuscripts and papers to remain in their original disorder, as in the Bodleian Library and Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, is wholly indefensible. What is the consequence? No student, however laborious or persevering, can be sure of mastering the documentary evidence relating to any one period or any one subject on which he is employed. His search is baffled at every point; his most careful investigation ends in disappointment. Hours are wasted in searching indexes or examining collections without result for want of a little preliminary arrangement, the total absence of which can scarcely be considered as otherwise than discreditable. Until the recent efforts of Mr. Bond, it was not much better at the British Museum. Even to discover there the number of the Catalogues was evidence of no small proficiency; and when that is done, what a scene of disorder presents itself to view! Theology, classics, history, philosophy, were jumbled together in the most chaotic confusion. Here, a paper of the reign of Henry VIII. is wedged in by some extraordinary accident among those of Charles I. or Elizabeth; there, another of Charles V., or Ferdinand the Catholic, finds a place among topographical collections or county histories. Life is not long enough to grapple with so many obstacles. The best years and freshest energies of a writer are exhausted long before he has arrived at the end of his preliminary researches. He must go far a-field not merely to collect the straw and the bricks, but in this case straw, bricks, clay, and mud, are all tumbled indiscriminately in disorder before him, and he has patiently to turn over the immense heaps, to cull here and there, with vast labour and waste of time, the materials he requires. So wearisome is the toil, so little has been done in our great libraries to lighten or remove it, that few are willing to undertake it. Much easier is it, and much more remunerative, to reproduce ancient fallacies or refurbish popular errors, than to extend the limits of inquiry and tempt new regions in the face of so many discouragements. In all these respects the Calendars of the Master of the Rolls show

show as great a superiority over their confused and confusing predecessors, as the chronological arrangement of which they are the index is preferable to the non-arrangement of the Bodleian, the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, the British Museum, or the absurd classifications adopted at Simancas and the Old State Paper Office. If disorder reigns supreme in the former, system and subdivisions in the latter are carried to excess. In Simancas no one can tell, as no one could tell in the old days of the State Paper Office, where his inquiry is to begin or where it is to end. Documents relating to the same events, the same person, and the same period, appear and reappear under every conceivable disguise. They so wind and double in and out, first under one classification and then under another, that it is hard if the plainest story does not elude the most zealous pursuit at last. Home Papers, Foreign Papers, War Papers, Navy Papers—then a faithful progeny of such prolific parents—Border Papers, Rebellion Papers, Calais Papers, Scotch Papers, Irish Papers; and of Foreign as many divisions as there were states or people with whom the mother country cultivated relations; France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, and so on—all the non-essential and non-natural divisions of an artificial system torment the patience of the most devoted and most conscientious reader. For purely diplomatic purposes it may be admitted that such divisions and subdivisions were, at one time, not without their use; and if it were important for the Foreign Minister of this day to be thoroughly acquainted with the policy of this country in reference to Italy and the Pope in the 16th century, or if it were requisite for him to be intimately acquainted with all the despatches connected with the descent on the isle of Rhé, or the negotiations for the marriage of Charles II., it might still be prudent to retain these formal and tedious classifications. Archivists, impenetrable to the wishes of the world outside, might still set common sense at defiance, and brave the anger and impatience of those who only value these muniments for their historical importance. But such a principle of arrangement leads to endless subdivisions and lands the reader in a practical absurdity. Suppose, for instance, that an ambassador has been sent to the Pope. As a matter of course he lands at Calais; from Dover he despatches a letter to the king or his minister announcing his arrival. He has something to say at every Court he visits in succession, some secret negotiation to reveal, or some anecdote to tell. Now, then, patient and ingenious reader, under what series is his correspondence to be arranged? Under Home, Calais, Flanders, France, Sardinia, Italy, or Papal States? Under one or under all? Under all, by the rules of diplomatic arrangement;

arrangement ; and through all must the inquirer hunt for the dislocated members of his subject. The simplification of these endless divisions, and their reduction to a few, clear, and intelligible classifications is not the smallest service conferred by the Master of the Rolls on historical science. Arranging the papers under the fewest possible heads, he has made the basis of his Calendars Chronological.

On that subject we might be tempted to enlarge, did not our space forbid us. We have only room for one or two observations. First, by a chronological arrangement, all the materials relating to any given period of time are brought within a reasonable and a readable compass. In the next place, the worth of the evidence is more easily sifted, and contradictory statements more readily compared. Whether history should be written in the form of annals, or whether it should assume a freer and more philosophical form, may be doubted ; but it can be no question whether the materials to be used by the historian should be chronologically arranged or not. The essential order of events is only to be discovered, in the first instance, from the natural order, the true development from the apparent. In no other way is it possible to detect the minute movements of history, the gradations of action and reaction, the ceaseless complications of antagonistic forces, the rise and fall of opposing influences. It may be that the last age was too fond of insisting on the grandeur and philosophy of history, and so exhausted it of all real dramatic and human interest ; but are we not in danger of falling into the opposite error ? Are we not beginning, both in art and literature, to imitate the Chinese fashion of sacrificing to minute and obtrusive detail the higher and more spiritual graces of both ?

In selecting, therefore, the State Papers, and adopting a chronological arrangement for his Calendars, the Master of the Rolls occupied an untrdden path and inaugurated a new method for the study of history. Whatever other nations may have done for the advancement of historical literature, none has ever yet ventured to publish chronological abstracts of its official papers. Not only France and Germany, but minor States like Italy, far surpass us in their grand collections of annalists and historians. We had nothing to show that can bear comparison with the labours of Dom Bouquet, of Pertz, or even of Muratori. Whilst their works have given a new stimulus to historical studies on the Continent, and raised up a host of consummate historians, like Thierry, Michelet, Guizot, and Sismondi, the history of England has remained, until lately, a barren field, scarcely better explored than it was in the days of Carte or Hume. But in these

Calendars of State Papers we stand wholly unrivalled as a nation. Nothing like them has yet been produced ; nothing to which future historians, whether of this country or of Europe generally, are likely to owe so many obligations. Henceforth, the historian, here or abroad, who undertakes to treat of any questions connected with the period traversed by these Calendars must turn to them as his surest guides and most unerring authorities. From their pages he will have to learn the true history of events by which the politics of Europe were moulded during the 16th and 17th centuries. They can never be dispensed with ; they will never be superseded.

We have devoted a considerable portion of this review to these Calendars of State Papers, not only because they are prior in date, but, in our judgment, superior in importance, to all the other Rolls' publications. It was not until two years after, and probably in consequence of the success of his first effort, that the Master of the Rolls was induced to apply to the Treasury for an additional grant to enable him to publish the 'Chronicles and Memorials' of the United Kingdom. On this, as on the previous occasion, his application was based on an Address presented by the House of Commons to the Crown,* representing that a 'uniform and convenient edition' of our ancient historians 'would be an undertaking honourable to his Majesty's reign, and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge.' His Majesty was therefore prayed that the necessary steps might be taken for the furtherance of such a publication.

As the monastic chronicles already in print were often defective, and generally scarce and costly, whilst others of equal value existed only in manuscript, the Master of the Rolls announced his intention of giving preference, in the first instance, to those works 'of which the manuscripts were unique or the materials of which would help to fill up the blanks in English history.' He stated also that he had in view the formation of a '*Corpus Historicum*,' within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. The plan thus judiciously marked out has, upon the whole, been faithfully observed, as faithfully, perhaps, as could be expected from the nature of the work. Of the eighty and odd volumes given to the world, sixty at least contain new and original matter : the rest present more perfect and complete editions of authors found only in a fragmentary form before, or they supply more accurate and convenient texts. Considering how precarious is the preservation of manuscripts, how numerous the accidents of

fire, damp, neglect, and spoliation to which they are liable, the determination of the Master of the Rolls to give preference to those works 'of which the manuscripts are unique' will command general satisfaction. Science is independent of early discoveries, poetry owes little to mediæval authors; but to history the loss of contemporary documents and original records is the mutilation of a limb, the extinction of a planet from its hemisphere. The loss of a single manuscript is often a sort of literary homicide; it is the utter and irremediable destruction of an author. By such misfortunes, a mist settles down on certain periods of history, never to be cleared away; great events in the lives of men and of nations become involved in impenetrable obscurity; *opinio manet opinio, et quæstio quæstio*. It is, moreover, a curious and humiliating paradox in bibliography that manuscripts of worthless authors may often be counted by hundreds, whilst of great authors there is only one. In selecting, therefore, unique manuscripts, in the first instance, for publication, the Master of the Rolls was doing his best to place the materials of history beyond the reach of accident, and in so doing he was filling up the blanks neglected or overlooked by previous editors.

But in so doing, these Chronicles and Memorials necessarily assumed a place subordinate to that of the Calendars of State Papers. They were in their nature supplementary to other collections antecedent in date, and in some cases more intrinsically valuable. For in this portion of his task the Master of the Rolls had been preceded by editors and collectors of great ability; by Archbishop Parker and Sir Henry Savile (the celebrated Provost of Eton), by Twysden, by Gale, by Hearne, and many others. The field had been occupied, though somewhat in a desultory and ineffectual manner, by various historical societies; and not the least by Mr. Petrie. All these, single editors and societies, sedulous and industrious in their different degrees, had the advantage of a first choice. Naturally they selected for publication such authors as they deemed most valuable; not always with sound judgment and discrimination, not always with equal regard to accuracy: still a vast body of important and valuable materials had by their labours been given to the world. It only remained for Lord Romilly to supply the omissions of previous editors, to rescue from oblivion what still remained worth preserving; and, if the munificence of the Government would extend so far, to set forth more accurate and convenient editions of such authors as had been published already.*

* For this purpose the 'Descriptive Catalogue' of Sir Thomas Hardy furnishes invaluable information. The conscientious labour and care bestowed on that work by its author is beyond all praise.

But that which seemed to render the task easy made it more difficult. The earlier gleaners in the vineyard could scarcely do amiss. They had but to stretch forth their hands, certain that whatever they grasped and presented to their readers could not fail of being acceptable, and equally certain that their labours had not been anticipated. But when, after the continued toil and research of three centuries, it was necessary for the last comer to determine the value of what his predecessors had overlooked or hastily rejected, a much greater amount of caution, skill, and knowledge was necessarily required. It was indispensable to know not only what was worth publishing, but what had not been published before under the numerous aliases and disguises so common in mediæval annalists, so puzzling to the modern historian.*

If unlimited time had been allowed for such researches, or if the House of Commons and its economists could have been content to wait ten or a dozen years, the task might have been comparatively easy. But that was not to be expected; nor was the example of the late Record Commission or its historical doings by any means encouraging. It would have been in vain to point to the historical productions of France and Germany, to the grand collection of Dom Bouquet, commenced before the first French Revolution and not yet finished, or to the equally superb *Monumenta Germaniae* of Pertz, now steadily advancing to its grand climacteric. As little would it have sufficed to show how these works had given a new stimulus to historical studies on the Continent. What economist in the House of Commons would have listened to such arguments? So much money for so much work; be it a seventy-four, an Armstrong gun, a fresco, or an ancient historian. No tangible result, no measurable work, no money. Other nations may dispute and discuss what form of publication is abstractedly the best. They may dig deep their foundations; they may spend years in preparation, and satisfy their respective Governments by annual reports. But that is not possible

* Many of the larger religious houses had an historiographer attached to the establishment, whose duty it was to keep the records of the house and post up its annals from year to year. The mere events connected with his own peculiar establishment would have afforded the annalist but meagre and unsatisfactory topics; and therefore the main body of his work was taken, in the first instance, *verbatim* from some popular chronicle of the day. Into this substratum the local chronicler interpolated notices relating to his own monastery; such as the death, election, and character of the abbots; records of benefactions, and the like. It is owing to this practice that a chronicle substantially the same appears again and again under a dozen different titles—as many titles in fact as there were religious houses in which it was adopted—but with local additions and variations. Hence the common blunder of Hume, and even of more recent writers, in quoting the same work under different names as independent and distinct authorities.

in England. So, in addition to his other difficulties, the Master of the Rolls had to determine on a mode of publication, which, if some might regard as not absolutely the best, was most feasible under all circumstances. He departed from the Continental plan of committing the work to one or two editors, and restricted the use of notes. He discarded the idea of a *Corpus Historicum*, such as Bouquet's and Pertz's, and resolved on publishing each history and chronicle complete and by itself. Though some may condemn this arrangement as not so scientific or philosophical as that of the great Continental editors, we are inclined to think that the plan forced upon Lord Romilly by the necessity of the case was, in fact, the most judicious he could have adopted even had he been free to choose. It is true that these ancient historians repeat themselves and perpetually reproduce the very same matter in the very same words. It is true that they sometimes borrow or steal from each other without misgiving or mercy. True also that a great number of them think it necessary to commence their narrative with Adam and the fall of man—a fashion we have abandoned as uninstructive and unnecessary, and somewhat tiresome to boot. But, then, what mode of publication is to be adopted? Shall these repetitions and superfluities be retrenched? Shall each author make his appearance stripped of these accessories, and reduced to his native and essential proportions? That might be a process which more persons than one would think advisable. The idea is not a new one. It has many attractions. It would have its advantages in saving the reader's time and temper. The facts of history would be brought within a more convenient and reasonable compass. Considering the dislocation of historical materials, their confusion and dispersion in all sorts of bye-ways and corners, nothing looks more attractive than such a plan as this, nothing seems more orderly or more sensible. It is precisely the same as any writer of history would adopt for himself in some form or another. But, attractive as it seems, it is more specious than real. The advantages it offers are dearly purchased by serious evils. If adopted, it becomes necessary to divide each author into segments; to place one portion of his work in one volume, another in a second, and the rest in a third. The unity of his work is, in a great measure, destroyed. The means of comparing one part of it with another is embarrassed with numerous difficulties. Questions connected with the general character or the individuality of the author are obscured, and still more so if some portions are suppressed as either foreign to the period embraced or anticipated already. The student of one period of history is under the necessity of purchasing the whole collection,

collection, or he must encumber his shelves with a number of odd and unnecessary volumes. On these grounds the Master of the Rolls, though intending, as he says, to form 'as complete a collection' as was possible of our national mediaeval historians, rejected the Continental system. 'It is important,' he remarks, 'that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conform with his own peculiar taste and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection: an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.' If the facts of history were as passionless as those of science; if they admitted precisely of the same rectification; if they were wholly independent, like the facts of science, of the character of the *testis*, then a mere dry chronicle of facts would constitute the perfection of history. It would have attained that highest of all intellectual conditions—the dry light, the *lumen siccum* desired by Lord Bacon. On the contrary, the driest history is not only the dullest, in all senses of the word, but it is often the narrowest and the least instructive. The historian who treats his subject *ab extra* misses continually its finest and subtlest essence. He fails to master it, except in its mere formal and superficial phenomena. His spirit must be in conformity with the actions he narrates, or he cannot understand them; still less can he present them to others. At the great drama of human happiness and misery, of human passions, virtues, and failings, no man is suffered to remain an indifferent and yet an intelligent spectator. Precisely as the artist endeavours to translate into lines and colours the emotions and impressions nature has made upon him, the historian endeavours to interpret for posterity an image of the times as those times have stamped themselves on his brain and his affections. Even in the choice of his materials, even in his omissions, there is something significant of the man, of the weakness or the strength of his judgment, the poverty of his imagination, or the meagreness of his sympathies. Therefore it is not only his work, but his manner of working that must be taken into account; not the facts only which he registers, but his own moral and intellectual habitudes and those of his age. We can no longer be satisfied with that passionless interpretation of history which, professing to be literal, extinguishes its living significance, any more than we can allow the historian to substitute his individual fancies for true historical data. A larger criticism demands that we shall draw from the historian himself the true method of interpreting his narrative. For this process the plan adopted by the Master of the Rolls of publishing each author by himself, instead of the

French

French and German method, is infinitely preferable, if not indispensable.

The correctness of Lord Romilly's judgment has been confirmed by the popular verdict. The notice attracted by his publications forms a striking contrast to the general apathy and indifference with which the productions of former Record Commissions were universally regarded. They were not, indeed, without their value—very far from it—but they were interesting only to a few. Reviewers naturally sought shy of books printed in uncouth type, unwieldy in form, and not unfrequently ushered into the world without a word of comment or a line of prefatory matter. If any body of scholars and gentlemen ever industriously resolved on the most wrong-headed way of insuring failure, none were ever more ingeniously successful in this respect than these Commissioners. Among the number are to be found the names of Mr. Hobhouse, Lord Dover, Sir James Mackintosh, Henry Hallam, and John Allen, all men of ability and eminence, all deeply interested in historical studies. Yet it is hard to say whether their want of judgment or of ordinary prudence was the more conspicuous. They could scarcely have gone astray without premeditated malice, for no country in the world is so rich in historical materials as our own; nowhere are those materials more varied, more copious, or more complete. It would be hard to hit upon any subject connected with the progress of society, the growth of our institutions, the development of our commerce, of our army, or our navy, or our colonies, the rise and fall of this class or of that in the community, to the accurate comprehension of which our national muniments do not contribute the most attractive and most momentous illustrations. But, from some strange obliquity of judgment, the Commissioners selected for publication such records as were of the least interest to the general reader; made them still more repulsive by printing them with all their original manuscript contractions, adopted the most cumbrous folio, proceeded without system, began what they could not complete, and entrusted the most difficult tasks, in more than one instance, to the most incompetent editors. What wonder that their labours were treated with neglect and contempt? These errors the Master of the Rolls has prudently avoided. He has confined his attention to the two grand sources of history—the State Papers and the Chronicles. He has selected for editors the most experienced scholars. In the form, the type, the text of his works, he has consulted the convenience of the ordinary reader; and by the prefatory matter prefixed to each volume has enabled both learned and unlearned to judge of its contents.

It

It is not to be presumed that all these works are equally interesting and equally important, yet of all it may be said that they have either contributed to a more accurate knowledge of English history, or brought to light fresh information, or replaced doubt by certainty. Future historians will have much better materials for their investigations than fell to the lot of their predecessors; but their labours and responsibilities will be increased in proportion. They will be no longer permitted to rest satisfied, as in the days of Hume, with a superficial examination of the truth, or with clever but inadequate theories. They will no longer be allowed to take up history as a whim or a holiday task in an idle moment, or as a mere relaxation from the severer pursuits of science or philosophy. Whatever else these works of the Master of the Rolls may have accomplished, they have made our demands on the historian more rigid and more exacting. Precisely in proportion as they have drawn more general attention to the subject, as they have shown how ample and various are the authentic materials, how many and divergent the lines of investigation, in proportion as they have brought the whole subject within the penetrating glance of a more critical and it may be said of a more captious age, in the same proportion will the historian find himself under the necessity of satisfying requirements that never entered the imagination of former generations. Such is the necessary consequence whenever fresh materials are brought into the field of any definite region of study, be it theology, philosophy, or history. Men are compelled to consider the relation of the new matter to the old—to institute contrasts, to discover similitudes, to advance their views, to change the customary posture of their minds. This increased activity creates of itself new powers and new intellectual demands. It enforces more concentrated observation, more critical sagacity—not merely because the new is better understood in its connexion with the old, but because the old itself grows into bolder relief and clearer forms from its juxtaposition with the new. It is doubtful whether the advancement of science and learning in all directions is not due much more to these causes than to any superior method of inquiry—whether the matter does not in this, as in other cases, determine the method. But, however this may be, we are persuaded that these works must eventually produce a great revolution in history—perhaps in history generally, certainly in the history of this country—as great as this generation has witnessed in the histories of Greece and Rome. Nor shall we be far wrong in anticipating for historical studies in general a much profounder interest and a more philosophic appreciation than have hitherto fallen to their share. Strange would it be if it were otherwise.

The

The current of events shifts and winds with such amazing and breathless rapidity—the present so eludes our grasp, that the past seems to offer to many the only safe standing-ground for their imaginations and affections. Contentment with the present, and the somewhat contracted sympathy which such contentment brings with it, is certainly not the failing of this century, whatever it may have been of the last. Whether in the apprehension of great changes and in the sense of political insecurity are to be found the most powerful incentives to the cultivation of history, as in the great historical era of Rome, and of France within our own remembrance, it is not needful to determine. That such changes have been pre-eminently favourable to it is unquestionable; that at no time has the past been studied with such passionate earnestness, and consequently with such fulness of appreciation, as when it seemed to be drifting furthest from the present, will scarcely be denied. But whatever may be the cause, the appetite for history is a great and increasing one. To its healthy development the Rolls' Publications will contribute not a little, as they have already given to its growth a new and energetic impulse.

ART. V.—1. *An Act for the Support of Her Majesty's Household and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1 Vict., c. 2. 1837.

2. *A Return of all Pensions granted and charged upon the Civil List, in accordance with the Act 1 Vict., c. 2, with the grounds upon which such Pensions have been granted, &c.* (Moved by Mr. Stirling.) Published by Order of the House of Commons. 1861.

3. *List of all Pensions granted between the 20th of June, 1861, and the 20th of June, 1862, and charged upon the Civil List.*

4. *Similar Lists annually to the 20th of June, 1870.*

THREE are few subjects of public interest upon which there is so much misconception as the Pension List. Many believe that the amount of pensions charged upon the Civil List must never exceed 1200*l.* a year, without troubling themselves to consider that the 1200*l.* sanctioned by Parliament is the amount of new pensions allowed to be added in each year to the pensions previously in force. Others believe that the 1200*l.* a year was intended for literary men only, and that all pensions not granted to literary men are so much abstracted from a fund exclusively intended for their benefit. Nothing is more common than to read in journals of considerable repute allusions to the 'Literary Pension

Pension List ;' and half, or more than half, of the memorials addressed to the Prime Minister are founded upon the assumption that, in apportioning the 1200*l.* a year, his first duty is to provide for the claims of literary men. Now, not only is there no such thing in existence as a literary pension list, but there never has been such a list. The sooner, therefore, the misconception is set at rest the better will it be for the recipients as well as for the dispensers of the bounty. At the same time, when it is known that, after making all necessary deductions for the deaths which will occur, in spite of the proverb that annuitants never die, the average amount of the Civil List Pensions ranges from 18,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* a year, it will be obvious that the subject is worthy of being better understood than it has hitherto been by the public at large, not only for the sake of the taxpayer, who looks with suspicion on all pensions as incumbrances on the general revenues of the country, but also for the sake of the Minister upon whom devolves the duty of dispensing them.

In investigating the question, we are struck at the outset by the difficulty which a Minister must feel in dealing with such a subject. There is probably no duty unconnected with affairs of State which gives him more trouble and less satisfaction ; certainly none can be conceived more likely to prove a thankless office. For every pension which he grants he will cause about fifty disappointments, and of those upon whom his choice may fall, there are few who do not consider that the sum assigned to them is very far below their merits. Every year sees the accumulation in the Treasury of a mass of manuscripts in the form of 'memorials' or 'petitions'—perhaps the most dreary reading of all written compositions. The task of weighing and determining such claims would be a difficult one if all the applicants were persons of established reputation ; but the difficulty becomes serious when the Minister has to deal with claims from all parts of the United Kingdom—claims for public services unrecognised by Whitehall or Somerset House, War Office or Admiralty—claims from inventors and explorers who have flattered themselves into the belief that they have anticipated half the discoveries of the age—claims from third-class authors, the titles of whose works will scarcely survive to the next generation—claims from artists whose productions have failed to command the appreciation of the public—and claims from provincial notabilities whose names have never been heard of beyond the circle of their own coteries. The memorials of these applicants are, to a great extent, framed upon the same model, and are seldom conspicuous for excess of modesty in describing the pretensions of their writers. They frequently derive their chief importance from the fact that they

they are accompanied by a form of recommendation, signed by persons in all ranks of life, who affix their signatures, in many cases, for no other reason than that they are asked to do so ; and, in others, because they find it difficult to refuse what appears to be so small a favour as to recommend for a grant from the public purse individuals of whom they may have no personal knowledge, and whose claims they would hesitate to acknowledge, if such acknowledgment involved a demand upon their own pockets. None but those who are accustomed to the examination of such documents can form any idea of the want of discrimination with which men, of excellent judgment in other matters, permit themselves to be persuaded to attach their names to recommendations ; and none, therefore, are more qualified to appreciate the wisdom of a remark which is said to have been made by her Majesty the Queen, on observing the names of persons of position and character attached to the memorial of a worthless applicant, that 'people were to be found who would put their names to anything.'

With these preliminary remarks we proceed to examine the Act of Parliament by which the pensions on the Civil List were established, and the objects which it contemplated.

On the accession of the Queen, her Majesty renewed the arrangement made by her three immediate predecessors on the throne, by which 'all the hereditary rates, duties, payments, and revenues in England, Scotland, and Ireland,' belonging, due, and payable to her Majesty, were 'carried to and made part of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom ;' and the House of Commons, in consideration of such surrender, settled upon her Majesty a 'certain and competent revenue for defraying the expenses of her Majesty's household, and supporting the honour and dignity of the Crown of the United Kingdom during her Majesty's life.' The Act by which this arrangement was carried into effect was the second of the present reign, technically known as 1 Vict., c. 2. It bears the title of an Act passed in the first year of George III., and is in force for the present reign only. After providing that the clear yearly sum of 385,000*l.* shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund for the support of the Royal household, and of the honour and dignity of the Crown, it declares that 'provision shall be made at the rate of 1200*l.* a year for each and every succeeding year of her Majesty's reign to defray the charge of such pensions as may be granted by her Majesty chargeable on her Majesty's Civil List revenues ;' such pensions, however, not being included in the 385,000*l.* assigned to the Civil List, but constituting a separate and additional charge. It then recites the resolution adopted by the House of Commons

on

on the 18th February, 1834, 'that it is the bounden duty of the responsible advisers of the Crown to recommend to his Majesty for grants of pensions on the Civil List such persons only as have just claims on the Royal benevolence, or who by their personal services to the Crown, by the performance of duties to the public, or by their useful discoveries in Science, and attainments in Literature and the Arts, have merited the gracious consideration of their Sovereign and the gratitude of their country.' It enacts that, in order to provide by law for carrying this resolution into full effect, the pensions which may hereafter be charged upon the Civil List Revenues shall be granted to such persons only as possess the qualifications specified in the Commons' resolution, and that 'a list of all such pensions granted in each year ending the 20th June shall be laid before Parliament within thirty days after that day in each year, if Parliament shall then be sitting; but if Parliament shall not be then sitting, then within thirty days after the next meeting of Parliament.' In another clause it is enacted that the charge upon this class of expenses 'shall in no case exceed the sum by this Act limited for this class.' The Act was passed on the 23rd December, 1837. The first pension granted under it was dated 14th March, 1838, and the last reported to Parliament in the Return ordered to be printed on the 21st July in the present year, bears date July 18, 1870.

Within this period of thirty-two years the number of pensions granted has been 385—being one of 1000*l.*, five of 500*l.*, one of 400*l.*, ten of 300*l.*, thirty-five of 200*l.*, thirteen of 150*l.*, one of 140*l.*, one of 125*l.*, one hundred and twenty-five of 100*l.*, one of 95*l.*, four of 90*l.*, six of 80*l.*, twenty-three of 75*l.*, eight of 70*l.*, one of 65*l.*, nine of 60*l.*, eighty-six of 50*l.*, fifteen of 40*l.*, six of 30*l.*, twenty-four of 25*l.*, seven of 20*l.*, and three of 10*l.*, making a total of 38,290*l.* Of this number, one pension of 500*l.*, two of 100*l.*, one of 60*l.*, seven of 50*l.*, two of 40*l.*, seven of 25*l.*, and two of 20*l.*, were additions to pensions previously granted. The pensions of 100*l.* constituted about one-third, and those of 50*l.* constituted about one-fourth of the whole number. The total of 38,290*l.* gives, of course, no idea of the actual sums paid to the pensioners during a series of years, but simply represents the total of the annual grants from 1838 to 1869, some few of which have been below the 1200*l.* sanctioned by the Act of Parliament, while one of them, and that, strange to say, the first after the Act passed, exceeded it. It is, moreover, convenient to refer to this sum of 38,290*l.* as a means of ascertaining the proportions in which the claims of each class have been acknowledged. By analysing the figures, therefore, we obtain the following results:—In Class I., described in the Act as 'Just Claims on the Royal Beneficence,'

there

there have been four pensions, amounting to 1050*l.* In Class II., described as 'Personal Services to the Crown,' there have been twelve pensions, amounting to 1600*l.* In Class III., 'Performances of Duties to the Public,' there have been 115 pensions, amounting to 12,400*l.* In Class IV., 'Useful Discoveries in Science,' there have been 69 pensions, amounting to 7625*l.* In Class V., 'Attainments in Literature,' there have been 166 pensions, amounting to 13,590*l.* In Class VI., 'Attainments in the Arts,' there have been 19 pensions, amounting to 2025*l.* In June, 1861, the total sum payable on account of pensions then in force amounted to 18,785*l.* In 1868 it was 20,721*l.*

We now proceed to ascertain who have been the persons selected by successive Ministers as the recipients of these pensions under the different classes, taking our information from the returns presented to Parliament, and supplementing it by such details of the various claims as we have been able to collect.

In Class I., 'Just Claims on the Royal Beneficence,' we find only two entries. The first is that of Madlle. d'Este, afterwards the wife of Lord Chancellor Truro, as the recipient of two pensions of 500*l.* each. The second is that of Messrs. Calvin Beaumont Winstanley and John Lloyd, as recipients of pensions of 25*l.* each, in consideration of services rendered by their ancestors to Charles II. in his escape after the battle of Worcester, a claim which seems to have been a long time in incubation, seeing that it was only granted in 1846, 195 years after the event.

In Class II., 'Personal Services to the Crown,' Baroness Lehzen received a pension of 400*l.* for 'faithful services to her Majesty during a period of eighteen years'; Miss Wynyard received 200*l.* for her 'long and faithful services to the Royal family'; Lady Phipps, widow of the Hon. Sir Charles B. Phipps, received 150*l.* in consideration of his 'long, faithful, and confidential services as Keeper of the Privy Purse'; the Hon. Miss Eden, and the Hon. Miss Boyle, received 100*l.* each for their services to the Queen Dowager; while 100*l.* each was granted to her Majesty's German, Singing, Writing, and French masters, and to her Music and Dancing mistresses, and 50*l.* was granted to her Italian master, in consideration of the 'services rendered by them during her Majesty's education.'

Class III., 'Performance of Duties to the Public,' may be arranged, for the sake of clearness, under the five heads to which these duties are assignable, Military, Naval, Foreign and Colonial, Public Offices, Miscellaneous. In the first, comprising military services, there have been thirty-four pensions amounting to 4605*l.* In the second, comprising naval services, there have been

been four pensions amounting to 500*l.* In the third, comprising foreign and colonial services, there have been eighteen pensions amounting to 1815*l.* In the fourth, comprising services in public offices, there have been twenty-one pensions amounting to 2780*l.* In the fifth, comprising miscellaneous services, there have been thirty-seven pensions amounting to 2660*l.*; to which must be added one pension of 40*l.* to 'Sarah Mears, now Hughes,' in which the services have not been specified.

Under the first of these subdivisions, 'Military Services,' we find pensions of 500*l.* each granted to Lady Sale, widow of General Sir Robert Sale, for his gallant defence of Jellahabad; to Lady Smith, widow of General Sir Harry Smith, for his brilliant and decisive victory over the Sikhs at Aliwall; and to the Hon. Lady Inglis, widow of General Sir John Inglis, as an acknowledgment of his brilliant services during the Indian mutiny, and especially of his gallant defence of Lucknow; a pension of 300*l.* to the three eldest daughters, and afterwards a pension of 100*l.* to the fourth daughter of Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir George Cathcart, for his eminent services at the battle of Inkermann, in which he lost his life; a pension of 200*l.* (in addition to one previously granted) to the two sisters, and one of 100*l.* to the two daughters of Sir Robert Kennedy, Commissary-General, in testimony of 'his long and arduous service of thirty-eight years in various parts of the Continent'; a pension of 200*l.*, in four separate grants of 50*l.* each, to the two sisters of General Sir John M'Caskill, for his gallant services and death on the field of battle; pensions of 200*l.* each to the widow of Colonel Penny-cuick, for 'his distinguished services in various campaigns in the East'; to the widow of Colonel C. R. Cureton, for 'his long and distinguished services and death on the field of battle'; to Lady Barnard, widow of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, who died in command of the army at the siege of Delhi; and to the Hon. Mrs. Anson, widow of General Sir George Anson, who died when on active service as Commander-in-Chief in India; pensions of 150*l.* each to the mother of Captain Thomson, in consideration of his gallant services and death from wounds received at the siege of Kars; to the mother of Lieutenant Willoughby, for his gallant conduct in blowing up the magazine at Delhi; and to the widow of Colonel Charles Bingham, in consideration of his 'long and valuable services in the Royal Artillery'; pensions of 100*l.* each to the widow of Colonel Taylor, of the 29th Regiment, who was killed in the battle of Sobraon; to the widow of Colonel Willoughby Moore, who lost his life in the 'Europa' transport, 'in aid of the military pension granted to her as the widow of a regimental officer';

officer; to the widow of Brigadier-General Du Plat, in consideration of 'his distinguished services in the Royal Engineers'; and to the widow of Lieut.-Colonel Lloyd, in consideration of his 'long civil, diplomatic, and military services and death in the war in the East'; a pension of 75*l.* to the widow of Captain Simmons, in consideration of his military and literary services, and of the eminent military services of her sons, of whom two were killed in action, and two died from illness contracted in the execution of their duties; a pension of 60*l.* to Lady Ellis, widow of Lieut.-General Sir Samuel Ellis, for his services in the Royal Marines in China; pensions of 50*l.* each to the daughter of General Sir Hudson Lowe; to the daughter of Brigadier-General Taylor, for his distinguished services in the campaign of Sutlej; to the widow of General Frederick Maitland, in consideration of his distinguished military services; to the widow of Deputy Commissary-General Price, for 'his long and meritorious services in various climates for forty years'; to the daughter of Captain Edward M'Carthy, in consideration of his distinguished military services in the Peninsular war, and especially at the storming of Badajoz; to the sister of Colonel Sir John Milley Doyle, in consideration of his distinguished military services; to the two daughters of Colonel Sir Archibald Christie, Deputy Governor of Stirling Castle, for his services in Flanders and Holland, in two grants of 25*l.* each; and to Mrs. Skinner, in consideration of her having lost three sons in the service of the country; and a pension of 20*l.* to the widow of Sergeant Grant, of the 45th Regiment, who was murdered in the discharge of his duty. Some of these names vividly recall the interest with which the country awaited the arrival of every mail from Afghanistan and the Sutlej, from Sebastopol and Kars, and from the great scenes of the Indian mutiny. No one would, grudge any national acknowledgment for services performed on these historic fields; but with regard to some of the others, it is difficult to conjecture upon what principle the selection has been made. The number of pensioners is too small to be even an imperfect representation of the services of the army; and as the claims themselves are in no respect of an exceptional character as 'performances of duties to the public,' military men may fairly ask why other officers who have equally distinguished themselves on the same fields have not been deemed worthy of similar pensions on the Civil List.

This is still more remarkable in the second subdivision of Class III., 'Naval Services.' In this class there have been only four pensions, though there has been no lack of gallant services in

in the operations of the navy during the present reign. Of these four pensions the largest was one of 300*l.*, granted to the three daughters of Mrs. Ward, the natural daughter of Lord Nelson by Lady Hamilton. We next find one of 100*l.* to Lady Brenton, widow of Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton, one of the heroes of the battle of Cape St. Vincent, who died Lieutenant-Governor of Greenwich Hospital; one of 50*l.* to the daughter of Admiral Sir William Hoste, for his services in the 'Amphion,' and at the reduction of Cattaro and Ragusa; and one of 50*l.* to the widow of Captain Beecroft, for his services in the suppression of the slave-trade during a residence of twenty-five years on the coast of Africa.

The third subdivision of Class III., 'Foreign and Colonial Services,' begins with a pension of 300*l.* to the widow of Mr. Montague, for his services in the penal settlement of Van Diemen's Land, and afterwards as Colonial Secretary at the Cape of Good Hope during the Kaffir war. We have then a pension of 200*l.* to Lady Jeremie, widow of Sir John Jeremie, who died in the public service when Governor of Sierra Leone; pensions of 150*l.* to the widow of the Right Rev. Dr. Rigaud, Bishop of Antigua; and, in two grants, of 75*l.* each, to the two sisters of Colonel Stoddart, who was murdered in Bokhara; pensions of 100*l.* each to Mr. Peter Warren Dease, chief factor to the Hudson's Bay Company, for his geographical discoveries on the North Coast of America; to the widow of Mr. George Canning Backhouse, who was murdered in the discharge of his duties as Commissary Judge at the Havannah; to the widow of Mr. Gallwey, for his long services as British Consul at Naples; to the widow of Mr. Fonblanque, who was killed by a Turkish soldier at Belgrade, while Consul-General in Servia; to Mr. John Seymer, for the educational labours he performed among the natives of India, while suffering from blindness; to Lady Daly, widow of Sir Dominick Daly, Governor of South Australia; to Demetris Count Carnso, of the island of Cephalonia, 'in recognition of his long and faithful services to the British Protectorate in the Ionian Islands'; and to the widow of Mr. Charles Rowcroft, in two grants of 50*l.* each, the first for the services of her husband as Consul at Cincinnati, the second for the services of her husband's father, Alderman Rowcroft, as Consul-General in South America; a pension of 75*l.* to the daughter of Colonel James Fitzgibbon for his 'signal services in Canada'; pensions of 50*l.* each to the widow of Mr. Hillier, who died on service as Consul in China; and to the widow of Mr. L. Barbar, for his services in the affair of the Cagliari, while Vice-Consul at Naples; and a pension of 40*l.* to the sister of Captain

Captain C. Moylan, of the 72nd Regiment, who died in the 'gallant discharge of his duties' during a visitation of yellow fever at Barbadoes.

The fourth subdivision in Class III., 'Services in Public Offices,' presents us with the only example, during the present reign, of a pension of 1000*l.* in one sum. This was granted to Sir John Newport, Bart., for his 'zealous and efficient services' for nearly half a century, first as Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland, and afterwards as Controller-General of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom. The pension next in amount was one of 200*l.* granted to the sister of Mr. Edward Drummond, Private Secretary to four Prime Ministers, Mr. Canning, Lord Goderich, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Robert Peel, in mistake for whom he was assassinated in 1843, by the lunatic M'Naughten, under circumstances which created at the time a very painful interest. We next find pensions of 150*l.* each to the widow of Mr. Edwin Turner Crafer, a clerk in the Treasury, who had been Private Secretary to some of the Lords and to the Secretary of the Treasury; and to Lady Mayne, widow of Sir Richard Mayne, Chief Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, 'in consideration of his personal services to the Crown and of the faithful performance of his duty to the public'; a pension of 100*l.*, subsequently increased to 125*l.*, to the five daughters of Mr. Joseph Tucker, Surveyor of the Navy; pensions of 100*l.* each to the widow of Mr. William Plunkett, Deputy-Chairman, and afterwards Chairman of the Excise; to the widow of Mr. Oliver Lang, the well-known Naval Architect and Master Shipwright of Woolwich Dockyard; to the widow of General Colby, R.E., for his services in organising and conducting the trigonometrical surveys in Great Britain and Ireland; to the widow of Mr. Hughes, many years Master of the Greenwich Hospital Schools; to Mrs. Delves Broughton, and Miss Susan Arbuthnot, daughters of Mr. George Arbuthnot, a clerk in the Treasury, and sometime Private Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; to the widow of Mr. William Hookham Carpenter, Keeper of the Prints in the British Museum; and, in two grants of 50*l.* each, to the three daughters of Mr. Baily, in consideration of his 'long and meritorious services in the War-office'; a pension of 90*l.* to the widow of Mr. Frederick St. John, Surveyor-General of Customs; a pension of 80*l.* to the widow of Mr. Jeremiah M'Kenna, 'in consideration of his legal services'; a pension of 75*l.* to the widow of Mr. Godfrey Sykes, for his 'services to the Industrial Arts and to the South Kensington Museum'; pensions of 60*l.* each to the widow of Captain Maconochie, for his services in the improvement of prison discipline; and to Lady Bromley, in considera-

tion of the 'meritorious public services' of her late husband, Sir Richard Bromley, K.C.B., as Accountant-General of the Navy; a pension of 50*l.* to the two daughters of Mr. Hay, for his 'long and faithful services' as a clerk in the Admiralty at Whitehall; and a pension of 40*l.* to the widow of Mr. Thurston Thompson, 'in consideration of his labours as official photographer to the Science and Art Department, and of his personal services to the late Prince Consort.' Among these twenty-one names we find those of persons who have held appointments in some of the first public offices in the country. Such appointments are considered the prizes of the Civil Service, not only on account of the salaries attached to them, but also from their association with members of the Government, and with the heads of departments generally. It is, therefore, not surprising that the pensions in this class have, more frequently than any others, been attributed to interest or favouritism, and have been regarded as the effects of personal intimacy or official connexion. It has also been urged, that if the families of men employed in the higher ranks of public offices are entitled to pensions on the Civil List, the large number of persons who have faithfully done their duty in the same departments, or in others of a less attractive character, ought to have made this class of pensions one of the largest in the List.

In the fifth subdivision of Class III., 'Miscellaneous Services,' we find a pension of 300*l.* to the Rev. Theobald Mathew, 'for his meritorious exertions to promote temperance in Ireland'; a pension of 200*l.* to Lieutenant Waghorn, for his 'great energy and perseverance in opening out the Overland Route to India'; with a pension of 100*l.*, in two grants of 40*l.* and 60*l.*, to his widow, and one of 50*l.* to his mother; a pension of 200*l.* to the wife of Dr. Alexander Mac Arthur, Superintendent of Model Schools in Ireland, and Inspector of National Schools in the Dublin district, 'in consideration of his having been attacked by mental derangement,' with one of 50*l.* to the widow at his death; a pension of 200*l.* to the widow of Lord Fullerton, one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland; a pension of 100*l.*, increased afterwards to 150*l.*, to the widow of Mr. Frederick Beckford Long, Inspector-General of Prisons in Ireland; a pension of 150*l.*, in three grants of 50*l.* each, to the three daughters of Professor George Joseph Bell, for his labours in the improvement of the law of Scotland; pensions of 100*l.* each to Mr. Samuel Wilderspin, for his services in promoting infant-schools; to the sister and two daughters of Mr. James Simpson, for 'his eminent services in the cause of education'; to Dr. David Nicol, in consideration of 'his long and zealous exertions for the moral and literary improvement of

of the community in which he lives ;' to Mrs. Caroline Chisholm, for her 'valuable and distinguished services to emigrants to New South Wales ;' and to the widow of Mr. William Dargan, 'in recognition of his services in connection with the Dublin Exhibition of 1853, and other works of public importance in Ireland ;' a pension of 75*l.* to the widow of Mr. John Lander, the African traveller, with two subsequent pensions of 50*l.* each to his two daughters ; a pension of 70*l.* to Miss Maria S. Rye, for her services to the public in 'promoting the amelioration of the condition of working women by emigration and otherwise ;' pensions of 60*l.* each to the widow of Mr. Austin, C.E., for his services in promoting the 'sanitary improvement of poor dwellings ;' to the daughter of Dr. Southwood Smith, M.D., for his 'valuable and gratuitous services in the cause of sanitary reform ;' and, in four grants, to the three daughters of Mr. Ffennell, one of the Salmon Fisheries' Commissioners—namely, one of 10*l.* each, separately, and one of 30*l.* to them jointly, and to the survivors or survivor of them—'in recognition of the labours of their father in connection with the Salmon Fisheries of the United Kingdom ;' a pension of 50*l.* to the six children of James Gibbons, who lost his life in the execution of his duty as Chief Constable of Police in Ireland ; pensions of 50*l.* each to the sister of Major Clapperton, the African traveller ; to the widow of Dr. Gavin, M.D., who was accidentally killed while employed in the public service in the Crimea ; to Mrs. Janet Taylor, the nautical-instrument maker in the Minories, for 'her benevolent labours among the seafaring population of London ;' and to Mrs. Macrae, on account of her 'long and successful services in the work of education ;' a pension of 25*l.* to the widow and two children of William Aldridge, 'a meritorious police officer, who was murdered at Deptford in the execution of his duty ;' and pensions of 20*l.* each to Messrs. Henry Williams, Thomas Walker, and Edward Morgan, three tradesmen of Newport, Monmouthshire, for their services as special constables in the Chartist riots in that town.

We now proceed to Class IV., 'Useful Discoveries in Science.' In this class the following pensions have been granted :—

| Pensions of 300*l.*

Dr. William Wallace, LL.D., Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military College at Great Marlow, and afterwards in the University of Edinburgh, in consideration of his attainments as

a mathematician and astronomer. Sir William Snow Harris, for his invention of the system of lightning conductors for the Navy, with one of 100*l.* to his widow.

Pensions of 200*l.*

Sir William Rowan Hamilton, Astronomer Royal for Ireland, in consideration of his 'distinguished scientific attainments,' with one of the same amount to his widow and daughter. Professor Owen, for his discoveries in Comparative Anatomy and Physiology. Mr. Robert Brown, Keeper of the Botanical Collections in the British Museum, and formerly Naturalist of the Flinders Expedition, in consideration of his 'contributions and eminent services to the science of botany.' Professor James David Forbes, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, in consideration of his 'eminent attainments in science.' Professor Adams, Lowndean Professor of Astronomy in the University

of Cambridge, in consideration of his 'astronomical discoveries and scientific merits.' Mr. Robert Torrens, F.R.S., for his 'valuable contributions to the science of Political Economy.' Mr. John Russell Hind, F.R.S., for his 'contributions to astronomical science by important discoveries.' Mr. Francis Pettit Smith, for his 'great and for a long time gratuitous exertions connected with the introduction of the screw propeller into Her Majesty's service.' The daughter of Mr. Roberts, in consideration of his 'high mechanical inventions and scientific acquirements.' Lady Brewster, widow of Sir David Brewster, in consideration of the 'eminent services which he rendered to science.'

Pensions of 150*l.*

The five daughters of Dr. Paris, President of the College of Physicians, in consideration of his 'scientific acquirements, and the benefits he conferred by his additions to the knowledge of geology.' Mr. John Curtis, in consideration of 'his scientific attainments and the merit of his works upon entomology,' in two grants of 100*l.* and 50*l.*, with one of 90*l.*

to his widow. The widow and niece of Professor Faraday, in consideration of the 'services rendered by him to chemical science.' The widow of the Rev. Baden Powell, 'in consideration of the valuable services to science rendered by him during the thirty-three years he held the Savilian Professorship of Geometry and Astronomy at Oxford.'

Pension of 125*l.*

The six sisters of Dr. Dionysius Lardner, in consideration of

'his labours in the cause of science.'

Pensions of 100*l.*

The wife of Sir Thomas Maclear, Astronomer Royal at the Cape of Good Hope, with a subsequent pension of the same amount to himself, in considera-

tion of 'the importance of his discoveries.' Lady Bell, widow of Sir Charles Bell, of Edinburgh, in consideration of 'his services to the cause of science'

as

as an anatomist and physiologist. The widow of Mr. John Claudius Loudon, in consideration of the merits of his works on botanical science. Mr. George Newport, F.R.S., for his discoveries in the comparative anatomy and physiology of insects. The three sisters of Dr. James McCullagh, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Dublin, in consideration of his 'eminent scientific attainments.' The widow of Mr. Robert Liston, in consideration of his 'eminent surgical discoveries and scientific acquirements.' The widow of Signor Belzoni, the Egyptian explorer, for the 'services rendered to science by his researches.' Dr. Mantell, F.R.S., for his 'eminent merits and contributions to science as a geologist and comparative anatomist.' Dr. Alison, M.D., Professor of the Practice of Physic in the University of Edinburgh, in consideration of his 'scientific attainments.' The son of Mr. Henry Cort, in two grants of 50*l.* each; with one of 50*l.* to each of the two daughters, and one of 50*l.* to the granddaughter, for his 'useful and valuable inventions in the manufacture of iron.' Mr. James Bowman Lindsay, in consideration of 'his scientific attainments.' The widow of Dr. Ball, 'the naturalist.' Rev. John Hind, of Cambridge, the mathematician. Rev. Henry Logan, for his contributions to 'mathematical and scientific literature.' The daughter of Sir Samuel Bentham, in consideration of the 'great benefits which he conferred on naval science.' The two daughters of Mr. Fourdrinier, for his 'valuable inventions in aid

of the manufacture of paper.' The two sisters of Dr. Baly, M.D., in consideration of his 'long career in the public service, and of the merit of his scientific medical works.' Mr. George Rainey, in consideration of his 'labours and contributions to the transactions of learned societies on minute anatomy and physiology.' The widow and daughter of Professor George Wilson, of Edinburgh, for his 'eminent services as a public teacher and a scientific man.' The widow of Mr. Thomas Witlam Atkinson, for his explorations in Oriental and Western Siberia, Mongolia, and the Amoor. Mr. George Bartlett, for his researches in natural history in Devon and Cornwall. The widow of Professor Boole, Professor of Mathematics in Queen's College, Cork, for his 'attainments as an original mathematician of the highest order.' The widow of Dr. Boswell Reid, in consideration of his 'efforts to promote the knowledge of chemistry and the practical science of ventilation.' Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall, M.D., for his 'eminence as a scientific chemist, and his services on the inquiry into the adulteration of food.' Rev. Miles Joseph Berkeley, Vicar of Sibbertoft, Northamptonshire, for his 'eminent services to microscopic botany.' The widow and mother of Mr. Hugh Miller, the Scottish geologist, in two grants, one of 70*l.* to the widow and one of 30*l.* to the mother. Mr. Augustus De Morgan, formerly Professor of Mathematics in University College, London, 'in consideration of his distinguished merits as a mathematician.'

Pensions of 80*l.*

Rev. William Hickey, Rector of Mulrankin, Wexford, for the 'services rendered by his writings, under the name of Martin Doyle, to the agricultural and social improvement of Ireland.' The four daughters of Dr. Macgil-

livray, Professor of Natural History in Marischal College, Aberdeen, for his services to natural history and botany. The widow of Captain Charles Sturt, 'in consideration of his geographical researches in Australia.'

Pensions of 75*l.*

Mr. Francis Ronalds, for his 'eminent discoveries in electricity and meteorology.' The three granddaughters of Mr. John Robertson, formerly Master of the Royal Naval School at Portsmouth, and afterwards Librarian of the Royal Society, for the services rendered to nautical science by his 'Elements of Navigation.'

Mr. John Donaldson, formerly Professor of Agriculture in Hoddesden College, now a poor brother of the Charterhouse, for the services rendered to scientific agriculture by his treatises on manures, grasses, farm-buildings, and soils. Dr. John Hart, M.D., of Dublin, for his researches in anatomy and physiology.

Pension of 70*l.*

Mr. Joshua Alder, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, for his services to the science of marine zoology, in drawing up, jointly with Mr. Han-

cock, the monograph of British Nudibranchiate Mollusca, published by the Ray Society.

Pensions of 50*l.*

Mr. Thomas Webster, one of the fathers of British geology, and the first investigator of the fresh-water beds of the Isle of Wight. Mr. William Sturgeon, for his discoveries in electromagnetism, with one of the same amount to his widow. Dr. Thomas Dick, LL.D., of Broughty Ferry, Dundee, in consideration of the eminent services rendered to science by his 'Celestial Scenery,'

and other works on astronomy, with one of the same amount to his widow. The widow of Professor Henfrey, F.R.S., Professor of Botany in King's College, London, for his researches in structural and physiological botany. Mr. Richard Spruce, for his botanical and geographical discoveries in South America, and for his services in introducing cinchona seeds into India.

It is unnecessary to point out that several of these names are of European celebrity; but while some of them who have obtained the largest pensions have been in the enjoyment of handsome incomes from employments of various kinds in the public service, others to whom the smaller pensions were granted have had no such resources, and, at the same time, have

have been so little inferior in scientific attainments, that they deserved a more liberal recognition.

We now come to Class V., 'Attainments in Literature,' a class which, in spite of the complaints of literary men against the administration of the Pension List, is not only the longest in point of numbers, but the largest in regard to the amount voted. It contains 166 pensions, of which 37 were granted to Poetry, 23 to History, 14 to Biblical Literature, 13 to Novels, 12 to Archæology, 12 to Periodical Literature, 11 to Miscellaneous Literature, 7 to Topography and Travels, 6 to the Drama, 6 to Philology, 5 to Translations, 5 to Moral Philosophy, 4 to Classical Literature, 3 to Art Literature, 2 to Biography, 1 to Geography, 1 to Oriental Literature, 1 to Political Economy, 2 to Languages, 1 to Music. The following are the particulars of the pensions granted in this class:—

Pensions of 300*l.*

Lady Morgan, the Irish novelist. Mr. Wordsworth, the poet. Professor John Wilson, of Edinburgh, 'Christopher North,' with one of 50*l.* to his daughter, Mrs. Gordon, at his death.

Pensions of 200*l.*

Colonel Gurwood for his services in editing the 'Despatches of the Duke of Wellington,' with one of 50*l.* to his widow. Rev. Henry Cary, one of the Librarians of the British Museum, for his translation of 'Dante.' Mr. Patrick Fraser Tytler (son of Lord Woodhouselee), author of the 'History of Scotland.' The four grandchildren of Principal Robertson, the historian, in four grants of 50*l.* each. Mr. Alfred Tennyson, the poet laureate. Rev. Dr. Samuel Bloomfield, editor of the Greek Testament. Mr. J. R. McCulloch, the political economist. Mr. Leigh Hunt, the poet, with one of 75*l.* to his daughter at his death. The widow

and six daughters of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, the Scottish divine, in one grant of 50*l.* to the widow, and six of 25*l.* each to the daughters. Mr. Sheridan Knowles, the dramatist, with one of 100*l.* to his widow. Mr. William Carleton, the Irish novelist, with one of 100*l.* to his widow. Mr. Silk Buckingham, the traveller. The widow of Mr. Robert Southey, the poet, with one of 100*l.* each to the two daughters of his first marriage, Miss Kate Southey and Mrs. Bertha Hill. Dr. George Petrie, LL.D., the Irish archaeologist, in two grants of 100*l.* each, with four of 25*l.* each to his four daughters at his death.

Pensions of 150*l.*

Dr. John Anster, LL.D., translator of 'Faust,' 'in consideration of the successful application of

his talents to the cultivation of literature.' Dr. William Henry Emmanuel Bleek, Ph.D., 'in recognition

cognition of his literary services, and in aid of his labours in the department of philology, espe-

cially in the study of the South African languages.'

Pension of 140*l.*

Mr. William Howitt, in consideration of 'the long and useful career of literary labour in which

he and his wife, Mrs. Mary Howitt, have been engaged.'

Pensions of 100*l.*

Dr. James Browne, LL.D., Member of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, in consideration of 'his literary attainments.' Mr. George Burges, M.A., editor of 'Plato,' and of numerous Greek plays. Rev. Robert Kidd, editor of 'Dawesii Miscellanea Critica.' The widow of Mr. William James, the naval historian. The wife of Mr. Thomas Hood, the humourist, during his illness, with one of 50*l.* at his death to his daughter, Mrs. Broderip, and one of 50*l.* to his son, Mr. Tom Hood, now editor of 'Fun.' Mr. Bernard Barton, the Quaker poet. Mrs. Sarah Austin, translator of 'Ranke's History of the Popes' and other works from the German. Lady Hamilton, widow of Sir William Hamilton, Professor of Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. The wife of Mr. Thomas Moore, the poet, 'in consideration of the literary merits of her husband, and the infirm state of his health,'—the grant in this case having been made to the wife, because Mr. Moore himself had been in the receipt of a pension of 300*l.* since the year 1835. Mr. Payne Collier, the Shakespearian commentator. Mr. James Bailey, editor of 'Facciolati's Lexicon.' Dr. John Kitto, editor of the 'Pictorial Bible,' with one of 50*l.*

to his widow, and one of 100*l.* to his four daughters. Mr. John Poole, author of 'Paul Pry.' Mrs. Jameson, for her writings on Art, with one of the same amount to her two sisters at her death. Mr. William Jerdan, editor of the 'Literary Gazette.' Sir Francis Bond Head, Bart., traveller and essayist. The widow of Mr. David Moir, poet and novelist. Lady Nicolas, widow of Sir Harris Nicolas, the historian and antiquary. Mr. Alaric Watts, editor of the 'Literary Souvenir.' Rev. Dr. Hincks, Rector of Killyleagh, for his researches on the Khoorsabad Inscriptions, and in Assyrian, Egyptian, and Babylonian History and Mythology, with one of the same amount to his three daughters at his death. Mr. Thomas Keightley, for his popular Histories. Mr. Samuel Lover, author of 'Rory O'More,' and other Irish novels. The widow of Mr. Gilbert à Beckett, one of the police magistrates of London, author of the 'Comic History of England,' and one of the principal contributors to 'Punch.' Mr. Philip James Bailey, author of 'Festus.' Mrs. Merrifield, author of several works on the literature of Art. The widow of Mr. Douglas Jerrold, satirist and novelist, with one of 50*l.* to his daughter after the mother's death.

Mr.

Mr. W. Desborough Cooley, author of various works on the geography of Inner Africa. Dr. Robert Blakey, Ph.D., author of the 'History of the Philosophy of Mind.' Miss Julia Sophia Pardoe, author of the 'City of the Sultan.' Dr. Robert Bigsby, in consideration of 'his great services and contributions to the literature of his country.' Dr. Charles Mackay, author of 'The Salamandrine,' and other poems. Mr. Leitch Ritchie, editor of 'Chambers's Journal,' in acknowledgment of his 'labours to enrich the literature of his country, and to elevate the intellectual condition of the poor.' Mr. Isaac Taylor, author of 'The Natural History of Enthusiasm,' 'The Physical Theory of Another Life,' and other works, 'in public acknowledgment of his eminent services to literature, especially in the departments of history and philosophy, during a period of more than 40 years.' Miss Frances Browne, the blind poetess of Ulster. Mr. Edward William Lane, translator of the 'Arabian Nights' and the 'Koran,' 'in testimony of the value of his 'Arabic Dictionary,' the product of 20 years' labour.' Dr. Robert Gordon Latham, for his works on Ethnology, Language, and Comparative Philology. Dr. Tregelles, for his contributions to Biblical Literature and Criticism. Miss Eliza Cook, the poetess. Rev. Charles Bernard Gibson, formerly Presbyterian Chaplain of the Convict Prison at Spike Island, author of the 'History of the County and City of Cork.' Miss Matilda Mary Hays, 'in consideration of her constant labour of mind, and her distin-

guished attainments in literature.' The widow and daughter of Dr. Montgomery, in consideration of 'his abilities, learning, and attainments.' The widow of Dr. Joseph Robertson, LL.D., Curator of the Literary and Historical Department of the General Register House in Edinburgh, editor of various works on the ancient history of Scotland, for the Spalding, Maitland, and Bannatyne Clubs. Mrs. Oliphant, in consideration of her 'contributions to literature.' Dr. Charles Richardson, LL.D., in two grants of 75*l.* and 25*l.*, as the author of the 'New Dictionary of the English Language.' Mr. Edwin Atherstone, in two grants of 75*l.* and 25*l.*, as the author of 'The Fall of Nineveh,' and other poems. Mr. William Allingham, in two grants of 60*l.* and 40*l.* (the last granted in the present year), in consideration of the 'literary merit of his poetical works.' The widow and daughters of Dr. James S. Reid, Professor of Ecclesiastical and Civil History in the University of Glasgow, in one grant of 50*l.* to the widow, and one of 50*l.* to the three daughters, 'in consideration of his valuable contributions to literature.' The widow of Dr. Robert Lee, Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh. Mrs. Anna Maria Hall, wife of Mr. S. C. Hall, Barrister-at-Law, editor of the 'Art Journal,' in consideration of her 'contributions to literature.' Mr. Harrison Ainsworth, author of 'Jack Sheppard,' and other novels, in consideration of his 'eminence as an author.' Mr. Robert William Buchanan, 'in consideration of his literary merits as a poet.'

Pensions of 90*l.*

Mr. James Godkin, of Dublin, formerly correspondent of the 'Times,' author of 'Cassell's Popular History of Ireland,' and of numerous pamphlets on the Irish

Church and the Irish land questions. Mr. James Burton Robertson, in consideration of his 'useful, literary labours.'

Pension of 80*l.*

The widow of Mr. George Brodie, Historiographer Royal of

Scotland, 'in recognition of his historical researches and writings.'

Pensions of 75*l.*

Mr. John Britton, author of the 'Cathedral Antiquities,' and other antiquarian works. Miss Louisa Stuart Costello, author of several books of foreign travel. Mr. Dudley Costello, her brother, in consideration of the 'many years devoted by him to the pursuit of literature, and the high character of his works.' The widow and three daughters of Mr. George Dunbar, in consideration of his 'services as Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh.' Mr. Charles Duke Yonge, 'in consi-

deration of his literary merits.' Miss Emma Robinson, author of 'Whitefriars.' The widow of Mr. David Trevena Coulton, editor of the 'Press,' and other London newspapers. Mr. Patrick Frederick White, Lecturer and Illustrator of the Minstrelsy, Bardic Literature, and Music of Ireland. Mr. Stephen Henry Bradbury, of Leicester, author of some volumes of poetry published under the sobriquet of 'Quallon,' in two grants of 50*l.* and 25*l.*

Pensions of 70*l.*

Rev. William Barnes, on account of his 'eminence as a linguist and author.' Mr. S. W. Fullom, journalist and author of works of fiction. Mr. Gerald Massey, 'a lyric poet sprung from the people.'

Mr. Cyrus Redding, journalist and author of the 'History of Wines.' Mrs. Elizabeth Strutt, author of a metrical version of the story of 'Cupid and Psyche,' and other works.

Pension of 65*l.*

Mr. Thomas Wright, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, editor of several books published by the Camden, Shake-

peare, and Percy Societies, and author of numerous works on English history and literature.

Pensions of 60*l.*

Miss Mulock, now Mrs. G. L. Craik, author of 'John Halifax, gentleman,' and other novels. The two daughters of Dr. Craik, Professor of History and English

Literature in Queen's College, Belfast, in two grants of 30*l.* each. Mr. Edward Capern, the poetical postman of North Devon, in two grants of 40*l.* and 20*l.* Dr. Archibald

Archibald Armstrong, LL.D., author of the 'Gaelic Dictionary,' in two grants of 40*l.* and 20*l.*, with one of 50*l.* to his widow. Miss

Eliza Meteyard, author of the 'Life of Wedgwood,' and other works published under the name of 'Silverpen.'

Pensions of 50*l.*

Mrs. Turnbull, sister of Dr. Leyden, the Orientalist, 'in consideration of his literary merits.' The widow of Dr. Glen, for his services to Biblical literature, by translating, while a missionary in the East, the Old Testament into Persian. The widow and daughter of Mr. Joseph Train, 'in consideration of his personal services to literature, and of the valuable aid derived by Sir Walter Scott from his antiquarian and literary researches.' The widow of Mr. James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, with 40*l.* to his daughter at her mother's death. Mrs. Lee (widow of Mr. T. E. Bowdich, the African traveller, author of 'An Account of the Mission to Ashantee'), 'in consideration of her contributions to literature' as the author of 'Memoirs of Baron Cuvier' and of various works on Natural History. Mr. John D'Alton, 'in consideration of his contributions to the history, topography, and statistics of Ireland.' Miss Thomasine Ross, 'in consideration of her literary merits.' Dr. John O'Donovan, for his valuable contributions to ancient Irish literature and philology, with one of the same

amount to his widow. Mr. Charles Swain, 'in consideration of his literary merits.' The widow of the Rev. Robert Montgomery, author of 'The Omnipresence of the Deity,' 'Satan,' and other works. Mr. Francis Davis, for his contributions to Irish literature. Mr. John Bolton Roger-son, of Manchester, author of 'Rhyme, Romance, and Revelry.' Mr. Thomas Roscoe, editor of the 'Landscape Annual,' and translator of Benvenuto Cellini, Sismondi, and Lanzi. Mr. John Wade, author of 'British History chronologically arranged,' in consideration of 'his contributions to political literature, more especially during the time of the Reform Bill of 1832.' The widow of Mr. John Leaf, of Friskney, near Boston, author of 'Biographic Portraits,' and of numerous contributions to the periodicals published by Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh. Mr. Henry Laing, 'in consideration of his services to the study of Scotch antiquities and Scotch historical research.' Mrs. Lucy Sherrard Finley, 'in consideration of her services to literature.'

Pensions of 40*l.*

The daughter of Mr. John Banim, the Irish novelist, 'in consideration of his suffering under severe illness, which has deprived him of reason,' with one of 50*l.* to the widow at his death. Mr. Benjamin Thorpe, in addition to one of 160*l.* granted

in the last reign, for his contributions to Anglo-Saxon literature. The widow of Mr. James Kenney, author of 'Sweethearts and Wives,' 'Raising the Wind,' and numerous other dramas, with one of the same amount to his two daughters at the mother's death. Mr.

Mr. Henry John Doogood, a parliamentary reporter, author of 'The Coming Day,' and other poems. Mr. George Thomas Thomason, formerly a printer in Thames Street, author of 'Memories, a Pastoral Poem,' and editor

of the 'Middlesex Chronicle,' a local paper published at Hounslow. Mr. Robert Young, 'in recognition of his services as an historical and agricultural poet in Ireland.'

Pensions of 30*l.*

Mr. Alexander MacLagan, 'in consideration of his literary merits.' Miss Julia Tilt, author of five novels.

Pension of 25*l.*

Mr. Joseph Haydn, author of 'The Dictionary of Dates,' with four successive grants of 25*l.* each to his more fortunate widow.

Pension of 20*l.*

The daughter of Dr. Robert Bisset, LL.D., author of 'The Life of Burke,' and 'The History of the Reign of George III.,' granted sixty years after her father's death.

No one who knows what English literature has been during the reign of our present Queen, and how vast have been the numbers of those who have made it their profession, can read the names of these pensioners without a feeling of disappointment. No Minister, if called upon to select 166 persons, from the writers of both sexes, who, by their literary attainments during the last thirty-two years, have merited, in the words of the House of Commons' resolution, the 'gratitude of their country,' would consider that he had fulfilled what the same resolution calls his 'bounden duty' by making such a selection. It is, no doubt, one of the evils of having to apportion annually among so many classes of literary applicants a part only of the fixed sum of 1200*l.*, that the Minister is precluded from taking a more discriminating view of the claims before him, to say nothing of those which may have been left to him as a legacy by his predecessor—assuming that the latter claims are not set aside or forgotten on each change of administration. The small amount, also, which remains after the best cases have been provided for, frequently compels a Minister to assign inadequate pensions to claims with which he would willingly deal in a more liberal spirit if he had a larger margin at his disposal, or induces him to bestow petty sums on inferior writers, on whom, under other circumstances, he would never dream of conferring pensions, however small. This is the only excuse that can be offered for granting pensions to writers of whose productions

men

men of letters hear for the first time when the annual return to Parliament is published. Authors of books which have never commanded a sufficient sale to defray the cost of printing, or which, if once read, will never be read again, are not the persons who can be considered as having 'deserved the gratitude of their country ;' while others who may have more pretensions to 'attainments in literature,' secure a more profitable return from the Minister who pensions them, than they are ever likely to obtain from the reading public, because a few years' payment of the pensions will more than realise the full value of their copyrights, assuming that, in the judgment of publishers, they have any value at all. There are, of course, some signal exceptions. Every one will recognise, among the names we have recorded, those of men whose genius has enriched literature with works which will live as long as the English language itself; others who have performed good and honourable service in fields of thought not calculated to command large pecuniary results; others who have spent their lives in researches of which the full value will be reaped only by posterity. Such men have earned a right to look to the nation for their recompense, and it is due to the nation to say that it has never grudged them a generous acknowledgment. In honouring such claims the Minister honours himself; and the only regret that has ever been expressed in regard to them has arisen from the feeling that the pensions assigned to them have, in many cases, been inadequate to their deserts. This feeling will be understood by comparing the amounts granted in the various classes of literature: a process which will at once prove, if proof were needed, that the grants have not been made on any principle of comparative merit. This will be especially observable in the classes of historians, travellers, translators, novelists, and poets, to some of whom pensions have been given as much below the merits of their works as those which have been given to others have been beyond them. In no other way can we account for one historian receiving three times as much as another of far more learning and research, or one novelist receiving five times as much as another of much greater genius and inventive power. As to the poets, the petty sums granted to mere poetasters have simply wasted money which might have promoted the comfort and rewarded the talent of men of real eminence, who would rather submit to the proverbial vicissitudes of a literary career than lose caste by accepting an inadequate pension from the State.

Another question suggested by an examination of the names of the literary pensioners relates to their nationality. It has frequently been asserted by the Welsh journals that no author born

born in the Principality ever succeeded in obtaining a pension on the Civil List. So far as the present reign is concerned, the question is settled by the returns before us, which show that, of the 385 pensions granted since her Majesty's accession, nearly a quarter were made to Scotchmen, nearly a fifth to Irishmen, and only two to Welshmen; and these were not men of letters, but two tradesmen of Newport, who were pensioned for their loyalty in assisting the late Sir Thomas Phillips in suppressing the Chartist riots in that town.

The sixth and last class is that of 'Attainments in the Arts,' which appears to have found so little favour in the eyes of successive Ministers, that the total amount granted to it during the present reign has been less than one-sixth of that granted to Public Services, and little more than one-seventh of that granted to Literature. Of the 19 pensions of which this class consists, one of 200*l.* was granted to Lady Shee, widow of President Sir Martin Archer Shee, with one of 200*l.* to his three daughters on their mother's death; one of 300*l.* to Lady Eastlake, widow of President Sir Charles Lock Eastlake; one of 150*l.* to Mr. Richard Cockle Lucas, in 'consideration of his merits as an artist, and for presenting some valuable ivory carvings and antiquities to the South Kensington Museum'; pensions of 100*l.* each to the widow of Mr. Welby Pugin, the architect; to the widow of Mr. John Hogan, the Irish sculptor; to the widow of Mr. Cross, the painter; to Mr. George Thomas Doo, F.R.S., the line-engraver; to the widow of Mr. George H. Thomas, the artist; and to the widow of Mr. John Leech, the artist of 'Punch,' with subsequent pensions of 50*l.* each to his son and his daughter; a pension of 95*l.* to Mr. George Cruikshank, the caricaturist; a pension of 80*l.* to Mr. Kenny Meadows, the illustrator of Shakespeare; pensions of 75*l.* to the widow of Mr. W. H. Bartlett, the illustrator of various works of home and foreign scenery; and to Mr. John Burnet, the line-engraver; pensions of 50*l.* to the widow of Mr. Benjamin Robert Haydon, the historical painter; to the three daughters of Mr. Archer, 'in consideration of his valuable contributions to the science of photography'; and to Mr. John Hayter, the portrait painter. If we were to draw from these names and figures the inference that artists have been in easier circumstances than men of literature and science, we fear that the inference would be contradicted by the facts; and we may therefore presume that they have been more modest in the assertion of their claims, unless indeed we are to conclude, what for every reason we are unwilling to do, that Ministers have been more deaf to their appeals than they have been to those of others.

In conclusion, we venture to make a few suggestions as to the future management of the Pension List.

In the first place, we would remind all Ministers, present and to come, of the resolution of the House of Commons passed in 1834, which expressly declared it to be the *bounden duty* of the responsible advisers of the Crown to recommend grants of pensions to such persons only as have merited the *gracious consideration of their Sovereign* and the *gratitude of their country*. If these sentences could be kept before the eyes of every Minister, when he sits down in future to make his annual selection of pensioners, there would be fewer mistakes on his part, and there would be more ground for Mr. Disraeli's opinion, expressed in the discussion which took place in the House of Commons on the 23rd of March, 1867, in reference to the pension which had been granted to Mr. Robert Young, that 'the pensions which have been granted to the claims of literature and science have, on the whole, been given with good taste and discretion by the Government of the country, to whatever party they belonged.'

In the second place, it is clear that, if the mistakes which have occurred in granting pensions to recipients unworthy of them are to be avoided for the future, more care must be taken in the preliminary investigation of claims. The Minister must rely not only on the recommendatory signatures attached to the petitions, but must seek information from independent sources. It would also be an additional and important security against error if the grant of pensions were made the act of a Cabinet Committee, with the condition that no grant should be made unless the Committee were unanimous. When George IV. charged his Privy Purse with the sum of 1000*l.* a year for the purpose of giving pensions of 100*l.* to ten literary men of eminence, he placed the money in the hands of the President and Council of the Royal Society of Literature, in the belief that an independent body of gentlemen of literary tastes would be better able to make a just selection than any single individual, however eminent. This trust was performed for many years to the entire satisfaction of the royal donor and of the pensioners themselves, who felt honoured by having their names announced as the 'Royal Associates' of the Society. That they were not unworthy of the distinction may be seen from the names of the associates first elected, who were the poet Coleridge, the Rev. Edward Davies, the Rev. Dr. Jamieson, Mr. Malthus, Mr. Mathias, Mr. Millingen, Sir William Ouseley, Mr. Roscoe, Archdeacon Todd, and Mr. Sharon Turner. The necessity of obtaining more information than is likely to be given to a Minister

Minister by the applicant himself, is proved by a late narrow escape from the mistake of granting a pension to a 'fellow of a learned society,' who was better known to the Mendicity Society than to the Treasury. It was announced in a semi-official paragraph in the 'Times' that a pension of 75*l.* had been granted to this individual, who was only thirty-one years of age, and of the smallest pretensions on the score of literature; but the announcement having led to inquiry, the result of which was unsatisfactory, the intended pension was revoked.

In the third place, we are inclined to think that no pensions should be granted of a less amount than 100*l.* It may, probably, be urged in defence of small pensions that they have been granted as much to distress as to merit. That this has really been the case, is shown by the numerous entries of such phrases as 'destitute circumstances,' 'impoverished condition,' 'distressing position,' 'scanty means,' &c. But there is nothing either in the Act of Parliament itself, or in the resolution of the House of Commons, defining the persons to whom the pensions are to be granted, which refers, directly or indirectly, to distressed circumstances. The minor pensions are too small for those who have really 'merited the gracious consideration of their Sovereign and the gratitude of their country.' All claims which do not commend themselves to consideration in strict accordance with these words of the resolution of the House of Commons should be reserved for the triennial grants of the Royal Bounty Fund, which is also under the control of the Prime Minister. The elimination of petty cases of small literary pretensions would enable him to give larger pensions to those which have a fair claim to national reward; and men of mark would no longer be humiliated by having their names reported to Parliament as the recipients of sums which are wholly inadequate to their merits, and which may give foreigners an erroneous impression of the value set upon them by the country.

Lastly, though poverty without merit constitutes no claim to a pension, we have grave doubts whether a Minister is justified in granting a pension to any person in easy circumstances. It may, no doubt, be assumed that when a man of literary or scientific reputation accepts a pension of 100*l.*, 60*l.*, or 50*l.* a year, the fact of the acceptance may be regarded as an indication of narrow means; but this is not invariably the case, as every one may ascertain for himself by glancing over the list, in which he will recognise the names of many persons of both sexes whose annual incomes are known to be from five to ten times larger than their pensions, and who, compared with the great mass of their literary or scientific contemporaries,

temporaries, are really in affluent circumstances. This is especially remarkable in some pensions of recent date, which have excited a good deal of jealousy and unfavourable criticism in literary circles, on the ground that, while many deserving applicants in narrow circumstances have been passed over, these fortunate individuals have succeeded in forcing themselves on the notice of the Minister, while surrounded with all the luxuries of life, and in the possession of ample means which ought to have made them unwilling to become a burden upon the State.

Having mentioned the 'Royal Bounty Fund,' we may observe that as much careful inquiry is demanded in its administration as in the grant of pensions. As the names of the persons assisted by the Minister from this source are not published, it is impossible to give official details, but enough has from time to time become known to show that gross impositions have been practised on the Minister, and that grants have continually been made without any inquiry whatever. Lord Melbourne, on one occasion, made a grant of 300*l.* from this fund to the author of a few school books, which are now quite obsolete or forgotten. Another Minister gave several grants to persons whose histories are recorded in the begging-letter department of the Mendicity Society; while another awarded 100*l.* to a man of notoriety at Carlisle, who was afterwards sentenced to penal servitude for forging the name of a noble lord in order to obtain employment in the Abyssinian Expedition; but suspicions having been excited after the grant was made, the character of the applicant was discovered in time to stop the payment of the cheque.

In the administration of so large a fund, the same precautions should be taken as are adopted in the Privy Purse department of her Majesty the Queen, of which it may be safely asserted that, under the control of the late Sir Charles Phipps and of his successor, Sir Thomas Biddulph, there has not been in our time a public office more ably managed in this country. Nothing is done in that department without inquiry, and special care is taken to ascertain that widows and orphans are lawfully entitled to describe themselves as such, and to detect the begging-letter class which is continually preying upon society. A few simple rules should be laid down, and strict compliance with them should be enforced. The Royal Bounty Fund might then become an important auxiliary to the Pension List, and might assist in rendering it more worthy of the national character and of the 'honour and dignity of the Crown.'

ART. VI.—*St. Paul and Protestantism; with an Introduction on Puritanism and the Church of England.* By Matthew Arnold, M.A., LL.D., formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College. London, 1870.

IT may be said to be one of the open secrets of our time that great religious changes are impending in England. Among them, of course, are changes in the Church, in its internal polity, and in its relations to the Nonconformist bodies and to the State. Great movements of opinion within it, great political events without, such as the thorough-going application of Cavour's principles and policy in Italy, and the disestablishment of the Irish Church at home, and of almost all branches of the English Church in the colonies, have forced on men's minds the ideas which bring forth ecclesiastical revolutions, and have familiarized them with the possibility of extensive and deep schemes of remodelling. The ground has been moved and shaken about roots which have been almost undisturbed for several generations. These anticipations of change, which to some are not much more than a persuasion or a dim feeling that something new is coming, which to some bring anxious misgivings or inexpressible fear and pain, are to others a subject of eager welcome and hope. To the mass of Liberal thinkers—and there are very Liberal thinkers in the Conservative party—the prospect recommends itself in various ways. To some it opens the way of more complete and final escape from the embarrassments which have come from the political entanglements of religion; to some, a better chance for what they think larger and worthier ideas of religion; and as there are in the Liberal party elements not only of anti-ecclesiastical but of anti-religious policy and enthusiasm, there are some who hail it as likely to cripple, if not to neutralize, a powerful but irrational and noxious influence in society and legislation. The Nonconformists, as a body, are naturally excited at seeing things brought into serious question in a practical way, about which their complaints, their charges, and their arguments have been for a long time little heeded; they are elated at finding how much their weight has told in the decision of important political conflicts; and no one has a right to wonder at their triumph over the apparently approaching destruction of what they have so long and intensely wished to destroy, even if it is not to be destroyed for the reasons which have made them wish to destroy it. Within the Church, the various influences which at previous times told against separation from the State and against internal changes, have been

been greatly affected by the course of thought and by the events of the last thirty years. Changes in the balance of political and religious parties, in the ideas of government, in legislation, in doctrinal bias and development; in the character, the activity, the power, the aims of religious leaders; in the fashions and understandings of religious society, all have contributed in their degree, and often on different and opposite grounds, to reconcile many among the warmest and most sincere of Churchmen to innovations from which even a few years back they would have shrunk with dismay. The signs of the time portend change in the Church, and facilitate it. They point, also, to the direction which change is likely to take. Engineers tell us that when the periodic times of a ship's roll coincide with the periodic times of the waves in the trough of which she is swaying from side to side, this is the most dangerous time for her: for then the two forces act together, instead of checking one another, in disturbing her stability and balance. There never was a time, probably, in the history of the English Church, since the Reformation, when the impulse towards change from without conspired with such strong impulses towards change from within, which, though of a totally different nature, yet are acting in the same direction.

To all minds which feel the interest of religion the momentous question is presenting itself,—What is to be the future of religion in England, as far as religion is affected by the outward framework and visible form under which it lives and acts? These outward conditions in England have been very peculiar. Nothing exactly like it has been known in Christendom. Religion has been organized simultaneously on two different and antagonistic principles, and on both of them organized naturally, strongly, and popularly. The Church principle and system, and the Nonconformist principle and system, have long been, like two nations and two manner of people, struggling in the womb of English Christianity. In varying degrees of strength and prominence; with alternate periods of conflict, aggression, and truce; with many vicissitudes of fortune; with great fluctuations of predominance and repulse, each often checked and thrown back, apparently at the moment when it was most hopeful of triumph—they laid hold of English society before the Reformation, and have disputed the possession of it ever since, as they do now. And the remarkable thing is, that English society will have both of them. Both of them growing out of tendencies of unknown depth and force, and of indestructible vitality, neither of them has been able to overpower and expel the other; to make England, like France or Spain, the realm of a dominant Church, or, like the United

States, a commonwealth of sects. Both of these modes of organizing religion have much in common, as they both belong to English religion, which stands in sharp contrast with the different types of Continental religion. Both of them, besides their secondary differences, have points of affinity and sympathy which vary and alter in the progress of time, but which may, at any particular moment, create confusing and misleading appearances of resemblance. But they are essentially separated by a great gulf. The basis on which one rests is a public one, that on which the other rests is a private one. In contrast with the Church—quite apart from the position of the Church on the Statute-Book—every Nonconformist body, from the smallest and youngest company of Free Christians to the imposing organizations of the Methodists and Congregationalists, is a private association, the growth of private ideas and private wants, and exclusively and without challenge in its own hands and in its own power. This is just what cannot be said of the Church. It did not make itself. It could not, if it would, unmake itself. It declines, in the most peremptory way, any dependence on individuals; it rejects impatiently individual pressure; it will have nothing to do with private ideas, private doctrines, private claims. It is anything but co-extensive with the nation; yet the thought which inspires and guides it is nothing less than a national one. The one order is historical, inherited, continuous with the past, keeping in company, in troubled times and smooth, with the life and range of the nation. The other, in all its manifold shapes, starts in each instance from a fresh basis of change, reform, protest. To improve, it makes a breach; to build aright, it pulls down and clears the ground; and that which it has done on its own responsibility in order to begin its career, of course may be, and in the lapse of time is likely to be, done to it. It is the enterprise of private men. It may be right, it may be based on truth, it may be commended by imperious necessity, it may be a revival of primitive ideas and practices, it may be a return to real Christianity, and destined to retrieve and save it in a world which has lost it: but, be it what else it may, it must be a thing private and not public, the work and thought of private men, which nothing at present conceivable could ever make a public thing.

This, independently of belief, usage, and temper, is the broad distinction between the two forms of religious organization which have recommended themselves to the genius of the English nation. The capital difference is between what is public and what is private. The one is sometimes spoken of invidiously as the State Church, the creation of Acts of Parliament and the policy

policy of governments, an establishment in bondage to the civil power and at its mercy ; and the other is often described as being distinctively the voluntary system, the organization which belongs to churches which are free, independent of political control, untrammelled by human law, and which leaves choice and conscience at liberty in matters of religion. These popular ways of viewing the subject are inadequate and misleading. The Church is subject to legal regulation, not because it is the creation of law, but because its basis is a public one ; and what is public must attract the notice of the law much more than, and in a different sense from, what is private. And it is not only a mere begging of the question, but it is going in the face of palpable facts, to claim for the Nonconformist system the distinctive attributes of voluntary and free ; as if the Church were neither. It would be strange, in a race like the English, if that which had been for ages the chosen religious organization of the nation were less voluntary and less free than the organization of particular fractions. As no one is obliged to be a Churchman against his will, and as neither numbers nor heartiness of attachment are wanting in the Church, it is idle to allege that the absence of spontaneous adhesion and voluntary choice distinguishes its organization from that of the Nonconformists, or that its members feel themselves less free because they are under the limitations and government of English law. In their vigour, their tenacity of conviction, their ennobling sense of liberty, in their genuine and spontaneous warmth of zeal, no one who cares for his character as an honest reporter of facts can venture to say that there is anything to choose between them. Both are free, as far as freedom is compatible with an organization at all ; both are voluntary, if voluntary means the unrestrained adhesion of the will ; both are popular, if popular means what answers to and attracts the sympathies and interest of mankind. It is not in this direction that the distinction between them is to be sought. But one is public, with the advantages and the disadvantages of what is public ; and the other is private, with the advantages and the disadvantages of what is private.

Whether these two great roads are still to remain open for the religion of Englishmen, or whether one of them is to be closed, and closed for ever, is becoming one of the serious questions of the time. From the earliest days of English history, with one short interruption, there has been a public Church, a public religion. We do not call it national, for it has not always been such ; but it has always been public, open to the public, and for the public ; public in its aims, public in its management. Whatever its origin, it was not private ; whatever its

its changes, they have been brought about by great public influences, and they have been fixed by the acts of public authority. Whether there shall be such a thing any longer, is what the present generation will have to decide for themselves and those who come after them. Churchmen, indeed, believe—and believe with at least as much ground of reason as their antagonists have against them—that no changes of political relations can change the inherent attributes and prerogatives of their great institution. Its antiquity, its remoteness of origin, its long and chequered and powerful life, alone distinguish it from sects which were founded at a known and recent date, on known and limited doctrinal bases, and by the will and energy of particular men. The Church never can sink in such points to the level of religious societies which are but of yesterday. But the Church may cease, by certain alterations in her relations with the country, to be what she is now,—a public institution. And when she ceases to be a public institution, let her retain what she may of her present character and her present doctrines and habits of thought and feeling, the whole religious condition of the country is changed, and she takes her place as one among a number of religious societies, under the control of private men, under private government, and with private interests.

The general direction of Liberal thought in politics and religion is in favour of reducing all religious organization to a private matter: that is to say, to giving to the Nonconformist principle and system a complete and final triumph over the older principle and system. And this is natural; for the Nonconformists claim to have been in all periods of English history the staunch supporters of Liberal principles; and, as regards the embodiment of these principles in definite political changes and acts of legislation, the claim is well-founded. Whether the vaunted Nonconformist support of Liberal ideas has always been accompanied with what gives them their value—breadth and accuracy of knowledge, clearness and enlightenment of view, largeness of purpose and ends, and the moral qualities of nobleness, single-mindedness, and generosity—is fairly open to question. But the Liberal party owes them much, and is with reason expected to listen to their claims. But their claims are not paramount, and must be open to re-examination and scrutiny. And this claim—made with some peremptoriness, as if they were demanding the recognition of a self-evident truth—to bring down all religious organization in England to the level of their own, and their way of demanding, in the tone of men who will not any longer be trifled with, the extinction of a system to which Englishmen have been accustomed almost ever since there were

Englishmen,

Englishmen, as if it were an oppressive privilege and a degrading monopoly, is beginning to react on Liberals who live out of the cries and clamours of their party. They, as well as the Churchmen, are beginning to ask whether English society and English religion would be the better for the abolition and wiping out of one ancient English manner of being religious ; for the lopping off of one most familiar and certainly not unfruitful form of religious communion and life ; for a revolution and pulling down which should make it impossible for a man to be a Christian except as a member of a private sect. The sects of Nonconformity have been of great service to English progress ; it does not follow from this that it would be a great gain to England if there were nothing but sects in which its religion could take refuge and find expression.

Parties, political and religious, go on, repeating more and more emphatically their assumptions and watchwords ; till at last, wearied out, perhaps, or rendered suspicious by confident and unqualified assertion and by the increasing disproportion of assertion to proof, the cross-examiner appears. He asks the reason why, of things which are taken for granted without misgiving, and are glibly and easily reiterated ; and the difficulty and trouble which the answer gives are the measure of the usefulness of his function even to his own side. The oscillations and development of religious and philosophical thought exemplify this law at all times, and it has not been without its remarkable and significant instances in our own. This office, with respect to the current assumption among Liberal thinkers and talkers that the Nonconformist principle of religious organization is the true and right one, and that it ought to be made, at the cost of great organic changes, the only one, has been undertaken by Mr. Matthew Arnold ; and there are few men who, from their position, the character of their mind, and their special gifts, are better qualified to discharge it with keenness and force, and, what is more important still, with unflinching straightforwardness and honesty.

Mr. Arnold has come forward to challenge the ordinary Liberal assumption that the victory of Dissent, which to so many people seems imminent, will be the victory of religious freedom, religious right, and religious improvement. He disputes the favourite Nonconformist thesis that levelling down, the equalization in external conditions of all religious societies, is the exclusively true theory of religious organization in a free country, and its right and wholesome state. As a Liberal he has endeavoured to put before Liberals, as a religious man he has endeavoured to put before religious men, what is likely to be

be the effect on human progress and on religion in England, of the extinction, in the name of equality, of that ancient public characteristic form in which Englishmen have up to this time known and practised religion ; and of the suppression and obliteration, it may be said on mere grounds of theory, of one of the two great spheres of religious interest and religious activity in England.

Mr. Arnold's claim to be listened to with attention, as an original and independent thinker, certainly not biased in favour of ecclesiastical theology or ecclesiastical exclusiveness, no one would affect to question. But there are two things which are likely to prejudice him with many of those whom he addresses, especially among the Nonconformists. One of them is his manner as a writer ; the other is the view of doctrine which he professes. As to the first, it is one for which Mr. Arnold, ever since he began to write, has been severely dealt with. He has been accused of not being in earnest ; of playing with what is serious, and amusing himself with his own ingenuity and caprices of taste and prepossession ; of being too delicate and fastidious in dealing with the pressing questions of a bold and energetic age, which require ready and broad, and perhaps rough answers, rather than far-fetched and refined ones. People take up his phrases, and expect on producing them to call up a smile : they except to his classifications and terminology, *Hebraizing* and *Hellenizing*, *Mialism* and *Millism*, as unreal, impertinent, and fantastic ; they resent being ticketed as *Barbarians* or *Philistines* by the preacher of culture. These are tricks of writing, and belong to a man's manner and favourite ways of expressing himself ; and all of us have a right to our likes and dislikes in such matters of taste. But there never was a greater mistake than that of supposing from this that Mr. Arnold had not thought deeply and really on what he writes about, or that he is anything short of being in the most anxious and often sorrowful earnest. In truth there ought to be no difficulty in seeing, through all his banter and sarcasm, that he knows well what he is talking of, and that his purpose is as near his heart as his meaning is clear and definite. But after all our experience, though humour has so often veiled the deepest feeling and conviction, we still are slow to discern what lies hid under a disguise of light and playful handling, — to distinguish between the smile of indifference or mockery, and the smile of masked emotion and concern :

‘Questo che par sorriso ed è dolore.’

And yet with our literature, and all that it has shown us of the

the manifold and subtle devices of expression, we ought to be familiar with the reasons which have induced some of the keenest lovers of truth to seek a refuge from the consciousness of human fallibility and inadequacy in that self-repression which the Greeks call *eipavela*, and have made them reveal their most anxious convictions and say their 'invidious truths' in words which seemed to mock their meaning. Mr. Arnold has certainly said many things at which both Nonconformists and Churchmen may stumble; but those who least agree with him may convince themselves, if they will, that few men have taken more pains to clear up to themselves their thoughts, and the facts with which they deal; and that few take deeper interest in the conclusions which they urge. There is something irritating to many people in the easy flexibility of mind and style which passes rapidly through alternations of lofty calm, and light but stinging touches of satire, and goodnatured carelessness and self-abandonment, putting on the appearance of being too little in earnest, for fear of pretending to be too much. Let us, if we will, say that different men have different ways of writing, and that this is not ours, nor to our liking. But this ought not to lead any one to mistake the seriousness, the solid thought, and the sincerity and warmth of intention, which are marked on every line of his recent writings. A man who responds, as Mr. Arnold does, to the piety of Bishop Wilson, is not a man to think lightly of what Bishop Wilson lived and worked for.

The other point is more important. Nonconformists, whose theology Mr. Arnold criticises so severely, have certainly some reason to except to the theology of their critic. Mr. Arnold's interpretation of St. Paul, if it is the true and the adequate one, makes a clean sweep of a good deal more than Puritan divinity and tradition; and it certainly seems to us that in his anxiety to bring out in its due importance the moral basis and moral significance of religion, which he does with great beauty and truth, he overlooks two things,—the inextricable connection with even the moral side of Christianity of real outward facts of history, which if they fall, must bring down Christianity with them, and which it is intelligible to deny, but idle to ignore; and next, the value of those efforts after a philosophy of religion—efforts, often, doubtless, misdirected and barren, yet also, as certainly, involving deep and true work of the human mind, close scrutiny of its ideas, and patient and skilful use of the materials of knowing, which have gone on without interruption during the most progressive ages of man, and which we call theology. Mr. Arnold, for instance, is so deeply impressed and so amply satisfied with St. Paul's moral use of the idea

of

of resurrection, that he does not seem to want for himself or further to care to see in St. Paul, any great stress laid on the historical fact of our Lord's resurrection. But to leave out the capital and supreme significance of that actual rising from actual death in the belief and teaching of St. Paul, is surely as arbitrary and hopeless a suppression as any that can be laid to the charge of those Puritan interpreters who have been blind to St. Paul's morality, and have dropped it out of his doctrine. It is vain to say that St. Paul did not want it as a real fact and step in the history and development of human destiny, as well as a great figure and suggestion of moral progress. It is in vain to attempt to expound St. Paul on the supposition that though he believed the resurrection as a fact, he put it, as an historical event, in the background as secondary: it is in vain to explain the meaning of Christianity on the supposition that it may be left aside, to succumb to or to wait for the decision of science. The great alternative which the question about it offers ought never to be absent from the mind of any one who speaks of Christianity. If it cannot be, then Christianity cannot be; and then it is waste of time to write about churches and sects, and to compare their merits.

We must think that St. Paul, though most undoubtedly, as Mr. Arnold urges, he founded Christianity on the great and sure foundation, 'Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity,' founded it also on the facts of the Apostles' Creed; and we cannot imagine how he could have founded it on anything short of them. That the one truth has been, as Mr. Arnold justly says, so widely and so astonishingly forgotten, does not make the other less true; and with respect to his sketch of the two great doctrinal directions in which Nonconformist theology runs—that at least which is most popular and common—though there is but too abundant reason for his remarks, yet it is probable that explanations and remonstrances could be offered, to which equitable men must pay attention. In those Calvinistic and Arminian theories of Divine justice and man's condition, of which he has given summaries—bald and repulsive ones, yet indicative, undoubtedly, of infinite coarseness of mind, and of much mischievous and debasing teaching—little as we sympathize with them in their peremptory hardness and with the religious leaning which makes them exclusively the Gospel message, yet we cannot say that there is no meaning; they do mean something deep, solemn, and real, though they are so unhappy in their effort to express it; there are profound and indestructible ideas of the human mind lying at the bottom, though it may be very intractable ones. But our differences with

Mr.

Mr. Arnold, both as to the respect due to Calvinistic and Arminian theology, and as to the tenableness of that view of St. Paul which he would put in their place, do not affect the question, which he has handled with so much temperate wisdom and with so strong a grasp, between the Church and Nonconformity.

The direct conflict between the Church and Nonconformity is commonly and naturally urged about questions of doctrine and Church order. ‘The Church does not preach the Gospel,’ ‘the Church maintains an order and discipline which are not scriptural and primitive’—these are the two great fundamental allegations on the part of Nonconformists: the invidiousness of being a ‘dominant sect,’ a ‘State Church,’ a ‘monopoly,’ a ‘slavery,’ a ‘compromise,’ being thrown in as a popular topic, and taking the place of that belonging to the older charges of oppression and persecution, now out of date. The reply of the Church, the offensive movement on its part, carrying back the war into its opponents’ lines, has certainly not been wanting in power or spirit. But the character of the conflict and of the circumstances surrounding it are not such as of themselves to affect decisively the public policy of England with respect to the Church. Other considerations need to come in—not perhaps higher or more important ones, but wider ones. There is room for a judgment from a point of view apart, on its grounds, course, and probable issues; and it should be the point of view of one who is beyond suspicion in his love of liberty and his independence of thought, and, on the other hand, is able to sympathise with and respond to the supreme value of the Christian religion, which is the mainspring of all that is serious and noble in both the contending interests. If a man does not care for Christianity, it will matter little which way a quarrel ends which to him is little better than a fight between kites and crows; if a man does not care for liberty, his anxiety will not be awakened as to the risks which liberty may run in the turn which things may take.

To these real, yet indirect aspects and bearings of the struggle, in relation to religion in itself, Mr. Arnold has drawn attention in his essay. A further question underlies the ordinary debate between the Church and the great Nonconformist aggression on it. It is not whether the Sects or the Church represent what is true and right in religion. It is not whether, if absolute truth is unattainable, which of them, more truly or more probably than the other, represents the teaching, the spirit and the polity of a Christian body, or its primitive and purest character. It is not whether the Nonconformist societies, great or small, may claim whatever any body of free Englishmen may claim for the prosecution of good

good and honest aims, and for the protection of their consciences and liberty of action. It is whether, in the name of liberty or general advantage, they are entitled to claim that other men shall not have something which they have not, and in the nature of things cannot have. It is whether their desire for equality, which is a natural desire, and their impatience of privilege, to which the recent course of events has given a spur, is to proscribe or extinguish, as contrary to justice, if not to Christianity, another form of religious organization, older, wider, more public, than any of theirs can be; whether, because this other form has attracted to itself temporal advantages which belong to what is old and public, and is surrounded by public conditions and limitations which, in one shape or another, every association, much more every public organization, must have, but which of course must be open to plausible criticism, and which to many excellent men unquestionably seem grievous bonds, therefore England is to be deprived of something which she has never yet been without, which all the aggregate of sects cannot give, which vast numbers, to say the least, of Englishmen, high and low, regard as the most precious religious advantage—an inherited, open, public Church.

There are things, we have said, belonging to the Church as a public organization, which the Nonconformist bodies cannot have; and these are things which impress a man like Mr. Arnold, who is not inclined to take a strong side for or against, in the theological questions between the Church and its assailants. The Church, to begin with, has its part, which nothing else shares with it, in the history of the nation: has not only influenced this history strongly, for that may be said of other religious bodies; but has gone along with it, side by side, in all kinds of ways, inextricably woven in with it. The triumph of Nonconformity may take many things from the Church, but this it cannot take, any more than it can itself supply it: the fact that up to this time the Church, with all its changes, has lived from first to last with the life of the English nation, and that, beyond this, it holds, by real links of historical fact and spiritual kindred, to that great Christian body whose beginnings go back to the first ages and whose limits comprehended kingdoms and empires. The enthusiasm of Mr. Miall and Mr. Jacob Bright for self-assertion and disagreement—for 'the dissidence of Dissent and the protestantism of the Protestant religion' may finish by putting an end to this; but let it be observed what they would be doing. Nothing, by which they could be any gainers: their religious organizations would be as free and unimpeded as they are now, but not a bit more so. But, for a number

a number of their countrymen, they would have destroyed a great idea realized for ages in unbroken fact: the idea of a historic, inherited Church, which was the Church of their fathers, as it was of those from whom their fathers learned the religion of Christ; the idea of a communion, not set on foot and self-constituted, like a religious order or a charitable association, by the piety or reforming zeal and on the responsibility of certain private Christians, but one which 'could not help existing,' which existed in virtue of certain great general influences and certain great events of universal interest,—their natural, spontaneous, uninterrupted consequence; the idea of a society in which a man found himself, just as he found himself in the State, surrounded by all the associations, venerable, inspiring, subduing, elevating, even saddening, which give grandeur and ennobling force to the thought of the State, reminded at every step of those numberless large and rich traditions, of those numberless appeals—often silent and obscure ones, but not therefore the less powerful—to our reason as well as to our hearts, which gather round that which has lasted for long and embraced the most varied elements and the strangest fortunes in the many ages of an eventful history; the idea of a religious organization, joined by continuity of corporate life with the past yet in full harmony with the present, old and solid yet able to grow and change, which has seen many things and been tried by them, deep enough and flexible enough in its genius to interest and attract widely, large enough for minds to have free breathing-room and range, open for all to benefit by, and for all to see. No doubt there are minds which do not value this; who do not care for an outward embodiment of religion which reflects the attributes and characters which a good citizen values in the State—its comprehensiveness, its natural and necessary breadth, its dependence on what has gone before; its long-drawn history, its accumulated memories, its usages framed by time rather than by the direct purpose of man, its mixture of strict enactment with wide margins, its practical indulgence and looseness of outline, its inherited temper of moderation and forbearance and habits of making allowance. The Church, like the State, is something which a man feels to belong to him very closely, yet not as his family belongs to him, or his club, or his joint-stock company; and there may be many good and religious people who do not care for a religious fellowship, about which so many others besides themselves, and of such opposite views and tempers, have so much to say, and which has been moulded by those who have been before us in the world, even more than by the generation of to-day or yesterday. Let such men have the most ample liberty for following religion in

in their own way. They have something to say for themselves, and nothing but the influences of time and reason—slow influences perhaps—ought to be hoped for, to interfere with them and control them. But if there is another way of religion in England, not now proposed for the first time to be set up against them, but existing, of immemorial date, firmly rooted, bringing forth abundant fruit, filling the land with its monuments of holy beauty, and the literature of the nation with writings of consecrated genius, why should it be proscribed and put an end to? Why should the occasion be denied to those who prize it, of feeling that their religion is not one of their own selection and framing, but that it has come down, a public gift and inheritance, for the great people to which they belong? Why should they be deprived of that 'large room in which their feet are set,' of being able to feel that they have a part in what is the common possession of their brethren as it was of their fathers, of that sense both of wider liberty and larger sympathies which goes with what is ancient and is not limited by private and personal aims and rules? Why should they be forbidden their ancient and familiar connection with the fulness and richness of national life and universal Christian thought, because there are others who like better the more jealous fences and closer atmosphere of a particular association?

This distinction, that the Church, as compared with its rivals, is an ancient, historic, continuous body, though it has much to do with what is of the greatest importance in human concerns, namely, feeling and sentiment, carries with it much more than sentiment. It is closely connected with another feature in the contrast, which Mr. Arnold has brought out in its various lights with great keenness and power; the character of Church doctrine and religion. It is a feature which, it must be said, is to many a subject of the deepest scorn and insulting sarcasm, as it is to others a source of the deepest satisfaction and comfort. It is the marked preference of the genius of the Church of England for uncontroversial religion and a not too definite theology. We can hear reclamations on all sides against such a statement; we have at once recalled against us her controversial formularies, lists of her great polemics, enumerations of her sharply divided and excited parties. But is it not so? Contrast her divinity with the infinite and systematic elaborateness of the great Roman theologians, pursuing, adjudicating on every point, and with the lofty, often noble, ambitions of the great Roman spiritual masters. Contrast her literature with the great masterpieces of the Puritan divines, whether in the province of doctrine or the religious life. All the world is well aware of the existence

ence in English Church literature of that which people who value it call sobriety and modesty of statement, calm, proportionate, temperately serious views of divine things, a shyness to go too far and to speak too positively ; and which those who do not like it call tameness, vacillation, vagueness, feebleness of theological instinct and genius, cowardice, dryness, deadness to the Gospel ; or sneer at as a spiritless affectation of a homely and unpretending piety. But the result is that what is eminently Church of England divinity, that which is accepted generally as representative and common, compared with that of her great parties, is, as a whole, anxious after large and comprehensive ideas of religion ; very definite, indeed, in its view of facts and outlines, but forbearing to theorize about them and distrustful of dogmatic confidence and refinement ; impatient of absolute and aggressive pretensions, and fighting vigorously when it is necessary to fight, but turning away by preference from the fine questions of the schools and the negations of controversy, to dwell in its own way—with greater love for what is real than care for method and completeness, with want, perhaps, of scientific ardour, but honestly and with good sense—on the great broad aspects of religion, and their bearing on the conduct and prospects of man. There has always been, what to the eyes of strong religionists seemed a want of definiteness in dogma, a want of spirituality and unction, a taint of mere morality ; what to those who look wider than party, has seemed a supreme interest in real goodness and righteousness, a severe, solemn, most earnest subordination of every other aspect of religion to this one. And this view has commended itself most to that better side of English nature which lays so much stress on veracity and self-control, on fear of self-deceit and aversion to high professions.

There can be no doubt that if the Church had done what the Puritans ever since the days of Elizabeth have been wanting her to do, and what she has so obstinately resisted, to break distinctly and formally with her past, this, whether it be good or evil, would have been different. Their policy has always been to make this great break and fresh start ; we see in Hooker's controversy with Travers, how even a good man like Travers was driven by the inevitable tendencies of his system, to regard all his countrymen who had lived before him as outsiders and fatally wrong, and how hardly even Hooker could withstand and qualify the assumptions which the Puritans were trying to make popular. Led astray in the first instance by the sad necessities of the times, Puritanism made the theological oppositions and warfare of a fiercely militant Protestantism take the place of the substantial

substantial, and calm and varied ideas of Christianity : and because the Church would not break utterly with its past, it broke with the Church. When the Church, not excluding, at different periods of her history, much of what the Puritans insisted on, yet aimed in the long run at a larger, less contentious, more universally intelligible view of religion, the Puritans threw themselves on two or three great theological ideas, formulated them into rigid doctrines, and made everything else revolve about them. Puritan teaching, and at first Puritan separation, based itself definitely and professedly, not on questions of the Christian creed as a whole, but on certain fundamental dogmas, which it said were the articles of a standing and falling Church. Puritan polity, and, as Mr. Arnold remarks, Puritan separation now,—for its basis has greatly changed since its first days,—rest on the assertion of the manifest revelation in Scripture of a divine Church order. To most persons who are not Puritans the philosophical fault running through the Puritan position will be incontestable : the glaring onesidedness of their theory of doctrine, in which what is but one part, even if it is true, usurps a prominence which eclipses everything else ; and the mistake, the tendency to which is not confined to Puritanism, of raising positive law to the power of divine law. The mischief is a common one which arises from the passion for finding stronger reasons for what we believe and think right, than in the nature of things can be found ; from the feeling which inclines us to put our case too high, to use texts instead of arguments, to see but one side and overstate it, to insist on being definite and peremptory when we have a right to be neither, to drive our arguments too hard. It is quite true that what Puritans and Nonconformists have done, great parties in the Church have done too. But the distinction is all-important. The Nonconformists have separated from the Church and set up a new basis of religious association for themselves, on the peremptory assertion of their scheme of doctrine and organization as the exclusive Gospel truth and Gospel order. The final, indisputable, infallible certainty of their interpretation of Scripture is their justification for separation, their one tenable reason for existing. But, whatever great parties in the Church may allege for the truth of their views, the Church itself, whether they will or no, rests, as a matter of fact, on wider bases. It existed before them. Their account of its meaning, its ideas, its facts and phenomena, may be right or wrong ; but apart from their theories, sound or unsound, the facts are what they are, and are, as usual, wider than the theories ; just as the facts, social and political, of a great state are independent of, and wider than the comments on them of

of social and political parties in it.* The distinction is forcibly put by Mr. Arnold. We are not concerned now with the question, whether or not he may not be hard on Nonconformist theology: but as no man who is not a Puritan can think that, whatever elements of truth may be contained in it, it is the whole and adequate truth, his remarks are not the less relevant, whether or not we agree with him in his estimate of the special doctrines for which the Nonconformist separation has taken place.

' In the following essay we have spoken of Protestantism, and tried to show how, with its three notable tenets of predestination, original sin, and justification, it has been pounding away for three centuries at St. Paul's wrong words, and missing his essential doctrine. And we took Puritanism to stand for Protestantism, and addressed ourselves directly to the Puritans; for the Puritan churches, we say, seem to exist specially for the sake of these doctrines, one or more of them. It is true, many Puritans now profess also the doctrine that it is wicked to have a Church connected with the State; but this is a later invention, designed to strengthen a separation previously made. It requires to be noticed in due course; but meanwhile, we say that the aim at setting forth certain Protestant doctrines purely and integrally is the main title on which Puritan churches rest their right of existing. With historic Churches, like those of England or Rome, it is otherwise: these doctrines may be in them, may be a part of their traditions, their theological stock; but certainly no one will say that either of these churches was made for the express purpose of upholding these three theological doctrines, jointly or severally. A little consideration will show quite clearly the difference in this respect between the historic Churches and the Churches of the Separatists.

' People are not necessarily monarchists or republicans, because they are born and live under a monarchy or a republic. They avail themselves of the established government for those general purposes for which governments and polities exist; but they do not, for the most part, trouble their heads much about particular theoretical principles of government; nay, it may well happen that a man who lives and thrives under a monarchy shall yet theoretically disapprove the principle of monarchy—or a man who lives and thrives under a republic, the principle of republicanism. But a man, a body of men,

* 'The sacramental element is an integral portion of the Church idea, and cannot be cut away from it. But Anglicanism, while perfectly clear on this point of the essential character of the Sacraments, is not pledged to any particular theory of their operation. As in the matter of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, so here, *it is the fact, and not the philosophy of the fact*, that Anglicanism aims to grasp. Grant first, that the Sacraments are of perpetual and binding obligation, and secondly, that they are channels of blessings to the Church, and the Anglican principle is satisfied.'—'The Church-Idea,' by Rev. W. R. Huntington. (New York, 1870.) P. 179. An acute and able essay by a clergyman of the American Church.

who have gone out of an established polity from zeal for the principle of monarchy or republicanism, and have set up a polity of their own for the very purpose of giving satisfaction to this zeal, are in a false position whenever it shall appear that the principle, from zeal for which they have constituted their separate existence, is unsound. So predestinarianism and solifidianism, Calvinism and Lutherism, may appear in the theology of a national or historic Church, charged ever since the rise of Christianity with the task of developing the immense and complex store of ideas contained in Christianity; and when the stage of development has been reached at which the unsoundness of predestinarian and solifidian dogmas becomes manifest, they will be dropped out of the Church's theology, and she and her task will remain what they were before.

'And even if it were true, as they allege, that the national and historic Churches of Christendom do equally with Puritanism hold this scheme, or main parts of it, still it would be to Puritanism, and not to the historic Churches, that in showing the invalidity and unscripturalness of this scheme we should address ourselves, because the Puritan churches found their very existence on it, and the historic Churches do not. And not founding their existence on it, nor falling into separatism for it, the historic Churches have a collective life which is very considerable, and power of growth, even in respect of the very scheme of doctrine in question, supposing them to hold it, far greater than any which the Puritan Churches show, but which would be yet greater and more fruitful still, if the historic Church combined the large and admirable contingent of Puritanism with their own forces.'—pp. 1-8.

The effect of this original false conception and mistaken direction in the first start of Nonconformity Mr. Arnold has illustrated with unexpected effects from the history of the early dealings between the Church and the Puritans. The popular notion is that it was all tyrannous enforcing of arbitrary forms and usages on one side; all brave and single-hearted assertion of freedom of conscience and worship on the other. It is the great boast of the Nonconformists that the 'Nonconformity of England, and the Nonconformity alone, has been the salvation of England from Papal tyranny and kingly misrule and despotism.' Those who have eyes to see, and have looked into the details of history in those days know that it was something very different: that if it was a quarrel in which tyranny came in, at least it was a struggle between rival ambitions to tyrannize; that if it was a quarrel in which the hatred of usurpation and love of reasonable freedom came in, that hatred and that love were as strong in those who resisted the Puritans as in any of the Puritans themselves. Mr. Arnold has had the candour and the courage to go against the prevailing sentiment among Liberal writers, even the more temperate and large-minded among them, who deal with the

rival

rival religious tendencies which met at the Hampton Court Conference and the Savoy.

' The two great Puritan doctrines which we have criticised in the following essay at such length are the doctrines of predestination and justification. Of the aggressive and militant Puritanism of our people, predestination has, almost up to the present day, been the favourite and distinguishing doctrine ; it was the doctrine which Puritan flocks greedily sought, which Puritan ministers powerfully preached, and called others *carnal goespellers* for not preaching. This Geneva doctrine accompanied the Geneva discipline ; Puritanism's first great wish and endeavour was to establish both the one and the other in the Church of England, and it became nonconforming because it failed. Now, it is well known that the High Church divines of the seventeenth century were Arminian, that the Church of England was the stronghold of Arminianism, and that Arminianism is, as we have said, an effort of man's practical good sense to get rid of what is shocking to it in Calvinism. But what is not so well known, and what is eminently worthy of remark, is the constant pressure applied by Puritanism upon the Church of England, to put the Calvinistic doctrine more distinctly into her formularies, and to tie her up more strictly to this doctrine ; the constant resistance offered by the Church of England, and the large degree in which nonconformity is really due to this cause.

' Everybody knows how far nonconformity is due to the Church of England's rigour in imposing an explicit declaration of adherence to her formularies. But only a few, who have searched out the matter, know how far nonconformity is due, also, to the Church of England's invincible reluctance to narrow her large and loose formularies to the strict Calvinistic sense dear to Puritanism. Yet this is what the record of conferences shows at least as signally as it shows the domineering spirit of the High Church clergy ; but our current political histories, written always with an anti-ecclesiastical bias, which is natural enough, inasmuch as the Church party was not the party of civil liberty, leaves this singularly out of sight. Yet there is a very catena of testimonies to prove it ; to show us, from Elizabeth's reign to Charles II.'s, Calvinism, as a power both within and without the Church of England, trying to get decisive command of her formularies ; and the Church of England, with the instinct of a body meant to live and grow, and averse to fetter or to engage its future, steadily resisting.'

—pp. 8-10.

The phenomenon is as true and important as Mr. Arnold's appreciation of it is clear and forcibly presented. In the original narrowness of their theological and political bases the Nonconformist churches are at a disadvantage, which they can never retrieve, in comparison with a historic Church like the Church of England, set up for Christianity in all its breadth and fulness, and not for a special view of it ; set up for the nation as

a whole, and not for a set of men particularly minded on a point of order and government; drawing its ideas and life from all the wide sources furnished in an old and universal religion, and taking its chance with what comes of these ideas in the progress of time. And this difference has grave and visible consequences, in thought, and in spirit, moral temper and practice. The greater movement of thought in the Church, the variety and originality of the attempts in it to unfold and apply, and give increased body and meaning to the original and inexhaustible ideas of Christianity—for ideas, without changing, may vary indefinitely in adequacy of expression—the freedom, and boldness, and spontaneous play of inquiry and opinion, the latitude claimed and won, the unexpected modifications of received doctrines arrived at, all this has been something to which, by the witness of friends and enemies, there has been no parallel whatever in the Nonconformist ranks. We all know it is an easy and stock form of reproach to the Church. But, whatever be thought of it, the fact is there; and the reason of it is plain. A member of the Church thinks and judges, and follows out his train of ideas, in the presence not only of a larger body, a larger world, than the Nonconformist, but of a public world. His limitations are public ones; his liberties are public ones. Liable to be sharply brought up by public authority, if he overpasses the one, the others leave him, in feeling as well as legally, to go as deeply and as boldly as he will or can into the questions of his time. 'To be reared a member of an Establishment,' as Mr. Arnold has well said, 'is in itself a lesson of religious moderation, and a help towards culture and harmonious perfection. Instead of battling for his own private forms for expressing the inexpressible and defining the undefinable, a man takes those which have commended themselves most to the religious life of his nation; and while he may be sure that within those forms the religious side of his own nature may find its satisfaction, he has leisure and composure to satisfy other sides of his nature as well.' And whatever estimate we may form of English theology, it is, we suppose, beyond dispute, that all that gives it its special character and interest, all that has a perceptible hold on the general mind of the nation, all that, successfully or unsuccessfully, has accompanied the changes of society, and tried to adapt itself to new states or tendencies of thought, has arisen, with few exceptions, within the public open sphere of the Church. Nonconformist theological literature is very considerable; Nonconformists have written much, earnestly, carefully, ably. But, with the exception of Baxter—Bunyan and Milton belong to a different class—what Nonconformist name rises above the level, if up

up to the level, of great Anglicans of the second order—Bramhall, Thomas Jackson, Andrewes, Leslie: who of these is on a line with Hooker, Taylor, Barrow, Butler, Waterland? ‘The fruitful men of English Puritans and Nonconformists,’ as Mr. Arnold has said, ‘are men who were trained within the pale of the Establishment—Milton, Baxter, Wesley. A generation or two outside the Establishment, and Puritanism produces men of national mark no longer.’ The reason why the Nonconformists, with all their zeal and courage, with their industry and ability, and sometimes with genius, have failed to do the like is, that they are confined within the narrow lines of their original basis; it is inevitable, as Mr. Arnold says—and his remark is as true of cliques and parties in the Church as of sects without it—that ‘sects of men are apt to be shut up in sectarian ideas of their own, and to be less open to new general ideas than the main body of men;’ they discuss the greatest of questions from a point of view which interests themselves, but interests no one else. And so they have been left behind in the great movement of thought which tells on our age. In order to do themselves justice on such a subject as religion, men need that consciousness of connection with what is public and greater than anything of their own, which in all things, often obscurely realized, yet like so many of our obscure feelings, not the less operative, favours simplicity and checks littleness, which enlarges, elevates, and refines; which corrects the aberrations, and makes up for the wants and poverty of what is private and isolated and self-centred. Call it what you please, ‘progress,’ or ‘growth,’ or ‘development,’ or ‘innovation,’ or ‘corruption,’ it is in the Church, and not in the sects, that it has gone on; it is in the Church, with the one ambiguous exception of Methodism, that there has been power and freedom to generate and support the great religious impulses which affect the general ideas of the country.

‘And as the instinct of the Church always made her avoid, on these three favourite tenets of Puritanism, the stringency of definition which Puritanism tried to force upon her, always made her leave herself room for growth in regard to them—so, if we look for the positive beginnings and first signs of growth, of disengagement from the stock notions of popular theology about predestination, original sin, and justification, it is among Churchmen and not among Puritans that we shall find them. Few will deny that as to the doctrines of predestination and original sin, at any rate, the mind of religious men is no longer what it was in the seventeenth century or in the eighteenth; there has been evident growth and emancipation. Puritanism itself no longer holds these doctrines in the rigid way it once did. To whom is this change owing? Who were the beginners of it? They were

were men using that comparative openness of mind and accessibility to ideas which was fostered by the Church.'—p. 20.

Perhaps with Mr. Arnold's understanding of St. Paul's doctrine of justification we should find it as difficult to agree as with the popular Evangelical theory of it. But the fact remains, on which he lays stress. The Nonconformist Churches were founded on an absolute theory, and a corresponding technical phraseology, which religious thought and reflection are outgrowing; and now those Churches suffer from it. The historic Church of England 'avoided the error, to which there was so much to draw her, and into which all the other reformed Churches fell, of making improved speculative doctrinal opinions the main ground of the separation'; she did not invent a new Church order, or single out two or three speculative dogmas as the essence of Christianity, and fight for her new inventions, but 'set herself to carry forward, and as much as possible on the old lines, the old practical work and design of the Christian Church'; and now, whatever there is to regret and be ashamed of in her history, whatever her mistakes of policy, and failures in achievement, whatever her defects of tone and sentiment, whatever, as some say, her degradation of servitude, or, as others say, her extravagances of liberty, she is the Church in which religion is conceived of more broadly and comprehensively, in which variety of opinion has more latitude and tolerance, in which men can think more independently and speak more boldly, in which the slow growth and revision of religious thought, keeping at the same time ever obstinately to its roots in the past, is more evident, than in that great body of private religious associations which boasts more freedom, and owns no account to men or their laws.

The infinite superiority for a religious position, both in respect to thought and to feeling and life, of a public Church, where our own self-importance is merged in something much wider and greater, while our liberty is far less in danger from arbitrary invasion, seems one of those things about which it is surprising that there should be any doubt: but it is enough for our present line of reflection that its advantages should be at least equal to those of private associations. Why, when both exist, should one be taken from us? Why should it be made part of the policy—it is professed, even of the religion—of the friends of the principle of private religious association, to wage implacable hostility on that which others value so highly—a Church which is public and not private? Of course, if it is public, an ancient historic institution, it must have attributes which cannot, in the nature of things, belong to what is both recent and private. Of course

course those who do not like it, will not like its privileges ; will call it a monopoly. It is a pretty wide monopoly ; but every Church, public or private, must have some organization ; and, as no organization will please everybody, to those who are not pleased, if it is a public organization, it will seem a monopoly. Changing it would not help, for it would only change the malcontents. Simple equality, there cannot be between what is public and what is private : but the question for reasonable men is, whether the inequality is so great, mischievous, oppressive, derogatory, dishonouring, that the Nonconformist associations have a right to demand the proscription and extinction of a public Church : whether, with whatever abatements, there are not such great positive and characteristic benefits in a public organization of religion as to entitle those who prefer it to ask why others, just as free as themselves, should take it from them.

Surely Mr. Arnold is not wrong when he warns the Nonconformists that there are many ugly features, judged of from a religious point of view, in the temper which some of their leaders announce as that in which they are pursuing their aim of destroying the oldest and certainly not the least popular organization of religion in England, and refusing us henceforth the choice between a public Church and one of a number of private ones. The danger and the misery of the growth and pretensions of '*petites églises*' are never absent even in a public Church ; but after having been bred up in the comparative largeness and liberty of a public body, and known its chastening and sobering influences, its help in drawing up thought and delivering from the selfishness and pettiness which earnest singlemindedness cannot always deliver from, henceforth to be condemned for the rest of one's life to descend to the cramping and narrowness of a private religious body, is a dreary reverse of fortune to look forward to. In a passage of great truth and force,* which our limits will not allow us to transcribe, Mr. Arnold sets out what is the real state of the case : that what requires this change is simply the 'jealousy' of those who like private association best, and may have it as much as they please, with nothing to hamper or molest them ; but who will not any longer let their brethren have, what Englishmen have had so long, the alternative form of religious life, that is, a great historic public Church.

'Put an end to all this jealousy and antagonism,' say the enemies of the Church, 'by destroying inequality, by pulling down the "dominant sect" from its position of pre-eminence. Then, when it stands on common ground with the rest, there will

* Pp. xviii-xxiv.

not

not be this bitterness and spirit of attack.' Can any one who knows, even superficially, the condition of English society believe that this will be the result? With Mr. Miall proclaiming for his motto, the 'dissidence of Dissent,' can any one expect that that which the Church now gives to any one who wishes for it, the peace and calm and composure of an understood position, the tranquil security of a system long settled on recognized bases, which a man has not to fight for from day to day, will any longer be anywhere within their reach? Will there be nothing for the zeal of sects to compete for: will there be nothing to irritate them and animate their hostility in what will still remain of the pretensions even of the disestablished Church? Will the temptations to religious leaders be less—temptations to self-assertion, extremes of doctrine, violence of means? Will religious leaders, when the checks and weights of a great public body are taken off, help to make religious society more peaceable? And, whatever else results, will tranquillity and mutual forbearance be promoted when that becomes universal in which the Church,—and it is a matter of complaint against her as often as it is of praise,—is in notorious contrast with the Nonconformist bodies, the concentration of a man's thoughts and interest on the affairs of his particular connexion? Will English religion gain by the extension of a state of things such as Mr. Arnold presents to us,—a state of things which, apart from his judgment on it, no one we suppose denies as a fact, and of which, it is worth observing, the English Roman Catholics, though they belong to an ancient and world-wide Church, are just as much an example as any other Nonconformists?

'It is hardly to be believed, how much larger a space the mere affairs of his denomination fill in the time and thoughts of a Dissenter, than in the time and thoughts of a Churchman. In fact, what is it that the every-day, middle-class Philistine—not the rare flower of the Dissenters but the common staple—finds so attractive in Dissent? Is it not, as to discipline, that his self-importance is fomented by the fuss, bustle, and partisanship of a private sect, instead of being lost in the greatness of a public body? As to worship, is it not that his taste is pleased by usages and words that come down to *him*, instead of drawing him up to them? by services which reflect, instead of the culture of great men of religious genius, the crude culture of himself and his fellows? And as to doctrine, is it not that his mind is pleased at hearing no opinion but its own, by having all disputed points taken for granted in its own favour, by being urged to no return upon itself, no development? And what is all this but the very feeding and stimulating of our ordinary self, instead of the annulling of it? No doubt it is natural: to indulge our ordinary self is the most natural thing in the world.

But

But Christianity is not natural ; and if the flower of Christianity be the grace and peace which comes of annulling our ordinary self, then to this flower it is fatal.'—p. xxix.

Mr. Arnold surely has reason with him, reason of the widest and soberest kind, when he doubts whether such a change would raise the general level of religion. The existence, the free, flourishing, vigorous life of Nonconformity, with whatever shortcomings it has, is a benefit to the religion of England. The victory of Nonconformity would be, we do not say fatal to it, but a damage from which it would be long in recovering. In the ideas which Nonconformity rests upon and makes prominent, and in the ideas which with acrimonious intolerance it proscribes and denounces ; in its hatred of what is public and general, and in its contempt for unity and its sophistries to excuse disunion, it does distinct mischief to what is of supreme importance in religion. And by giving the weight which, in most of its forms, it does, to the opinions of the least taught and the most ignorant, by weakening the independence of teachers, by encouraging the belief that zeal is a substitute for light, its direct and visible tendency, in spite of some better efforts, especially among the Congregationalists, is to promote a coarse and vulgarized type of religion. Can its triumph, that is, the exclusive prevalence of the conditions of Nonconformist religion, by cutting off and annihilating those other conditions which existed with it and before it, really do anything to secure for English Christianity greater purity, greater beauty, greater calm and repose, greater light, greater largeness ? ' Oh ! ' say the enthusiasts for Nonconformity, ' set the Church free as the Sects, give us a clear stage, appeal to our generous rivalry ; and Christians will renew the wonders of the first ages.' We can see no reason for expecting the marvels of the first ages, after the history and follies of the later ones : and to destroy, out of hatred and jealousy, what, to say the least, is an advantageous position for religion, because it is not ours,—to exchange deliberately the quieter influences of a long-tried and settled system, which has found its place and learned many lessons, for the chances and necessities of a competitive and perpetually aggressive proselytism,—gives no one any right to anticipate either human success or Divine blessing.

Why should it be given up ? Why should the public policy of England, which is much wider than Nonconformist interests, though pledged to Nonconformist rights, be called upon to alter it ? The Nonconformist ground of the unscripturalness, unlawfulness, sinfulness of it, because it is not the polity which Nonconformists think they find in the Bible, and because what is public

public must be in connexion with the State and the law, is a reason for being a Nonconformist, but for nothing else. Apart from the vague and dangerously ambiguous claim for equality, the Nonconformists have really nothing to say; and it is for the statesmen and people of England to consider whether the Nonconformist system is so manifestly superior, in reason and working, that it is for the advantage of the country that it should supersede and exclude the other, the public organization which has been so long in possession, and to which not the least important part of the nation is so deeply attached. But there are reasons which, though not those of the Nonconformists, point in the same direction. How a dogmatic Church—a Church of fixed creed and professed definitions of doctrine—is to be a public national institution in such a country as England, is a question which, no doubt, presses on many minds. It is a question which our generation will probably have to deal with in a different way from what it has ever been dealt with before; but it is also a question which in practice time has solved. Time and experience have shown that a Church with a very pronounced theology, and a worship founded on it, can be public, popular, reasonable, forbearing, liberal. Dogmatic the Church must be, if it is to be a religious society or a Christian society at all; but in two points it has shown a character of its own. Without ever running off its own lines, and holding fast sturdily to the central points of the universal Christian creed, it has allowed free discussion about the margins of doctrine, and has, in consequence, in the course of history altered greatly its own attitude to systems of belief which were on this margin; and next, it has cultivated with increasing purpose and sincerity the desire of light, the sense of what is finite and imperfect in our human grasp of divine knowledge, the aim at exact and modest statement; the recognition of the surprising and enormous differences which are made by varieties of atmosphere and by altered points of view, of the possibilities of misunderstanding and correction, of the unknown magnitude of what we may have yet to learn; the duty of making even a blind allowance for much that we cannot accept or understand, the willingness to believe good, the readiness to welcome sympathy where agreement is hopeless. If this combination of tenacity of conviction and a resolute spirit in asserting it, with the successful and increasing endeavour to be open-minded and temperate, has not—in spite of all instances to the contrary, and they have been too many—been a marked characteristic in the English Church, it would certainly make the prospect a desperate one of her retaining her present relation to the nation. If she ceases to be dogmatic, she ceases to be a

Church

Church at all ; if she cannot hold her belief and teach it, with a due consciousness of the conditions which attend and qualify all human knowledge, she will find herself too much out of harmony with what is public and common to fill a public place. But against all taunts of her being a Church 'that does not know her own mind ;' against the perplexities and inconsistencies which are sure to gather round everything that is on a great scale and very complicated ; against charges of compromise and time-serving, and burdensome subscriptions lightly and loosely submitted to ; against sneers such as that attributed to Mr. Forster, and not worthy of him, that lax interpretations of formulaires account for the spirit of mercantile dishonesty ; against all this very plausible and very glibly reiterated criticism, there is to be set the plain, solid fact that the English Church is, in its working, the largest-minded and most tolerant of all active religious communions which also really care for the ancient belief ; and that in thousands and tens of thousands of centres it brings with unassuming and unwearied earnestness the plain message of the Christian religion, without controversial disputings, with a supreme regard to its spiritual and moral bearings. Theories about Church perfection, as well as theories about abstract right, of equality, take a very secondary place—at least with those who consider the mixed nature of all human things—when the mind has fairly grasped such facts as these. To have made the type of religion represented by George Herbert, Bishop Wilson, and the 'Christian Year' the established and recognized type of English public Church religion is a thing to be set against many failures.

Of course, to assume that the Church of England, in the more or less of dogma that it enforces or permits, has hit the exact middle point between too much and too little, is for those of its champions who think that whatever is, must be right ; or that in questions, which as soon as we really touch them, face us with evident and undeniable difficulties, it is yet easy off-hand to lay down the certainties of error and right. For those who accept the fallibility of Churches as well as of men, yet for all that believe that men, and Churches also, have used to good purpose God's gifts of light in teaching and upholding truth, it is enough that the English Church has maintained a doctrine essentially the same as that of Christendom in general, which is the part of a Church and religious society ; and has maintained it with a power of growth, with a generous and intentional forbearance for great differences within its borders, which is the part of a public and comprehensive body. How these differences are to be treated is no light matter. They are very

very serious ones. They threaten daily to come into collision with all boundaries and claims of authority. They tempt impatient men to exaggerated judgments, to rash demands, and rash wishes for short and rough measures to settle them. The direct remedies proposed on opposite sides are equally full of danger. It is hard to say which would be most perilous: an increased stringency in ruling points against large parties which have a real standing-ground of argument, challenging them to submit or depart; or a forced and precipitate comprehension, which should sacrifice and break the ties of continuity with the past, and in order to make the Church more national unmake her as a religious society. These things render the present course of her history critical. But with these risks—risks such as she shares necessarily with every great living and public body comprising in it very various elements and energetic forces—she is what she has been and what she is: a Church discharging not ineffectively a vast public mission, which in many respects there is none else to discharge; discharging it with a very distinct understanding of the substance which she has to teach, but allowing a degree of play to individual thought and liberty of interpretation and action which would have seemed beforehand incompatible with a common basis, and which has long astonished some strong minds and irritated some earnest ones. If sneers and epigrams and insulting metaphors could have killed her, the Church of England would have long since perished. Happily reason, though often confounded with them, is a force of a different order. It has an underground work which, like the obscure rays of the spectrum, is not less powerful than its more brilliant play.

But it is objected that all this while we are dealing with a misnomer: that we are talking of the Church as if it were one, a whole in itself; whereas its real and vital unity, the unity of spirit and conviction, is less than that of Protestant Nonconformity. ‘It is not one,’ is the allegation; ‘its unity is nothing but a fictitious claim of unity, a legal mask over the profoundest dissensions, a hypocritical and hollow name. How can such a body fill the place of a public Church?’ No doubt, it is divided. There is no Church or communion in Christendom which could hold, we do not say the recognised parties of High and Low, but such extremes as the free inquirers who are protected by the ‘Essays and Reviews’ judgments, and the Free Lances of Ritualism, gallant and devoted fighters for religion many of them, but owning no law but one which none can understand but themselves; Catholics in intention, but assuming more and more in theory and in practice the position

and

and the likeness of the elder Puritans—Puritans of the *positive* quantity—for vestments, instead of *against* them. Even in Germany, where there is boundless liberty of speculation, there is the most rigid bureaucratic hold on everything outward and public. The phenomenon is unique; and as the Church of England is certainly not the Church of indifferent and cowardly men, the inference to be drawn, from its being the only Church to bear such a thing, is not necessarily the one for its being a Church without meaning or faith. There is division; but when it is implied that this division destroys unity, the answer is, that as a matter of fact it does not. These divisions no more destroy unity between those who do not choose to separate than the divisions of political parties destroy unity in the State. In a historic continuous body, descended to us, not made by us, existing independently of our existence and will, which has grown, and not been framed by us, disagreement and even discord may go a long way without disintegration; the interpretation of facts may be various and even contradictory, without things coming to a break-up. And that is the difference between the unity of what is naturally and organically one, and the metaphorical unity—the result of compact or the expression of feeling, an alliance for common ends or common war, depending on our pleasure, or a mere figure of speech—in bodies founded for the very purpose of separation, and starting in order to diverge. In one case unity, though troubled, though in continual danger, is a real thing; in the other it is a forced and fanciful invention, to cover notorious and, at a particular stress of argument inconvenient, facts. While they keep together, a country is a country, and a Church is a Church. Put things at the worst in the way of parallel, yet France and Spain, torn by factions, irreconcilable in their principles, irreconcilable in their aims, are yet one; are yet to disagreeing Frenchmen and Spaniards their country. Descent, history, community of experience, community of ties and interest, greater and stronger than the forces which drive them apart, an inheritance come down to men of treasures which they had no hand in gathering, all this makes a country one. And in a historic Church, those whom Articles and law do not bind together, Creeds and Sacraments do; those whose convictions even on the Creeds differ, history, common government, the sense of corporate brotherhood and life, the tradition and usages of common worship, keep together. Antagonistic parties cannot all be right; unity may be daily threatened; but it has large and real foundations; and while it exists, it is not taken away by wishing or by theorizing it

it away. For there it is, as much a fact, and a fact of the same order, as the political unity of a commonwealth.

We do not doubt that, as Mr. Arnold says, there are many Nonconformists, and an increasing number of them, to whom Mr. Winterbotham's 'hideous confession' of the dominance in Dissenters, as a characteristic spirit, of a 'watchful jealousy' against the Church, which must see all things awry, finds little sympathy ; and who, though they cannot see their way to union any more than the Church can to comprehension, yet, looking forward to happier times, see that in the Church is the most promising hope for drawing together those bodies which are now separated from her and from one another, and for realizing that unity which is a fundamental idea, if there is one, of the Christian society. If the noblest and the wisest of the Nonconformists could master the inferior but not less powerful and important elements of Nonconformity,—if the Nonconformists, instead of being flattered by liberal politicians and even by candid opponents, had more of their own friends to tell them honestly the hard truths which all bodies of men need to be told, and which, to her infinite benefit, are told so profusely by friends and enemies to the Church, the prospects of religion would be brighter. But there are other religious interests in England, and other claims to be attended to, than those of the Nonconformists, leaders or followers. By those who care for England and the religion of England, it is not in the interest of Nonconformity alone that the great questions before us will be considered. An equality of private associations, a competition of sects, cannot give what England has hitherto had and greatly prized : a public Church, not a mere philosophy or moral instrument of instruction, but a religious society, with an ancient, eventful, continuous history ; with fixed conditions of worship and teaching, yet, with these conditions, in practice as liberal and forbearing as a religious society could have ; with great sources in it, living and abundant, of ideas large, deep, elevated ; with a spirit of liberty and tolerance, in spite of all the difficulties, which, not in religion only, but in every region of human thought, hamper liberty and tolerance ; with great faculties for self-correction, for assimilation of new truths, for sympathy with the opening thoughts of men, combined with a resolute attachment and veneration for the past. The loss to England, the loss to a majority of Englishmen, of such an organization ought to be well weighed by those who are provoked because the Church is at once so stiff and so elastic ; so complicated and rigorous in theory and law, and so open to individual opinion and caprice ; because

because it is so patient in some directions and so inflexible in others; because congregations have so much to take their chance of teaching and of ways which they dislike. A price has to be paid for everything. There is no escaping the acknowledgment exacted by human inadequacy. Whether to have had and to have such a religious institution in England as the historical English Church does not outweigh many inconveniences and many anomalies, is a question the answer to which will gauge the wisdom, the longsightedness, and the power of disengaging ourselves from present impressions, in order to give reason its fair field, of those who have the future of England in their hands.

NOTE.—Since writing the above, we have received the very able and judicious letter of Sir J. T. Coleridge * addressed to Canon Liddon, wherein he makes some remarks on the advantages of an Establishment, which have so close a bearing on the subject of the preceding article, that we make no apology for transferring them to our pages:—

‘ On behalf, not so much of the clergy, as of the laity—on behalf of the worshippers in our churches, of the sick to be visited at home—of the poor in their cottages, of our children in their schools—of our society in general, I entreat those of the clergy who are now feeling the most acutely in this matter [the Purchas Judgment] not to suffer their minds to be so absorbed by the present grievance as to take no thought of the evils of disestablishment. I am not foolishly blind to faults in the clergy—indeed I fear I am sometimes even censorious in regard to them—and some of their faults I do think may be referable to Establishment; the possession of house and land, and a sort of independence of their parishioners, in some cases seems to tend to secularity. I regret sometimes their partisanship at elections, their speeches at public dinners. But what good gift of God is not liable to abuse from men? Taken as a whole, we have owed, and we do owe, under Him, to our Established Clergy, more than we can ever repay, much of it rendered possible by their Establishment. I may refer, and now with especial force, to Education—their services in this respect no one denies—and but for Establishment these, I think, could not have been so effectively and systematically rendered. We are now in a great crisis as to this all-important matter. Concurring, as I do heartily, in the praise which has been bestowed on Mr. Forster, and expecting that his great and arduous office will be discharged with perfect impartiality by him, and with a just sense how much is due to the clergy in this respect, still it cannot be denied that the powers conferred by the Legislature on the holder of it are alarmingly great, even if necessary; and who shall say in what a spirit they may be

* ‘Remarks on some parts of the Report of the Judicial Committee in the case of “Elphinstone against Purchas,” and on the course proper to be pursued by the Clergy in regard to it.’ 8vo. London, 1871.

exercised by his successor? For the general upholding of religious education, in emergencies not improbable, to whom can we look in general so confidently as to the Parochial Clergy? I speak now specially in regard to parishes such as I am most familiar with, in agricultural districts, small, not largely endowed, sometimes without resident gentry, and with the land occupied by rack-renting farmers, indifferent or hostile to education.

‘I have but glanced at a very few of the benefits we owe to our Establishment; this is not the place for a full discussion of the whole great question—and if it were, I am not competent to the task—

“Nequeo monstrare, et sentio tantum.”

‘If the evil, be it our trial or our chastisement, is to fall on us, I should not despair—I should still believe that the Church was under God’s protection, and stripped as we might seem to be of this or that help or safeguard, I should still rely on His blessing our honest endeavours to perform the duties imposed on us. It will not be the first time that the Ark of the Church has seemed to be overwhelmed in the waves, and again has righted; if we are to go through the same trial with the same issue, only let us make a better use of our restoration than our forefathers did of the mercy vouchsafed to them.

‘For the clergy to join in a political crusade to accelerate their dis-establishment would seem to me to argue such a dementation both as to the act and the object as would indeed almost cause the most confident to despair.

“Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridae.”

The whole Letter deserves the attentive consideration of Churchmen at the present time. We had intended to offer some observations in reference to the controversy raised by the Purchas Judgment, but Sir John Coleridge has anticipated us in nearly all that we intended to say, and we therefore content ourselves with referring our readers to his excellent remarks upon the subject.

- ART. VII.—1. *Recueil de Documents sur les Exactions, Vols., et Cruautés des Armées Prussiennes en France. Publié au Profit de la Société Internationale de Secours aux Blessés. Première Partie. Bordeaux, 1871. 8vo.*
2. *Meddelelser om Preussernes og Østerrigernes Færd i Slesvig. Copenhagen, 1869. 8vo.*
3. *The ‘Dagbladet,’ 1871, No. 25. (Translated in the ‘Standard,’ February 10th, 1871.)*

THE Seven Months’ War is ended: the terms of peace are signed: our dazzled eyes and stunned hearing are gradually

dually recovering from the flash and din of the dread encounter. The world is returning to the domestic interests and the everyday pursuits, which have been suspended while we watched the death-struggle of two mighty nations. If we may not hope for a lasting peace, where, for the first time since the dealings of Rome with Carthage, terms have been imposed expressly in foresight of future war, we seem the more resolved to enjoy the respite which is ensured, if for no other reason, by the exhaustion of the combatants. And not, we trust, only to enjoy it, but to use it for the mitigation, if we cannot hope for the prevention, of the horrors which have been a prolonged torture to the least sensitive. As we read of ancient battles, where a pause was seized by those nearest and dearest to the combatants to rush between their warring kindred and bring them to a lasting alliance, so may the great family of nations interpose, while the suffering and disgust are fresh, not with womanly entreaties, but with counsels of true humanity and matured wisdom. The question, often asked with deep sorrow and indignant horror during the conflict—‘Are these, indeed, the *Usages of War*, and, if they are, ought they ever to be practised again?’—now presses for a final answer. And now, if ever, seems the time to obtain that answer from the united voice of the civilized peoples, before the war fades into the past, or the impression of it is obliterated by the new excitements of a busy and quickly-forgetting age. Nor will the work of civilization be complete till the nations of the world shall have established an international council—call it by what name you will—with a tribunal strong enough to put down international violence, and to administer justice between nation and nation as certainly and as peacefully as between man and man.

The difficulty, indeed, is far greater of bringing nations than men before such a tribunal, and of enforcing its awards with quiet certainty. Nor is this, as democratic sciolists tell us, the fault of royal or aristocratic or any other form of government. The world has indeed suffered untold horrors, innumerable victims have bled, and innumerable hearts have been broken, for the ambition of sovereigns and the policy of senates; and it was vainly thought that all this would end with the great change which has transferred political power to the peoples. But ambition moves nations as much as individuals; only with this aggravation of its evil working, that, while conscience may stop a single man in his wild career, nations have no such inward monitor; or, if there be indeed a national conscience, it awakens only long after the deed is done.

Some nations hold a position, in this respect, peculiarly dangerous

gerous to themselves and to the peace of the whole world. So long as there are countries, great and strong, where political power is held by a sovereign who may wield all the national resources for the gratification of his ambition or his personal ideas—be they avowedly selfish, or gilded over with the pretext of a noble aim—wars will not cease. Much less can there be any hope of lasting peace so long as there is in the very heart of Europe a nation whose jurists and statesmen, professors and political writers, join with one voice in proclaiming, as a fundamental principle of public law, that a right, however well assured, ceases to be a right so soon as its possessor is unable to enforce its observance; a nation which, having persuaded itself that it is the most advanced in civilization, is ready for any sacrifice to obtain the supremacy which it deems its due. What hope of peace is left when such views are cherished by a people at once the most numerous and the most homogeneous in Europe? when, by a course of preparation, skilfully contrived and carried out through a long series of years, this nation is ready, at the shortest notice, to rise up in a compact mass, with arms and equipments all complete, as suddenly and threateningly as Milton's fallen angels—

‘ Advanced in view they stand; a horrid front
Of dreadful length and dazzling arms,
Awaiting what commands their mighty chief
Has to impose ? ’

The position of Prussia before the war was this: it could in a fortnight move 600,000 men to the frontier, whether of France or Belgium, Austria or Russia. What can the German empire do henceforth? Such a nation is nothing less than an enormous standing army on furlough, waiting to give practical effect to its lofty claims, and to reap the greatest possible advantage from every opportunity. The people which combines such political principles and aspirations with such an organization is not likely to shrink from war, but to seek it; nor, when successful, will it accept the arbitration of neutrals, save in the way in which the Germans accepted it at the London Conference of 1864, namely, on the express condition of not being bound by the award. The peoples of Russia and Germany must not only obtain a full control of their own affairs to prevent their being suddenly plunged into a statesman's war, they must also learn the lesson that dominion over others is no part of real greatness, but rather a hindrance to its attainment, or there will assuredly be no permanent peace in Europe. Even were that lesson now learnt, there would remain the fatal legacy of disappointment and revenge, left behind by a war undertaken, but too late, to prevent the establishment of such

such an overwhelmingly strong and ambitious military power, and ended on terms which cannot but excite, in all who are really acquainted with continental politics, the apprehension of a long period of disturbance.

But, though the establishment of permanent peace seems destined to remain a philosophic day-dream, and though war is the negation of the first principles of law and order, it need not remain altogether beyond the influence of civilization. Few will deny that war is an evil, even if unavoidable, inasmuch as it sacrifices the results of past labour and the very means of future production ; as it inflames some of the worst passions of men with the lurid glare of false glory ; and not only gives them the opportunity to gratify their greed and cruelty, but even enjoins upon them, as to a certain extent a duty, to violate what all the laws of peace hold most sacred—the life and property of others. Surely, then, the operation of such a baneful system should be as closely circumscribed as possible ; and this restraint can never be imposed while the principle is practically admitted that the unlimited right of superior force is the only law of war. Whether this principle should be allowed, or denied, or reversed (if it exists), is the question which the late war has brought out into full view, and which ought to be solved before a new war begins.

It may be argued but too truly that the prospect of obtaining the general assent of nations to a limitation of the right of superior force is not encouraging, seeing that the conduct of the late war by the victorious party can only be justified by the assumption that power of execution is the main element of right. For, if might is right, it follows that any limitation of the exercise of superior force is a limitation of right ; and those who make *that* their law of international relations should consistently scorn any discussion of all limitations as much as they scorn interference between themselves and their fallen foe. Yet, even with them, it may not be useless to seek some settlement of the question—‘What are to be regarded as the proper usages of war?’ For, though they should reject the principles on which our whole argument is based, there are practical considerations which might induce them to adopt some, at least, of those restrictions on the exercise of triumphant physical force, which humanity and philosophy would impose. If they are insensible to the reasons for limiting the disturbing effects of war on the peaceful pursuits on which the happiness of mankind depends ; if they care not to check the demoralization which invariably accompanies the unrestrained exercise of physical violence ; they may yet confess the possibility of aggravated retaliation.

retaliation. It is, in fact, to the persuasive power of such practical considerations that we must look for our guarantee of the observance of better usages, even if they were adopted as public law by a general European convention. For the essential weakness of the 'executive principle' in the law of nations is now aggravated by the predominance of Germany, under the leadership of Prussia. According to the political principles which have governed that state since the time of Frederick II., treaties seem to be only memoranda of the terms of armistice, which need be no longer observed when one of the contracting parties deems it advantageous to disregard them.

There was always this difference between international and domestic law, that the former did not emanate from a legislature, and that there was no tribunal to appeal to in cases of doubtful interpretation or direct contravention of its principles. Apart from the stipulations of treaties, international law was never anything more than a collection of the opinions of jurists, founded on the analogy of ordinary civil law. Those opinions, however, found acceptance with princes and peoples, not only for the beneficial effects of their observance, but on the far higher ground of their agreement with those primary notions of right and equity, to which we almost instinctively give our assent. Hence it is only from those who at least affect a desire to be just-minded that we can expect a favourable response when these opinions are appealed to. Yet it would be unreasonable not to hope for a better state of public conscience; and, the more it seems likely that wars will be of frequent occurrence for some time to come, the more advisable it is to strive to obtain whatever assent we can to some definite settlement of what the usages of war shall be. The practical settlement of the question can be approached in no other way than by exposing the evil usages illustrated by the recent war. To find a remedy we must search out the disease.

Our readers have only too fresh and painful a remembrance of the numerous complaints of violations of the usages of war, which have been made particularly against the Germans. Facts enough have been proved beyond controversy, not only to have roused the deep indignation of all who sympathised with the French, but to cause many, whose political sympathies were with the other side, to share the same indignation, and to be ashamed of their friends. Of course it is not every report made in newspapers and private letters that is to be believed. The accounts of French papers could not be expected to be free from prejudice; nor could any editorial care prevent the insertion of statements which were exaggerated or even false, either because

they

they did not come from trustworthy eye-witnesses, or because even these had their judgment clouded by the excitement of harassing events. Therefore, without casting any slur on the honour of French journalists, it will be safe to regard reports in French papers, when not otherwise confirmed, as quite worthless for the present inquiry. It would be as unfair to judge the conduct of the German armies in France by the French papers, as it would have been to have judged the conduct of the French in Germany (if they had penetrated so far) by the German papers. To show how cautious we ought to be in adopting the statements of parties directly interested, we need only refer to the famous telegram received in London shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, to the effect that the French had shelled and destroyed the open and flourishing town of Saarbrück. This story did not fail to produce, at the time, the intended effect of a strong feeling of indignation against the French; but its falsehood was soon exposed by the concurrent testimony of many travellers of all nations, not excepting Germans, who attested the fact that not the slightest damage had been done to the town. Statements of this sort—for which the Germans have a very expressive word, *Tendenzlüge* ('lies with a purpose')—are set on foot for the especial benefit of credulous neutrals. The game flourishes particularly at the beginning of a war or of a quarrel; and it certainly brings some advantage to the party which succeeds in it, before its true nature is found out.

Nor does even the German press itself afford better materials for judging of the conduct of the German armies. The atrocities recorded by their own papers—and sometimes boasted of, though sometimes reprobated—are so revolting that, if they were true, they would of themselves furnish a most terrible indictment. But no one who is acquainted with the position of the press in Germany, which is far below that of England, would dream of deriving his facts from such a source. German editors, with one or two exceptions, are so reckless in giving publicity to the most absurd and exaggerated reports, if they suit their purpose, that we are bound to distrust their statements, if not otherwise confirmed, even when they deeply implicate the national honour. It is only from the accounts of English travellers and the correspondents of the best papers—and only from these when they relate not merely what they have heard, but what they have seen and investigated for themselves—that we can derive something like trustworthy information: and of such evidence there is no lack.

When, therefore, we cite the French pamphlet at the head of this article, it is not because we believe that everything it contains

contains may be taken for granted—although evident care has been used in the selection of the facts alleged,—but because it is but one link in a series of cumulative testimony. The Prussian attack on Denmark, in 1864, called forth similar publications and similar remonstrances—one of which is given at the head of the present article—not only from the Danish press, but through the diplomatic agents of Denmark at foreign courts. The most prominent of the acts complained of in that country were lately discussed in a short *résumé* by a leading journal of Copenhagen (the 'Dagbladet'), and reproduced in the 'Standard,' and in several continental newspapers. Among these, one of the principal journals of Vienna added the statement, that, short as the war had been between Austria and Prussia, the Prussian armies had left the same reputation behind them in Austria as in Denmark ; and it is the same that they have now earned on a larger scale in France.

Nor has the French Government omitted to enter its official protest against the German mode of warfare. Our readers remember the circular of Count Chaudordy (29th Nov., 1870) ; and it will also be recollected that Prince Bismarck, in his very tardy reply, did not attempt to dispute the allegations of the French minister, but met them by counter-charges, such as firing on ambulances, *parlementaires*, and the like. These were occurrences of quite a different nature from those exposed by Count Chaudordy, being attributable rather to the misconduct of individuals than to a system of warfare officially adopted. But even with regard to this class of offences, the French minister showed that the German soldiers had by no means behaved better than their opponents : while he disproved some charges, he rendered others very doubtful, leaving the balance just as it was before the reply of Prince Bismarck. The main allegations of Count Chaudordy, referring to acts executed by the German soldiers in compliance with superior orders, must be taken as admitted. It is with these alone that our subject requires us to deal ; and the discussion is rather one of principle than of fact.

Admitting that these acts, which our argument will require us to describe more fully presently, have been done, the defenders of the German cause have attempted to justify them by various pleas. They allege that the French would have behaved as badly or worse, had they entered Germany ; or, that such things have been done before ; or, lastly, that these are the usages of war. As for the first of these pleas, could anything be imagined more childishly absurd in the way of justification ? Who can possibly know what the French would have done in Germany ? Or when was it ever a law, that a man might do to his neighbour

bour the evil which he fancied his neighbour would do to him if he had a chance? Suppose the case had been reversed, and that the French, having invaded Germany, and committed all manner of atrocities, had pleaded that the Germans would have done the same if they had forced their way into France! How would the Germans have denounced this wretched sophistry! All the presses of the Fatherland would not have sufficed to print the denunciations with which the world would have been deluged. But the only difference to *our* argument would have been this: we should then have had to say of the French what we have now to say of the Germans. In either case the question would remain one of principle, to be decided according to what is right and wrong.

The plea, that outrages such as these have been perpetrated before, is no less insulting to our understanding than the first. If precedent is to justify bad deeds, there is no deed so bad as ever to lack a justifying precedent. Nor is the plea improved if it be meant for an *argumentum ad hominem* (or *ad populum*)—if it be urged that at some distant time (say half-a-century or more ago), the fathers of the recent sufferers committed similar outrages against the fathers of their present conquerors. Suppose the allegation true—which it would not be in most of the specific points now before us—is such a plea to be urged by a nation which boasts itself the chief champion of the highest patriotic right, inspired by the profoundest philosophy? Savages, whose only international law is retaliation, might urge this plea, ‘for ‘tis their nature to;’ but the same rule which admits the plea in their case brings down the civilized nation that claims its benefit to the level of the savage. Such a nation confesses that, for the time at least, it allows passion to get the better of principle and knowledge, of civilization and Christianity. There remains the appeal to the usages of war; and this involves the whole discussion of the principles by which those usages should be governed.

In attempting to define the principles on which war should be conducted, so that an inhuman anti-social evil, confessed (under protest) to be at present unavoidable, may do the least possible mischief to society and humanity, and in pointing out those features of the system in respect to which some international agreement would be desirable, we abstain from quoting authorities, because their *dicta* are conflicting on many points, and there are none which are universally accepted nor which are generally respected. We will confine ourselves to arguments derived from this fundamental truth—that war is an evil of which the effects and operation should be limited to the utmost, consistent with its

its legitimate objects. What those legitimate objects are, is another great question, which it would only complicate our present argument to discuss. It is enough to describe the principle of war, in one word, as the use of physical force, by one nation towards another, involving coercion and the destruction of life, property, and resources, in order to exact some right claimed, or the redress of some wrong done, or to repel aggression. But what amount of destruction of life and property does this sanction? Clearly not more than is absolutely required in order so to weaken the armies and cripple the resources of the enemy as to bring him to confess his defeat and to yield the matter in dispute. Weapons are used, not to kill soldiers for the sake of killing, but to disable them for the time, and in no case to entail on them needless present or future suffering. Material resources are to be diverted from the enemy's use, and applied to one's own, but only for the time,—not to be wantonly destroyed. We purposely avoid the question, whether any war, save one purely defensive, is justifiable; not only because it involves a distinction almost impossible to draw, but chiefly because our present argument deals with war in itself, as an evil admitted, for the sake of argument, to be necessary. Having made this concession to the worser passions of humanity, we claim that its better feelings, and that sense of right and wrong which is above all mere feeling, should limit, restrain, and govern the exercise of violence, the infliction of death, and of sufferings often worse than death—whether upon the widow and orphan or on the soldier who has escaped with life which is often a living death, or on the civilian whom a cruel law adds to the hecatomb of victims—and the destruction of property, the fruits of industry, and the means of production, not to speak of the wasted beauties of fields and gardens and desecrated objects of fond attachment amidst the ruined household gods: and the limitation that we claim for all these evils is one far different from that confessed even by 'the tyrant's plea, necessity.'

And first, as to the slaughter and sufferings of the field, where 'every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood.' It is well that the first instincts of humanity—the love of life and the aversion to killing, the shrinking both from suffering in one's own person, and from witnessing or even hearing of its infliction on our fellow men—rise up in constant protest against this first necessity of war, and perpetually call aloud for the mitigation of its evils. If the higher strategic view of war, in likening a campaign to a game of chess, is apt to make us forget that men of flesh and blood are not mere pawns, the same view is a standing protest against

against the destruction of every life, the infliction of every wound, that does not bear upon the issue of the fight, and against all needless cruelty in the means of putting an enemy *hors de combat*—a phrase, by the way, which expresses, with the felicity of the French tongue, the simple object to be attained. Killing for its own sake, under the impulse of cruelty or passion, fighting without giving quarter, and the wanton massacre of prisoners—these acts, and such as these, have been condemned by all nations beyond the savage state; and the fact that even these have still been perpetrated is the strongest proof of the essential lawlessness which war is ever betraying. The question of the weapons and missiles which should be permitted or forbidden has derived new interest, and has indeed been pressed upon the humane, by that rapid progress in death-dealing inventions, which has marked our boasted material civilization almost from that epoch of delusive hope when the first international exhibition was free from all such inventions.

This is one of the points on which we have to record a hopeful beginning in the course for which we now contend—the more hopeful, as it had its origin not in the policy of statesmen, but in that spontaneous utterance of humanity which happily found a practical expression in the *Convention of Geneva*. Thus much has been agreed by the nations of Europe, that, while any invention is allowable which weakens an enemy in battle by increasing the number of wounded in a given time, no weapons should be used which merely aggravate suffering or make disabling wounds more surely mortal, such as explosive bullets and the like. In this respect the late war has furnished no cause for seeking any new international agreement. Prince Bismarck did indeed attempt, at the very beginning of the war, to fasten on the French Government the odium of having violated the *Convention of Geneva* by the use of explosive bullets for the mitrailleuse; but this statement was quickly proved to be as erroneous as the telegram about Saarbrück. At all events, as the French Government repudiated all responsibility for any such acts, which they acknowledged would have been a national dis-honour if done by them, no question of principle is involved in this case.

A sick or wounded soldier is no longer an agent of war, but simply a suffering man, with all the claims to forbearance and relief which his state makes upon the common humanity of enemies and friends and self-devoted helpers. Here again we have to thank the *Geneva Convention* for the formal recognition of the neutrality and immunity of ambulances and their *personnel*; and to record, as a triumph of *principle* at least, that this agreement

ment has not been expressly repudiated by either party in the recent war. The mutual charges of firing upon ambulances may fairly be explained by the mistakes which are unavoidable in action, or by that recklessness of individuals for which the whole body cannot be held responsible. Again, both French and Germans have been accused of removing sick and wounded prisoners with but little regard for their comfort; but in this respect also neither party has repudiated the claims of humanity, and any faulty arrangements may be excused by the unforeseen pressure arising from the fearful carnage of a rapid series of gigantic battles. But this excuse cannot be allowed for the heartrending reports of difficulties which were encountered from the Germans in many cases by directors of the international ambulances, and which no appeals to superior authority availed to remove. We need only refer, for an example, to the uncontradicted report of what took place at Versailles itself, the headquarters of the King of Prussia. After the fight at Brie and Champigny, the Dutch ambulance under M. van der Welde was taken possession of by the Prussians, the wounded French were thrown out on the floor, and the medical attendants were obliged to return to Holland with the loss of all their materials.

One of the plainest consequences of the simple rule of humanity, which imposes every possible limit on the taking of human life, is the sparing of the lives of combatants who lay down their arms. But this privilege of 'quarter' belongs only to the constituted soldiers of a country; and the mode of drawing the distinction between such and those who have no right to claim it, is a feature of the German proceedings which has attracted peculiar notice. The principle itself is not free from difficulty, and it is liable to be confused by the different organizations of national armies. In the early stages of civilization, the only distinction allowed is between those capable of bearing arms and those incapable from age or sex or physical infirmity. Every man able to fight is expected to take a part in all the warlike expeditions of his nation, or at least in the defence of his city and his hearth. Every man is trained to play this part, on pain of forfeiting the esteem even of his enemies; and while ignominy brands the coward and the skulker, the defeated warrior pays the foreseen penalty of death or slavery. Such is the alternative for every member of a savage or semi-barbarous state. But the growth of organized commonwealths, with all their complicated relations of trade and industry, led to the system of hiring voluntary soldiers, who formed a sort of separate society, standing forth from the civilized population, both to inflict on an enemy and to suffer from him the direct and personal injuries of war.

This

This system had at first an effect in two opposite directions in mediæval Europe. When war ceased to be the obligation of feudal tenure, and prosperous communities hired soldiers to fight for them, the mercenary bands formed a sort of profession, with a freemasonry of its own. The victor had an interest in so treating the vanquished as to establish a law for his own protection when fortune might be reversed ; but the helpless people were a common prey for both. From this state of things, especially in the constant wars of the Italian Republics, we may trace much of that respect for the soldier, and tyranny over the civilian, which marks the modern usage of war. At the same time, one of the first effects of advancing civilization upon the mode of warfare has been a universal tendency to the lenient treatment of the vanquished and the exemption of the non-combatant from injury. This course is recommended alike by practical considerations and by personal motives. It is for the advantage of a conqueror that the new provinces he may acquire should neither be desolated by war nor disaffected through a rankling memory of outrage. It is the cherished desire of princes to be praised, not only for military skill and prowess, but for justice and clemency. Above all, this spirit has been nourished and strengthened by the influence of Christianity.

Until lately, therefore, it was thought to be an established usage of civilized war, as distinct from savage raids, that the non-combatant part of the population might count on security for life and property, so long as they abstained from acts of resistance, and supplied, according to their ability, such necessaries as the invading force might need. And this is in accordance with the general proposition, that the objects of war are to be obtained, not by annihilating the forces and resources of the enemy, but only by disabling them for the time. This object is at once accomplished as far as an enemy's country is invaded. For the non-combatant population has of course been contributing its share to the defence of the country, in the shape of taxes and so forth ; but the invading force cuts off such contributions, and even diverts the resources of the occupied territory to its own use. All indirect participation of such a district in the war being thus paralyzed, there is no justification for any further measures which are only calculated to cause needless vexation. The respect for private property and for the personal security of non-combatants is, therefore, justly regarded as one of those restraints upon the use of superior force, which tend to diminish the ill effects of war both on the pursuits of peaceful life and on the morality of the combatants themselves. There is, in fact, a sort of compact between the two parties, on terms which ought to be

be equally binding, but the means of enforcing which are unhappily most unequal. The infraction of this compact by the conquering force is justly reprobated, as contrary to the principles which ought to guide a civilized people; while its infraction by the inhabitants forfeits their claim to security. If the local authorities refuse to supply the invading forces with real necessities which it is within their power to supply, then the military authorities are justified in taking what they want, wherever they find it; nor can they be expected to exercise the discrimination which might be desired. The rule, that civilians taken in actual armed resistance are not entitled to quarter, is founded on the practical consideration, that the military cannot be on their guard against the attack of persons who, not being in uniform, cannot be known beforehand as enemies, or afterwards recognized as combatants.

Thus far there is no conflict of opinion. But it is alleged that the Germans have gone far beyond what is reasonable in their demands on the civil population, and further that they have had recourse to barbarous measures for extorting their demands. If the alleged facts were disputed by the Germans, or if they were excused on the plea that subordinates had exceeded their orders, there would be cause for regret that such things had occurred, but there would be no occasion for an international discussion of the subject. But the Germans do not deny the facts, upon the whole, but fall back upon the ever-recurring plea, that such is their interpretation of the usages of war—a plea which ever brings us back to the alternative, Are they so indeed, or ought they to continue so? Here is a most serious and lamentable difference of opinion, of which it is absolutely necessary to obtain a settlement before another war breaks out. For our part, we believe that the German proceedings will prove, upon examination, to involve the most glaring self-contradiction, and to go far towards obliterating altogether that distinction between combatants and non-combatants, which is essential to civilized warfare.

What those proceedings have really been may be briefly told in the words, not of a resentful Dane or an agonized and humiliated Frenchman, but of an impartial English officer, who is at the same time one of the highest military authorities of our day. In the 'Times' of January 24th, 1871, Colonel Hamley thus sums up the case, and exposes the *inconsistency* which makes us exclaim, with the Greek tragedian—

'Απόλεμος ὅδε γ' ὁ πάλεμος ἄπορα πόριμος.

'The "laws of war" as promulgated by the Prussians may be condensed in the case of invasion into the general axiom that the population

tion of the invaded country lose their rights of property and of personal security, while the persons and effects of the invaders become absolutely sacred. In practice, this takes the two distinct forms of the law of requisition and the law of penalty for resistance. Every species of moveable property which any district held by the invader contains is subject to the demands of the commander of the troops that occupy it. This property is liable to be transported to particular points by the horses and vehicles of the inhabitants, which always form an important item in the booty. The penalty for non-compliance, or tardy compliance, with a requisition is a pecuniary fine. For the payment of this the chief inhabitants are seized as hostages. The town or village, the inhabitants of which protect their property, is to be burnt. The town or village, in which invading troops have suffered themselves to be surprised, is to be burnt. The district in which damage is done to bridges, roads, or railways is to be fined or devastated. The inhabitants who do the damage are to be put to death. Everybody taken with arms and not wearing a recognized uniform is to be put to death. All these things are they not written in the orders issued by Prussian chiefs, and have not those orders been punctually executed?

'In ordinary cases, to confiscate property by force, to burn buildings and stores, and to put people to death for such reasons as those quoted, are acts bearing names which need not be mentioned. It is difficult to say why these acts should lose their character if committed by invaders. And it is to be observed that the enforcement of these "laws of war" is not merely the annulling of ordinary law, but the inversion of it. For, whereas a man in all peaceful countries is entitled and encouraged to defend his own property and person, while he who assails them does so at his own proper risk, in this case defence suddenly becomes a crime to be visited by the extremest penalties, and it is the aggressor who is to be protected by laws of extraordinary severity.

'If it were asserted that a victor might do exactly what he pleased, there would be, in such a claim, nothing to cavil at, though much to object to. But this is not the case. The "laws of war" have so far a meaning, that the victor does not put the vanquished who are clad in uniform to death; and as to property, the case of the officer whom your Correspondent saw stealing a spoon is said to be the subject of indignant inquiry, the investigators being, doubtless, those who have themselves enforced enormous requisitions. The fact that conquerors acknowledge certain obligations renders the prospect of imposing on them further restrictions rather more hopeful.

'The operations of these "laws of war" are sufficiently manifest. A great part of the most productive territory of France is a solitude and a wilderness, to cause which to re-blossom will be a task more arduous than to form a settlement in a savage country.'

As to the German *requisitions*, it cannot be denied that they have in many cases exceeded all reasonable limits. Eight millions

millions sterling extorted from Paris may have been within the means of so wealthy a city ; and perhaps Châlons could pay its 64,000*l.*, Reims its 120,000*l.*, and Nancy its 200,000*l.* ; but requisitions of 25 francs (1*l.*) a head in country villages, besides exhaustive demands of provisions of all kinds, cannot be called otherwise than exorbitant. Indeed, the whole system of forced requisitions, except for absolutely necessary supplies where the inhabitants refuse to give them in return for a fair price, is wrong in principle and of very doubtful policy. As a correspondent well argues :—

‘ Whenever an army pays the fair market price for the supplies furnished to it by the inhabitants, a spontaneous action sets in for replacing these supplies. In exchange for the provisions they furnish, the inhabitants receive the means of replenishing their stores, and the certainty of a market and security from requisitions encourages importations from neighbouring districts and from foreign countries. The requisition system, on the other hand, puts a stop to all voluntary importations from neighbouring districts ; and, therefore, when the existing supplies are exhausted, the inhabitants are in danger of starvation, and the armies must be supported by what their own commissariat can bring them from home or from other districts. But while it seems to me both practicable and highly desirable to establish a rule that all armies, both large and small, should pay a fair price for supplies furnished to them, I regard it as quite impracticable to extend this rule so as to prohibit the compulsory taking of provisions where the inhabitants refuse to supply them. The notion that an invading army should be bound to starve in the midst of plenty, merely because the inhabitants are too patriotic to sell them anything, is manifestly Utopian.’

But when the requisitions become *penal* in principle and indefinite in amount, the excuse of necessity ceases, and the successful invader is exacting from the peaceful people, without check or measure, what ought to be claimed from the Government as the price of peace after full negotiation. When, moreover, the gentlemen and clergymen of the neighbourhood have been carried off as hostages for the payment of these arbitrarily-imposed contributions, it is hard to see the difference between such proceedings and those of Neapolitan brigands, or of the modern heroes of the plain of Marathon. Yet this system is a regular feature in Prussian warfare. It was practised in Denmark as well as in France ; and the extreme want of consideration with which these hostages, generally persons of the higher classes of society, have been treated, completes the parallel just indicated.

Nor is this a new complaint. Lord Palmerston, whom none will suspect of prejudice or sentimental exaggeration, has left

left on record not only what he saw and heard in 1815, but the decisive judgment of the Duke of Wellington:—

‘ Wherever we passed [in Normandy] we heard complaints of the Prussians, who seemed to have behaved roughly. At the same time, when one asked details, with the exception of some particular cases of individual excess, they appeared to have chiefly confined themselves to *heavy contributions*. . . . We asked if they had had any English. The woman replied, “*Non Monsieur, malheureusement.*” They told us that it is an old saying in Normandy, of a man who is working against his will for the advantage of another—“*Qu'il travaille pour le roi de Prusse.*” They used to apply it to the *corvées*, but they now have more appropriate occasions for using it.’—*Journal of Tours in France*, p. 10.

He reports the following contrast as drawn by the Duke himself:—

‘ The Prussian army started with double his force, but by the time they reached Paris he was as strong as they were, though he had received no reinforcements, and they had not lost any great number in battle. But their discipline was so relaxed that their numbers rapidly diminished during the march. He had brought 60,000 to Paris, and they not more than that force. The system of individual plunder had been the ruin of the French army, and would be the destruction of the Prussian. When officers were allowed to make requisitions for their troops, they soon began to make them for themselves; and those who demanded provisions to-day would call for money to-morrow. War then assumed a new character, the profession of arms became a mercenary speculation, and the officer's thoughts grew to be directed to the acquisition of plunder instead of the attainment of glory. The Duke had succeeded in keeping his army well in hand. No officer was permitted to make any requisition himself, but was obliged to state his wants to the commissary, who applied to the agents of the French Government for the articles required; and the supply being made through channels known to the people, and by authorities recognized by them, the burthen was not felt to be so oppressive as if the exaction had been made by the immediate order of an enemy, and at the caprice of individual officers. The consequence was, that, though both the Prussians and ourselves lived equally at the expense of the country, the first are detested and the latter liked.

‘ On the march to Paris Blucher's army crossed the line that Wellington meant to take, they having got before him while he halted to take Cambrai. He advanced through a tract of country which the Prussians had actually been starved out of, and yet he found no difficulty in obtaining supplies. The inhabitants, who had deserted their villages at the approach of the Prussians, returned the moment our troops came up, and, confidence being restored, provisions followed of course.’—*Ibid.* pp. 14, 15.

The sagacity of the great captain's judgment, that *requisition*

sition leads to *spoliation*, has been too well proved in the recent war.

As for the more irregular kinds of spoliation, it may perhaps be doubted whether the Prussian soldiers have carried off furniture, pianos, and such small articles, by wholesale; though, if we remember aright, the testimony of the German author and correspondent, Hans Wachenhausen, might be cited for the fact. But it seems undeniable that a system went on extensively, which may be variously described as 'looting,' or, in gentler German phrase, 'saving' or 'carrying away as a *souvenir*', or, under the commercial disguise humorously affected by the Bavarians, 'buying it for 5 *sous*.' Nor do the officers seem to have considered a share in the business dishonourable, though sometimes they preferred to carry it on through the agency of their soldiers. There was a grimly comic unconsciousness, or a cynical shamelessness, in a case which we remember hearing from a Danish friend. A country-woman of his, visiting Germany after the Danish war of 1849, was introduced to a Prussian officer, who told her without the least reserve that he remembered her father's house, from which 'he had been able to carry away many *souvenirs*, which had proved very acceptable presents to his sisters and cousins'—as the lady could well believe, for her home had been stripped of every portable article of value.

This sort of pillage has been excused, when practised upon savage or semi-barbarous enemies, who might perhaps scarcely know themselves to be vanquished if they were treated with the leniency of civilized warfare; but those who use it against civilized nations prove themselves but half-civilized. It is a clear violation of the principle of respect for private property: and it is as mean as it is unjust; for pillaging from the houses of unoffending inhabitants, who cannot defend their property save at the peril of their lives, is as bad as pillaging from the dead. To make an invaded country sustain the occupying forces is an established usage, and no more to be objected to than making the vanquished pay the real costs of war. But when the inhabitants are subjected to extortion beyond their means; when the troops not only take what they really want, but carry off objects for the sake of their commercial value, or for selfish pleasure and caprice; when the vanquished are forced to pay two or three times the cost of the campaign; when, in a word, 'glorious war' is made a profitable speculation;—we seem to be thrown back a thousand years and more in the history of Europe, from the civilization of the nineteenth century to the days of the old Vikings, the Saxon pirates, and the Gothic spoilers. Indeed, a German professor,

of the first eminence as an historian, has cynically drawn (for another purpose) the parallel between the hordes of Alaric round Rome and the hosts of Kaiser Wilhelm about Paris.*

Still more to be deprecated is the wanton destruction of property without any military or even personal advantage; and of this but too many cases have occurred. We grant that necessities often arise in war, which can only be understood by the parties interested and by persons on the spot. Woods and plantations, for example, have to be cut down, in order to barricade roads or to deprive the enemy of shelter: sheds, huts, fittings, and even furniture, have to be used for fuel. Round Paris, in particular, this sort of destruction went on to a great extent; but in many cases doubtless there was no choice. Supposing that a German officer might, for his own part, have had the self-denial rather to go without fire, during the late severe winter, than coolly to destroy furniture, he would still have been responsible for the health and comfort of his men, who might have suffered more in their persons, than the householder in his purse, by sparing the furniture if no other fuel was available. We use the last word, not forgetting the delusive resource of the green wood, which convinced the famous 'Besieged Resident' that there *could* be smoke without a fire. Granting all this, there remain too many cases of wanton destruction, on the most frivolous pretexts; and in these instances, again, the Germans repeated their former conduct in Denmark. There, also, it was complained that they destroyed public works and monuments, and property of all kinds, without the smallest military or any other advantage to themselves, and that not because of any lack of discipline, but in obedience to the specific orders of their highest officers.

* At the conclusion of a lecture on the Roman Catacombs, on the 13th of January last, Theodore Mommsen thus described the siege of Rome by the Gothic invaders:—'The Roman knows nothing of what is outside his city walls, and despises it; for strangers, under the disguise of a most ready courtesy, he has at bottom nothing but a contempt. . . . The inroad of Alaric and his Goths had been wantonly brought upon themselves. . . . Despite the prodigious circumference of the walls, all the twelve gates were beset; traffic was closed upon the Tiber, the pressure of famine commenced, they began to portion out the bread per head, then to distribute half-rations, and at last one-third rations only, as the necessity gradually became more terrible. Pestilence and contagion began their fearful work in the invested space; it became impossible so much as to bury the dead, for the cemeteries were all in the occupation of the enemy. The besieged threatened a sortie *en masse*; the Goth laughed, and said, "The thicker the grass the better cuts the sickle." The Government resided far away in Ravenna; it sent bodies of troops to raise the siege, but they never reached, and were destroyed one by one. The Goth tried many ways of extorting a peace; he demanded requisitions in money and grain, and the cession of Venetia, Noricum, and Dalmatia. They offered him gold and silver "as much as he would," but beyond that he could gain nothing. The Emperor Honorius and all his officials swore they would never make peace with Alaric, but wage eternal war against him,' &c.

As to France, we might give a chain of examples from the beginning of the war to this very day (April 5th), when we read in the 'Times,' from an English correspondent:—

' This same Mayor we found with some difficulty, as his own house was empty, the Prussians having made him a prisoner when they first arrived, and demolished the domestic possessions of the family because he could not produce within half an hour the number of cows, oxen, sheep, pigs, and other animals required for a day's provision of a regiment of Uhlans.

* * * * *

' The Mayoress, an active, sprightly little woman, was inexhaustible in her information about the atrocities committed in the village, which I am glad to say did not include any murders, although they comprised the complete pillage and clearing out of every inhabitant of the commune.'

Some exceptions are very significant:—

' I noticed especially the contrast one of these [villages] called La Ferrière presented to its neighbours. Green patches surrounded it in every direction, and it was not till the Marquis told me that the owner was a Princesse de Podenas that I understood the secret of its preservation. *She is a Russian by birth*, and I had had occasion more than once to notice *the delicacy and consideration with which everything Russian was approached by the German army*.'

This question of private property becomes still more important in reference to the attacks of artillery upon towns. One of the first necessities of war is the use of houses, villages, and towns for the defence of combatants and the hindrance of an enemy; and it is a correlative necessity that, when so used, they are fired upon with cannon. All the damage that ensues to property under such circumstances must be set down among the unavoidable evils of war, for which the military are not responsible; but not so all the loss of life. In the cases of towns, where houses and people are gathered in a space so narrow that every shell may have its victim, humanity requires notice to be given, if possible, to allow civilians to get out of the way. In attacks that only form episodes in a battle, which must be decided in the short space of a day, time is too precious to give such notice, and the battle is itself a warning to the villagers. There is the more reason for giving such notice to a large town, as its evacuation by the defenders, in order to avoid a conflict, may often be an advantage to the assailants well worth a short delay. At Orleans, accordingly, the Germans gave notice of bombardment after the defeat of the Army of the Loire, and the French withdrew. But when a town is shelled to dislodge an enemy, without giving the notice which time allows, or to gain possession of it when it is known not to be occupied

occupied by troops who mean to defend it, this is clearly an act of unnecessary cruelty. Yet this is what was done to Tours.

The case is different in fortified places, where the defenders do not use the houses of the inhabitants as their strongholds, but take their stand upon the ramparts ; and where the garrison and its stores are generally protected from the hostile fire by casemates. This position is altogether unlike that of troops who have barricaded themselves in the streets and houses of an open town or village, whence they are compelled by artillery to retire, wholly or in part, that the attacking force may carry the position. But the ruin of the houses of the people in a fortified town is in most cases useless in a military point of view ; nor, unless the governor postpones his military duty to the humane desire of ending the sufferings of the unoffending people, does even the entire destruction of a fortified town hasten its surrender. It is true that, even when the fire is directed only against the ramparts, some of the houses near them will inevitably be destroyed ; and for this reason notice of the attack ought to be given. But, with or without notice, the destruction of the interior of a fortified town by incendiary shells, intended for this purpose only, is an outrage on the first principle of civilized warfare, that of avoiding all useless bloodshed and destruction.

Yet of this the Germans have been often guilty during the recent war. The great city of Strassburg, their coveted prize, peopled by those whom they claimed as Teutonic brethren, was to a great extent, and purposely, battered and burnt down before any damage whatever was done to the ramparts. As soon as a conflagration broke out near the Cathedral, destroying the ancient library with its inestimable treasures, a storm of projectiles was concentrated on the spot to prevent the working of the fire-engines. We are not concerned to deny that all this has been done before : it is no new fact in military history. But it is none the less for that a barbarous proceeding ; and we are as earnest in denouncing barbarous precedents as in exposing barbarous innovations. The result proved how useless was the deed. The fortress capitulated only when a practicable breach had been made in the defences, and its fate, in a purely military point of view, was sealed. In other cases, indeed, fortresses have yielded to the horrors of a bombardment, because the commandants have had the humanity which the assailant generals wanted. But what sort of a victory is this—to attain military objects by working upon those humane feelings in an enemy, against which one's own heart is hardened ! Could the most barbarous savage more cruelly outrage the better nature of his victim while giving full scope to the evil of his own ? It is a 'seething of the kid in its mother's milk.' And yet the apologists for Germany in this country have attempted to

throw the blame of the misery thus caused upon the defenders, who were slow to put aside their military duty for humane considerations, rather than upon the assailants, who have worked the engine of coercion with such inhuman callousness! If such a plea is serious, we can only see in it that perverseness of judgment which is both engendered by, and betrays the consciousness of, having to defend a doubtful cause. Setting aside this barbarous method of coercion, the utter uselessness of the bombardments of Strassburg and Paris will make them an everlasting disgrace to the German name. And here again we must go back to the Danish wars, in which acts, almost overlooked through the smallness of the victimized towns, acquire a new significance by repetition on a larger scale. In 1864 the town of Sönderborg was bombarded and almost entirely destroyed, though it was situated on an island far behind the Danish positions, so that the Prussians could not obtain possession of it. The only result, besides the ruin of the inhabitants, was that the hospitals established there had to be removed, and that the Danish soldiers found their quarters less comfortable on their return after the bombardment. To suppose that the Prussian staff-officers expected the shelling of the town to have any influence on the issue of the siege would be a bad compliment to their military judgment.

We now approach the most painful part of the whole controversy—the interpretation of that abstinence from armed hostility which is required from the civil population as their part of the compact described above. We have agreed that civilians taken in armed resistance have no right to quarter; and now the question arises, Where should the line be drawn between civilians and soldiers? To this the Prussian authorities gave a distinct answer. Their proclamations refused to recognise as soldiers any one not belonging to the army of the line or to the *Garde Mobile*. Yet it is difficult to see why defensive bodies, raised from the classes not embraced in these two categories, should not be considered as soldiers. One class of combatants, in particular, brought this question to a crucial test. It is, doubtless, according to rule that an individual not belonging to any organized body, not acting under anybody's orders, not wearing any other dress than that of a civilian, should not be recognised and treated as a soldier. But the Prussian authorities refused to recognise the *Francs-tireurs*, though they did form organized troops under regular officers, though they fought with the sanction of the French Government, were placed under the command of the generals of the armies with which they co-operated, and wore a dress, not, perhaps, in accordance with the very narrow Prussian ideas of a military uniform, yet peculiar to each corps, and quite as different from the ordinary civil costume as that of

many

many of our Volunteers. The arbitrary manner in which the Prussians treated the case of the *Frances-tireurs* is the more shocking when viewed by the light of their own military law. That law enjoins upon the *Landsturm* the duty of local defence, of espionage, of every sort of hostile action against an invader, even down to the disturbance of the enemy's hospitals. And what is this *Landsturm*, to whom these actions are not merely permitted, but enjoined upon them by the law? It embraces every man up to sixty years of age, not belonging to the line or to the *Landwehr*; and hence it corresponds exactly to the French *Garde National Sédentaire*, *Frances-tireurs*, or whatever the names may be of any armed forces acting under the authority of Government, besides the line and the *Mobiles*. In one point, indeed, the parallel is incomplete: the Prussian law expressly states that a uniform is *not* necessary for the *Landsturm*!

Here, therefore, is the dilemma in which the Prussian Government is placed, not by their own example merely, but by its embodiment in their formal, solemn, authoritative law. They must either renounce the privilege of soldiers for the men of the *Landsturm*, and in case of an invasion—to which they may even yet be subjected again, for all their present triumph—they must submit, without remonstrance, to such measures against that force and the population at large as they have themselves dealt out in France; or else, if they should again play the part of invaders—as so many expect they will—they must acknowledge as soldiers every man who fights for his country under the sanction of his Government. Nor does the matter concern us less closely: for the Volunteers, who would form our last line of defence if the 'silver streak' were once crossed whether by Gaul or Teuton, the flower of our youth of every class, would be condemned by Prussian precedents to the treatment of *Frances-tireurs*, with all their aiders and abettors; for our Volunteers have no more authorization in England than the *Frances-tireurs* had in France.

The inconsistency on this point between the laws which Prussia enjoins at home and those she acts upon abroad is so gross and glaring, that her defenders in England have tried to keep the *Landsturm* Ordinance out of sight. But it is a far better course to expose the wrong, in order to obtain some safer and juster international arrangement for the future. Either such troops as the *Landsturm* and the *Frances-tireurs* should be prohibited everywhere, or the privilege of quarter should be extended to them all alike, and the vindictive measures taken against the population at large on account of their operations should be declared as illegal as our common feeling of right and humanity pronounces them to be indefensible. There is one mode by which the difficulty would be at once removed—a wholesale

wholesale distribution of uniforms to the male population. But the very fact that so simple and merely formal a remedy would remove the pretext for what are called the 'punishments of illegal warfare' is a sufficient proof that these punishments cannot justly be extended beyond the individuals actually offending. The extension of their scope has been aggravated by their excessive character. According to the Prussian views of the laws of war, both formally expressed by official proclamations and rigorously carried out in practice, every house or village, in which *Francs-tireurs* were found, was to be burned down, and every *commune* was made collectively responsible for any loss the German troops might sustain on its territory, except in a pitched battle! This order has caused wide devastation; but to what purpose? Even the tyrant plea of necessity has failed, and the argument from results is against these reckless severities. The despairing or exasperated sufferers were driven to swell the ranks of the *Francs-tireurs*; and the losses inflicted by these forces, in spite of the vain attempt to suppress them by such means, ought to convince the Germans, as well as all who seek to learn from their experience, that useless violence should be excluded from civilized warfare. The sounder and simpler rule, to punish those, and those only, who may be found carrying on warfare on their own responsibility, but to treat the civil population with humanity, would soon have brought this sort of resistance to an end.

But the Prussian mode of proceeding is more than useless—it is absurd. If a body of *Francs-tireurs* or *Landsturm* men lie in wait behind a fence or in a wood, and fire thence on the advancing enemy, is that fence to be destroyed or that wood cut down or burned? Why, then, destroy a house wherein they may have posted themselves exactly as any regular soldiers would do, the proprietor being perhaps absent, and at any rate utterly unable to prevent them from using his house? Why should such a man, his neighbours, and all their families, be made homeless and destitute, because other persons are supposed to have offended against the usages of war? Again, the Prussian proclamations call upon the *Maires* to inform the German commanders of the presence of *Francs-tireurs*. But how can the *Maires* be supposed to know the movements of these ubiquitous bands? But something worse remains than the absurdity of making the *Maires* and the whole population responsible for operations which they can neither know of nor prevent. It has been most formally and solemnly demanded of the civil population, as the condition of the poor security offered for their lives and property under Prussian occupation, that they should turn traitors to their own country! And lest, while performing the services claimed of them by this last act of cruel oppression,

an impulse of patriotism should tempt them to use the opportunities of this forced service against their oppressors, or even if they use opportunities which offer of themselves to hamper the proceedings of the enemy, a Draconic code is ready to inflict the extreme penalty. Our readers will have seen throughout that we have a far higher purpose than to frame an indictment against the Germans in general or the Prussians in particular; but if this were our object, we should scarcely seek, as to this branch of the subject, any other form of words than those officially proclaimed by General von Goeben on taking possession of the city of Rouen. Here is the edict, as issued to the vanquished and wretched people in their own language:—

‘*Proclamation affichée dans la ville de Rouen à l'entrée des troupes prussiennes.*

‘En vertu de l'article 10, partie II., du Code pénal militaire prussien, il sera établi pour le district du 8^e corps d'armée des conseils de guerre qui jugeront tous ceux qui auront sciemment porté préjudice aux troupes de la Confédération de l'Allemagne du Nord et des États alliés ou qui auront secondé avec prémeditation l'armée française.

‘De plus, nous ordonnons ce qui suit :

‘(1) *Sera puni de mort* tout particulier qui aura servi d'espion aux troupes françaises ou qui aura logé, caché ou secondé un espion français.

‘(2) *Sera puni de mort* quiconque aura volontairement servi de guide aux troupes françaises.

‘(3) *La même peine* sera appliquée à celui qui, servant de guide aux troupes de S. M. le roi de Prusse et de ses augustes alliés, aura été convaincu de mauvaise foi.

‘(4) *Sera puni de mort* celui qui, par esprit de vengeance, ou par avidité, aura pillé, blessé ou tué un individu quelconque appartenant aux armées alliées contre la France.

‘(5) *Sera puni de mort* quiconque aura détruit des routes, ponts, canaux, télégraphes ou chemins de fer. *La même peine sera appliquée à ceux qui auront incendié des édifices, arsenaux, ou magasins militaires.*

‘(6) *Sera puni de mort* tout particulier qui aura porté les armes contre les troupes de S. M. le roi de Prusse et ses augustes alliés.

‘(7) La présente proclamation entrera en vigueur dans toute l'étendue du district occupé par le 8^e corps d'armée dès qu'elle aura été affichée dans une localité quelconque de ce district.

‘**VON GOEBEN.**

‘*Le général commandant le 8^e corps d'armée.*

‘*Rouen, le 5 decembre 1870.*’

We need not ask what feelings this ordinance would excite, especially in such a people as the French: but what purpose could it be designed to serve? To make demands which no one could be expected to comply with, and to enforce them with such threats,

threats, looks like seeking pretexts for pillage, devastation, and a general reign of terror. But the truth is that these proclamations, and the proceedings founded upon them, are a relic of an age of warfare which is now outgrown, and the usages of which ought to pass away with the system that created them. In barbarous nations and ages, as we have said, all men are fighting animals, neither giving nor expecting quarter except with the alternative of slavery. This is the first and savage state of war. In the second, the hired combatants are so clearly separated from the civil population, that the latter can be distinctly marked out to receive the privileges of non-combatants or to forfeit them by interference in the struggle. But the mighty movement begun by the French Revolution has made war a great national conflict rather than a struggle for political objects by means of regular armies; and throughout the Continent of Europe the citizens themselves are called upon, though in various degrees, to learn the business, and, when the need arises, to act the part of soldiers. Our insular position has thus far exempted us from the practical application of this great change; but threats sent across our Channel, reawakening the martial spirit of our race, have caused us to prepare for it by our Volunteer force. For the sake of those children and brethren of our families of every class—for the sake of the hearths and homes on which the performance of their duty would bring ruin, should our island become the theatre of war according to the Prussian system—we have the deepest interest in demanding that laws of war, if such they be, that might be fit for hired armies, shall no longer be applied to the changed conditions of the conflicts of nation against nation.

We have heard much about the 'citizen army' of Prussia, as if it were an institution which had peculiar claims on the sympathies of the world, whereas, in fact, the contrary is the case. The French army also consists of *citizens*, serving in obedience to the law of conscription, and returning after a time to private life. The only difference is, that the monster organization of Prussia embraces *all citizens*; and, whilst the French system embodies a part of the *citizens* into a kind of standing army, renewed by rotation, the Prussian system converts the *whole nation* into a standing army. The *Francs-tireurs* are as much 'citizen-soldiers' as any in the Prussian service, and each one of them acts with the sanction of his Government as much as any German soldier of the Line, or *Landwehr*, or *Landsturm*. But the truth is, that the Draconic measures adopted by the Prussians, in order to coerce the French nation by a reign of terror, did not arise out of the distinction, or want of distinction, between regular and irregular troops. The proof of this is the fact, that their inhuman code of reprisals was put into execution wherever Prussian detachments had

had been surprised and made prisoners, without inquiring whether this had been done by *Francs-tireurs* or *Mobiles*, or any other class of troops.

Take, for example, what was done at Nemours. A patrol of 47 Uhlans had quartered themselves in an inn, without sufficient precautions for their own safety. In the night 300 *Mobiles*—not, observe, *Francs-tireurs*—arrived and made them prisoners after a short resistance. A day or two after, 5000 Prussians surrounded the town, pointed artillery against it, and a force of 1200 cavalry and infantry marched in, commanding all persons to retire within their houses. The authorities were summoned to hear the sentence—*two hours' pillage and the burning of the quarter where the affair had taken place, as well as the houses of all the members of the committee of defence.* By urgent entreaties, the Prussians consented to burn *only* the quarter in which the inn stood: the floors were saturated with petroleum, and the houses fired with shells. The two railway stations and fifteen houses were burnt in presence of the authorities, who were forced to witness the execution, and under the personal superintendence of the officers, whose answer to all appeals for pity and mercy was, that they had *special orders*. After thoroughly pillaging the house of the Commandant of the National Guard, and another fine mansion, they left the town, carrying off the Maire and three of the chief citizens, whom they only sent back on payment of a ransom of 100,000 francs (4000*L*). All this was done without any investigation, nor was it even alleged that the inhabitants had had any part in the surprise.

Such a case might seem incredible, however well attested, were it not the very repetition of similar 'military executions' in Denmark. The 'Dagbladet' mentions a case which caused a great sensation at the time, though it was by no means an isolated one. It occurred in 1864, at a village called Assendrup, near Horsens. A squadron of Uhlans were surprised at night by a division of Danish hussars: Denmark had no volunteers, *francs-tireurs*, or forces of the kind. In revenge for this purely military success, a considerable Prussian force speedily came and burnt down the farm-houses where the Uhlans had been quartered and surprised. The plea put forward by the Prussians in all such cases is that the inhabitants had given information to their own forces where to find the enemy's detachments; but in no case have they taken the trouble to establish this allegation. And, even were it proved, how is such conduct criminal according to their own law? If it be the duty of every Prussian, in case of an invasion, to give all the information he can to the defenders of his country, how should it not be the duty of the citizens of every other country to do the same? Or does this constant plea of the laws

of war mean that, if there are such laws, the soldiers of the Fatherland are above, or the people of France beneath them? Is it, after all, a mere question of national arrogance and animosity, which success has converted into reckless contempt?

At all events, the whole principle of such military executions is unsound, even were there any right to inflict them. It is by the use of proper watchfulness, by sentinels, and so forth, that detachments are bound to secure themselves in an enemy's country; not by scorning these precautions, and then wreaking vengeance for the consequences upon the unfortunate people on whom they have chosen to quarter themselves. That the plea of 'treachery' is nothing but a mere phrase, convenient as affording a pretext for that exercise of brutal force which delights the whole race of Blüchers, may be inferred from such a case as the destruction of Fontenoi. Shortly before the cessation of hostilities, the railway-bridge over the Meuse was blown up by a large detachment of French cavalry which arrived from a distance, and the German guard were carried off as prisoners. Such a brilliant feat called for vengeance; but on whom? The French cavalry were gone far out of reach, but Fontenoi was close by the broken bridge; and, for no reason but this, a detachment of troops was immediately sent from Nancy to destroy the village. Not the slightest evidence was obtained, or even sought for, that the inhabitants had taken any part in what was itself a fair act of war.

There are cases in which the so-called 'military executions' seem to have been dictated by sheer vindictiveness on account of unexpected resistance. For the fate of Nogent-le-Roi we are able to cite both the Prussian and the French accounts; and we leave our readers to form a judgment from comparing them. In the 'Cologne Gazette' of December 21st, 1870, we read:—

'The war is assuming a character more and more cruel and barbarous. The day before yesterday (the 19th), for example, we burnt Nogent, on the road from Chaumont to Langres. It is to be said that at Nogent our troops were fired upon from several private houses, and that a company, sent to chastise these acts by imposing a proportional contribution, was likewise fired upon, and was even driven from the town. A frightful vengeance followed immediately.'

The words which we have marked in italics imply clearly that a part of the story remains untold; for a few treacherous shots from windows would not drive out a German detachment, especially when already warned by similar proceedings. The French account denies the shots from the windows altogether, and tells the story as follows:—

'On Tuesday, the 6th of December, a Prussian detachment from the head-quarters at Chaumont (Haut-Marne) paid a visit to the little town

town of *Nogent le Roi* (3800 souls) to give effect to large requisitions. Some *Mobiles*, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, came up at once to drive them out, and killed two of the Prussians. Next day (the 7th), they came back in force with artillery; but 400 *Mobiles*, who had come from *Langres*, barricaded themselves in the town, replied to the fire, and killed thirty men. The enemy then retired the second time to *Chaumont*; but on Monday morning (the 12th), having learnt that the *Mobiles* had evacuated *Nogent*, which was now left defenceless, they returned with artillery, to the number of from 7000 to 8000 men, and bombarded the town,—reprisals the more odious as the place was not responsible for the legitimate defence maintained by regular troops. Presently the Prussian commander, finding petroleum more expeditious than bombs, which however had done not a little harm, ordered his soldiers to enter the dwellings, and to saturate with this liquid the houses and furniture, even to the mattresses. This unheard of order was executed at once, in spite of the protestations of the inhabitants, women and children, who affirmed with perfect truth that they had taken no part in the contest and had offered no resistance. Eighty-eight houses were reduced to ashes, as well as the large and fine cutlery-works of *M. Vitry*. All this time, shots were fired in the streets at the wretched inhabitants as they fled, and six of them were killed. The principal citizens were arrested, upon no charge, and carried off to *Chaumont*. The *Adjoint*, *M. Combes*, was dragged thither through the snow on his naked feet, his arms bound and his head bare, without being allowed to put on his clothes. The Prussians offered to exchange him against a superior officer. On the refusal of the commandant of *Langres*, they at last set him at liberty after ten days of the most rigorous confinement.'—*Recueil, &c.*, pp. 13-14.

At *Châteaudun*, in like manner, where the Prussians on their first approach were repulsed by the *National Guards* and the *Francs-tireurs*, 130 houses out of 1000 were burnt to the ground, and 96 inhabitants were carried off as prisoners of war. Let our readers particularly observe that the defence of these towns was precisely the kind of service which would be expected from our *Volunteers*, in case of an invasion; and their fate would be that of *Dartford* or *Hounslow* under like circumstances with like enemies. If any principle is to be discovered in these novel proceedings, it can be no other than this all-comprehensive extension of the law of vengeance, that every member of a nation is responsible for every act done by every other member of the same nation against an invader; and that, as the one great object is to inflict as much damage as possible upon the hostile people, there is no need to be particular in choosing the individual sufferer. That this is really the German view seems strongly confirmed by two practices as to the law of *hostages*, which they certainly have the merit, or odium, of originating. We refer to their seizure of some chief inhabitants

of various places, at random, to serve as hostages for the captains of merchantmen taken by French cruisers; and to the remarkable invention of compelling municipal authorities, professional men, and aged fathers of families, to ride on railway engines, as sureties against the cutting of the lines used by the Germans. If we have been tempted to see a sort of grim humour in a proceeding which some have thought might be applied to railway directors nearer home (who, however, *are* responsible for *their* lines), let us first see the results which have actually followed:—

‘A member of the municipal council of Reims, being compelled, as a *notable*, to ride on the locomotive of a train going to Epernay, was killed in a collision between this train and another coming from Reims. The collision arose from the mismanagement of the engineer.’—*Recueil, &c.*, p. 10.

The all-enveloping Prussian net has swept in civilians who were neither offenders (or the vicarious substitutes for such) nor hostages. The ‘law of suspected persons,’ so hateful a feature of the French revolution, has found its place among their ‘usages of war.’ Witness the following case:—

‘At Vitry-le-Français, a rich proprietor of Paris, for the time at Brussels, had left in France two nephews. One of them, the *procureur* at Vitry-le-Français, was greatly astonished to see a Prussian officer come into his room, followed by four soldiers. It was morning: the officer ordered him to get up. “What do you want with me?” asked the magistrate. “To send you off to Germany, where you will be detained in the fortress of Mainz.”—“On what ground?” “That’s no part of my duty to tell you.”—“I demand then to speak to the commandant of the town.”—“Oh! as to that, dress yourself, and let us be moving.”—The Procureur, brought before the superior officer, renewed his question. “You do not like the Prussians enough,” said the man of war, “and, as your influence might be injurious to us on account of your social standing, we are going to send you out of the country.” The magistrate was sent off by the train, without being allowed time to arrange his affairs or to take any money. He is, in fact, in the fortress of Mayence, where his uncle has been obliged to send him a sum of 2000 francs. The other nephew, a councillor of the court of appeal at Nancy, has had the same fate, and is now a prisoner of war in the fortress of Rastadt. Thus the Prussians arrest as prisoners of war men who have never borne arms. This is nothing less than the procedure of the Inquisition applied by military power on account of patriotic opinions.’—*Recueil, &c.*, pp. 11, 12.

There is, finally, another point in which the usage of war, as practised by the Germans, seems to require a reform in the interest of humanity. We refer to the treatment of individuals who become involved in quarrels with the foreign soldiery, and by resistance or interference with them, render themselves liable to martial law. Numerous instances have occurred of such

persons

persons being shot on the instant without any enquiry at all. We refrain from quoting several examples from the works before us, in order not to embitter the calm discussion of principles. None will surely deny that to leave the execution of martial law in the hands of individual soldiers, and those the very ones whose conduct is at least alleged to have given rise to the quarrel, is a proceeding unworthy of civilized warfare. No loss could possibly be suffered by enacting that no civilian should be shot under martial law except by a court-martial; and that in no case should he lose his life if the soldiers should be proved to have given provocation of such a kind that a complaint preferred after the deed would be useless. In by far the greater number of cases where a civilian is troublesome, it is enough for all practical purposes to shut him up, or to carry him off to a distance, and let him find his own way home. In fine, any damage that civilians can do, where proper precaution is used by officers, is so insignificantly small, that it is at least not worth while to incur, by extreme severity, the odium and indignation with which Europe has resounded.

The true law both of justice and policy is stated with admirable force and clearness by Colonel Hamley:—

‘Let the invader treat the population of the hostile State, and use its resources, as he would an ally’s or his own. Superior efficiency and superior skill would still retain their advantages; and let him not supplement deficiencies in force or vigilance by a system of terrorism, but restrict his enterprises to the space which he can protect, or extend them at his own peril, not at that of the population. Commanders have already abandoned some of their privileges in deference to the progress of civilization—they no longer make slaves of their captives, nor encourage indiscriminate plunder, nor massacre the inhabitants of cities taken by storm; let still further concessions be required of them. To say this is to argue in the interests of all the world against the victorious invader—nay, I will not even except the victorious invader himself. It is better that new restrictions should be placed on conquerors than that laws should be perverted, humanity outraged, and prosperous provinces converted into frightful deserts. To the plea that the custom of war authorises these acts, the reply is that the custom is not of our time; it is derived from periods which are the stigma of nations and the blots of history; from times of general rapine and violence; from the French Revolution, the Middle Ages, and epochs yet nearer to barbarism. That we should repudiate and denounce it is the more necessary because this method of making war can never be of even temporary advantage to ourselves. It is impossible to suppose that England, engaged in a foreign war, would tolerate the infliction by her troops of the rigours which France undergoes. Still more impossible would it be to admit that we should be suffering no more than the just penalties for opposing invasion, in the slaughter of our citizens goaded into resistance by intolerable injuries,

injuries, and in the conversion of whole counties into wastes, of aspect far more horrible than they bore in times when their inhabitants painted themselves blue and worshipped the sanguinary gods of (what we fancied to be) an extinct theology.'

We cite one last authority, to which some readers will attach peculiar weight, drawing the like conclusion from the highest principles :—

'Here, then, is the prohibition to all mortal feuds; mercy to a submissive foe is to be no longer an exceptional and admirable reach of human goodness, but a plain duty. Human beings have henceforth, in all cases, a right to terms, a right to quarter.'

Our case is stated, unless readers conversant with the facts should complain that it is understated. But we repeat, for the last time, that we are discussing principles, with a view to a remedy, not framing an indictment against Germany. We abstain, therefore, from dwelling upon acts of mere individual disorder, however harrowing many of the details, or upon acts which have been perpetrated by the German armies, but which their superior authorities do not defend in principle. Not even catastrophes like the conflagration of Bazeilles, horrible though they be, are the theme of our remonstrance, because the German authorities seem to have given up the plea of military execution. The fate of that unhappy village is now set down to the same cause which has produced similar though less terrible events at other places and in other wars, namely, the lawless excesses of the soldiers, who had become intoxicated. But the question of principle only arises when such things are done, not from laxity of discipline, the cases of which we gladly acknowledge to have been rare, but also under the superintendence of officers, in obedience to specific orders. And it is the latter class of outrages that constitute the most peculiar feature of the late war. We do not envy the Germans the spoils, nor is ours the voice that shall swell the chorus of the curses, under the weight of which they are taking their way homeward out of France. Our sole object has been to bring out the points in which their mode of warfare seems to differ from that dictated by the first principles of humanity and civilization, not for exposure on the pillory of international opinion, but for discussion in the clear light of reason upon what is right and wrong in men towards their fellow men, and in the serene but all pervading atmosphere of Christian charity and brotherhood.

Happily, this spirit has shone forth, even in the late terrible war, and borne fruit never before seen in the blood-stained annals of the world. The belligerents themselves have not only been faithful to the restraints imposed by the Geneva Convention on slaughter

slaughter and mutilation, and on interference with the succour of the wounded ; but they have employed all the resources of science to keep pace, as far as such gigantic operations rendered possible, with all the exigencies of suffering, with the decencies due to the dead, and even with the sanitary measures needful to prevent the fields of battle becoming hotbeds of pestilence. If the political impartiality of neutrals has been resented as apathy, their humane sympathy and unstinted help to the wounded and famishing has been freely acknowledged, and has doubtless sown the seeds of a future goodwill which will help to cement the brotherhood of nations. The white cross of charity has shed over the bloodiest fields a far purer light than ever shone from the red cross of misguided zeal. Such are the blessings which we owe partly to the Geneva Convention, partly to the free uncovenanted spirit of human kindness. Why, then, should not a similar and more comprehensive agreement, guided by the same spirit, be established by all civilized nations, to clear up all that is doubtful, to humanize all that is cruel, to restrain all that is rapacious, in the usages of war ; and, instead of throwing into the seething caldron of iniquity every safeguard for life and property, for capital and industry, for domestic peace, and even for the good conscience and character of the combatants themselves, to cast the aegis of public law over the innocent and helpless, and purify the appeal to the God of battles as far as possible from human passion ?

The immediate and practical objects most needful and desirable to be settled by a new convention seem to be the following :—

1st. To decide whether forces like the Prussian *Landsturm*, the *Francs-tireurs*, the *Garde Nationale Sédentaire*, and our Volunteers, are to be recognized or not ; and to enact uniformity in this respect ; so that a State may not lay down one law at home and practise another abroad.

2nd. To decide whether volunteers, not being natives of the country in whose armies they fight, are to be treated on the same footing as natives, when made prisoners of war. This question was raised in the Danish war, when the Germans refused to treat Norwegian and Swedish volunteers in the same manner as Danes.

3rd. To regulate the principles on which an invading army may obtain supplies from the inhabitants, and to abolish all needless and arbitrary requisitions.

4th. To determine whether the civil population may be made to perform military work, such as digging trenches, and so forth, for the invading force, as the Prussians have compelled them to work, both in Denmark and in France.

5th.

5th. To abolish, totally and unconditionally, the system of hostages, as useless and barbarous.

6th. To forbid the system of vicarious retaliation, as exercised by the Prussians, and particularly the practice of official incendiarism.

7th. To put an end to the system of executing prisoners or civilians, otherwise than for armed resistance, and after investigation by court-martial.

8th. To exempt towns from bombardment where they are not used as part of a defensive position, and where the bombardment does not serve to give the attacking party immediate possession by dislodging the defenders.

We are convinced that none of these proposals, if adopted, would render war less effective for its legitimate purposes ; and that their adoption, besides the immediate diminution of suffering and loss and demoralization, would tend to cherish that better spirit which, we have the highest authority for believing, will one day make an end of war.

It has, indeed, been objected, that the effort required to obtain such an international agreement would suffice to obtain the consent of nations to substitute arbitration for war ; and that, as the latter is at present hopeless, the former is impracticable. But it is only by the process of partial amelioration that a deeply rooted evil can be eradicated, and a complete and lasting reform effected. In this, as in so many other things, we are misled by truisms too plausible to be sound, by words too simply expressive to convey a full truth. It is easy to say that none but a radical remedy will avail against a radical evil ; that, while civilized nations continue to make their last appeal to brute violence, which is lawless and inhuman in itself, to impose upon it humanizing laws is only breaking off a branch here and there from the upas-tree of war, which throws its deadly shade over all the world. Nay, it is even reiterated, with that affected philosophy and real love of startling paradox which marks an age of re-action against received doctrines, that the surest remedy for the love of fighting will be found in the very extremity of suffering, horror, and disgust, inspired by evil usages, just as the course of war is shortened by more deadly weapons and lavish expenditure ; and we are expected to learn from recent experience that

‘ War is a monster of such hideous mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen.’

But even things hateful and horrible have a fascination, which seems only to be stimulated by the magnitude and intensity of its cause. For six months, from the first ‘ baptism of fire’ to the

the cessation of the iron rain that fell in answer upon the famishing city of Paris, every sympathetic fibre of our hearts has been kept upon the rack ; but must we not also confess to a sense of gratified curiosity and excitement on a scale never felt before ? The harrowing details brought daily under our eyes by modern channels of intelligence, as if we witnessed them ourselves, have for the time taught every one who can read a penny paper something of what war really is, and called forth the hope that this is the monster's last revel : but those very details have been sought with such avidity, that a morning journal without a pitched battle, a bombardment, or a bloody *soutie*, was almost a disappointment. The combative elements of our nature have been inflamed with some infection of that red haze which is said to float before the eyes of the young soldier on his first battle-field, inspiring him with a fury to shed blood. We do not doubt that, in thoughtful minds, the love of peace has been confirmed, and new vows have been registered to oppose all needless war ; but where is the proof that such feelings have so laid hold upon the general mind even of peaceful England, as to give a practical security against the passions which may break out in future war ? It was not at the beginning of the strife, when all these horrors were still veiled, but near its end, when we had supped full of them, that a cry was raised for our own entrance upon the bloody game.

How little a far more intimate acquaintance with the evils of war has influenced the combatants themselves, whose tenacity of resistance on the one side, and stern perseverance on the other, were only intensified by all the experience of that bloody August which ended with Sedan—bear witness Paris—bear witness Berlin. The capacity of human passion seems unbounded for suffering as well as for glory. We need not dwell upon that spectacle of renewed war, this time of citizen against citizen, which we can only view with ‘our hearts failing us for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming upon the earth.’ This reawakening of warlike frenzy may be temporary ; but does either nation appear to shrink from the future conflict of revenge, which the one side loudly proclaims, and for which the other promises to be ready, or even cynically provokes it ? The strain of domestic suffering upon the citizen army of Germany has no more wrought a cure than has the exhausting misery of France ; and the promise of Prince Bismarck to the Frankfort burgess—‘there will not be another war in our time’—is only the boast of the resolved conqueror, holding his enemy in a grasp which he feels strong enough to

maintain : though the irony of fate has often a Nemesis for such resolves.

The truth is that human nature, especially in these later ages of the world, seems to have a limitless ambition for at least striving to overcome every new force of moral as well as physical resistance to its desires. In material progress, the quickened pulse of civilization is answered by the acceleration of our own ; the work of weeks is crowded into days, and every abridgment of labour cuts out new tasks. In our moral and speculative lives, every triumph over old bonds and prejudices makes the claim for liberty more grasping, and the temptation to dare and do grows stronger with its gratification—

‘Audax omnia perpeti
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.’

So is it with war. We of the present generation have been told, from our childhood, that improvement in weapons of destruction would make an end of war. They may have shortened it, but in an unforeseen way : namely, by making the victory, already virtually won by superior numbers or preparation or strategy, more rapidly decisive. This seems to be the lesson alike of the Italian, Danish, Austrian, and French wars ; not, most assuredly, that wholesale slaughter has made fighting too destructive to be ventured on. Every new invention has but called forth new energy to use or counteract it ; the defence has kept pace with the attack in the endurance of flesh and blood, mind and nerve, as well as fire and iron ; and men have no more feared to stand up against the needle-gun and chassepot, the Armstrong and the Krupp, than the rebel angels of Milton feared to face the ‘dread artillery of heaven.’ ‘To suffer as to do, our strength is equal ;’ and human nature shews as yet no sign of being frightened out of war. But human nature is apt to yield to gentleness, where it only hardens itself to resist force.

On this principle we look to the mitigation of the stern military law, not only as good in itself, not only as a right claimed by humanity, not only as sound policy in warriors, but as the most hopeful means of putting an end to war. Those who will only hear of radical reforms are misled, as we have hinted, by the fallacies which hang about words and figures of speech. To answer in their own language, let them see how a gardener practises eradication. The weed that springs up in an hour, with no depth of root, is easily plucked up, or turned over with spud or hoe ; but the deep-rooted parasite or tenacious bindweed, which has spread its fibres through all the soil, must be

be scotched and killed by cutting off, with unceasing diligence, every leaf from which its life is fed. The upas-tree, whose root we cannot even reach, so deeply is it struck in the hardened soil, may be destroyed by lopping off its boughs and plucking away each new shoot, till

‘Shorn of its strength, the giant growth, though bare,
Stands on the blasted heath’ —

and the trunk dies a sure, though lingering death.

So may it be with war ; and that it may be so we invoke, at this crisis, before indifference again steals over us, the co-operation of all humane, of all Christian men. ‘Whosoever ye will that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for THIS IS THE LAW.’ We shrink not from ending thus, since we are writing of and for CHRISTIAN NATIONS.

ART. VIII.—1. *Das Geburtsjahr Christi; geschichtlich-chronologische Untersuchungen* von A. W. Zumpt. Leipzig, 1869.

2. *Fasti Sacri, or a Key to the Chronology of the New Testament.*
By Thomas Lewin, Esq., of Trinity College, Oxford, M.A.,
F.S.A. London, 1865.

ALL Biblical students have long since been aware that the Common Era, computing events from the Nativity of Christ, and fixed in the 753rd year from the foundation of Rome, is altogether untrustworthy. It was first devised by Dionysius, an abbot of the sixth century, and first brought into general use under the Carlovingian Kings. But, however well it might pass muster in an uncritical age, a very slight examination sufficed to show that it was wholly at variance with the first chapters of St. Matthew’s Gospel. This a very few words will make plain. We may deduce from Josephus that Herod the Great died in the spring of the year 4 before Christ according to the Dionysian Era.* Taking then into account the Flight into Egypt, and the Massacre of the Innocents as recorded by St. Matthew, it is impossible to place the Nativity of Christ later than five years before the period that is commonly assigned. Thus far there is no difficulty. Nor is there any other connected with chronology in the whole first Gospel. But on passing to the third, we find ourselves greatly perplexed. St. Luke tells us at his outset that his narrative begins ‘in the days of Herod, the King of Judæa.’ When, however, he

* ‘Ant. Jud.’ lib. xvii. c. 8. See the Essay by M. Freret in the ‘Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions,’ vol. xxi. p. 278.

comes to the taxing of the Roman empire, or at least of the province of Judæa, which brought Joseph and Mary to be taxed at Bethlehem, he makes mention of Cyrenius, more properly according to the Roman form Quirinius, or, if we desire to be most accurate of all, Quirinus. The words of St. Luke in this passage are rendered as follows in our Authorized Version: 'And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was Governor of Syria.'

It is at this point that our perplexities begin. We learn from St. Matthew that, upon the death of Herod, his son Archelaus was appointed to reign in Judæa in his room.* We learn from Josephus that, after ruling for not quite ten years, Archelaus was deposed and banished by the Emperor Augustus.† Then, and then only, that is in the year 6 of the Common Era, Judæa was reduced to a Roman province, and Publius Quirinus, who was sent over as Governor of Syria, proceeded to take in hand the business of the Census. Or, as Josephus states it, 'Moreover, Quirinus came himself into Judæa, which was now added to Syria, to take an account of their substance and dispose of Archelaus's money.'‡

It would seem, then, at first sight, as though St. Luke had placed the birth of our Lord some ten or twelve years later than the date which other and equal authorities compel us to assign.

But supposing this difficulty solved—and we will presently show how many attempts have been made to solve it—there is still a subsequent text which is far from being clear. St. Luke goes on to give a precise date—the only precise date, we may observe in passing, that is given by any one of the four Evangelists. He adduces 'the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being Governor of Judæa.' Now, Augustus, having died in his own month of August, A.D. 14 of the Common Era, the fifteenth year of Tiberius may be taken to point to A.D. 29. In that year, continues St. Luke, 'the word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness.' A period somewhat later, by a few months at least, must be ascribed to our Lord's own baptism and the commencement of his ministry. At that time, says St. Luke, 'Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age.' So it stands in our Authorized Version, but, perhaps, more accurately, as follows, in the note to Tischendorf's edition: 'And Jesus himself, when he began, was about thirty years of age.' Now, then, taking his Nativity, for the reasons already given, not later than the year

* Matt., c. ii. verse 22.

† 'Ant. Jud.' lib. xvii. c. 15; and 'Bell. Jud.' lib. ii. c. 7.

‡ 'Ant. Jud.' lib. xviii. c. 1. We give the words from Whiston's version.

5 before the Common Era, it would follow that at the commencement of his ministry he must have been, not as St. Luke states, 'about thirty'—ώσει ἑτῶν τριάκοντα—but at least thirty-four or thirty-five years of age.

These difficulties—and above all those connected with the 'taxing' of Quirinus—have exercised in no small degree the ingenuity of commentators. Most various have been their expedients. Some have declared the whole parenthesis about Quirinus to be an early gloss and interpolation of the text. Others, observing that Sentius Saturninus had been Governor of Syria some time before the death of Herod, desired, although with no authority from manuscripts, to substitute his name for that of Cyrenius in St. Luke. This, it appears, no less an authority than Tertullian was willing to do.* Other changes in the text were proposed by others. Some, without tampering with the words, attempted to construe πρώτη in the sense of προτέρα; the meaning of St. Luke being, as they alleged, to explain that the Census which caused the journey to Bethlehem differed from and was earlier than, the Census of Quirinus. There seems, however, no adequate motive for such a reflection on the part of the Evangelist, and that construction would be moreover a force upon the Greek.

Leaving the words as they stand, there has also been more recently an ingenious but fanciful theory. There was only one Census, it is said, but that interrupted in its progress. As commanded by Augustus, and as commenced, we may suppose, in the year 5 before Christ according to the Common Era, it may have proceeded so far that Joseph and Mary, and many more, went down to their own city to be taxed. But Augustus in his indulgence, having perhaps relented, the new taxation may have been laid aside and not resumed till twelve years afterwards, when Judaea was reduced to a province and Quirinus sent out as Governor. By this theory the first chronological difficulty might perhaps be explained away; but then this theory rests only on conjecture without one shred of evidence or corroborative testimony.

On the whole, then, this parenthesis of St. Luke about Cyrenius has remained obscure. Strauss, in his 'Life of Jesus,' points to it with exultation as to one of those points in which he desires to convict the Gospels of contradiction or inaccuracy. On the other side the ablest commentators have been willing to allow that the passage is difficult, and has not yet received that full elucidation of which it would doubtless admit.

* 'Advers. Marcion.' lib. iv. c. 19.

It is therefore with especial pleasure that we welcome this publication of Dr. Zumpt. We gather from the Dedication that the author was a favourite pupil of Dr. Tweten, the eminent Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin; and we are informed that, as a classic scholar and exponent of Roman History, he enjoys a very high reputation in Germany. This gentleman has devoted a whole volume to the point at issue, and propounded a careful and consistent theory upon it.

That theory, indeed, is not altogether new. It was first propounded by Dr. Zumpt, in a Latin Essay which appeared at Berlin in 1854: 'Commentatio de Syriâ Romanorum provinciâ ab Cæsare Augusto ad T. Vespasianum.' Since that time it has been most favourably noticed in this country. Mr. Lewin has adopted it in his able and comprehensive, though not always convincing, work on the New Testament Chronology which we have named second in the heading of this article.* Dr. Alford, Dean of Canterbury, whose untimely death, even while these pages are passing through the press, we observe with deep concern, has on two occasions given to the theory of Dr. Zumpt the sanction of his high authority; first, in 1860, in the article 'Cyrenius,' which he contributed to Dr. Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' and again, in 1863, in the corresponding passage of his own excellent *Commentary on the Greek Testament*.

On neither occasion, however, has the Dean gone into the case at all fully. 'Zumpt,' he says, in his *Commentary*, 'by arguments too long to be reproduced here, but very striking and satisfactory—'

But this Latin Dissertation of Dr. Zumpt—only known, as we imagine, to the highest class of Biblical scholars—has been recently succeeded by a book from the same hand in a living language. Here the theory in question is both more fully stated and more forcibly defended. As it stands before us in its full proportions, we cannot but acknowledge its force and power. Proceeding, as it does, by the way, not of vague conjecture, but of sound historical deduction, it seems to us to explain the entire difficulty, and to establish the accuracy of the Gospel narrative on this point beyond the reach of future cavil.

It is not, however, the date of the Nativity that is alone concerned. Dr. Zumpt, in this volume, points out that, on his first theory, combined with another which he urges, the exact date of the Passion also may be probably deduced. Under these circumstances, it has seemed to us that a fuller exposition of the case than has hitherto been afforded in this country, might perhaps be welcome to many English readers.

* 'Fasti Sacri,' p. 132, ed. 1865.

In this attempt we do not propose, however, to follow through every wandering the footsteps of Dr. Zumpt. So great—so very great—are his stores of learning and his powers of research, that they have sometimes led him into collateral narratives or illustrations not at all essential to his argument. We, neither possessing his vast erudition nor inclined to make so unmerciful a use of it, shall confine ourselves to the main proofs by which his positions are defended. We hope, therefore, while giving an account of his 'discovery,' as Dean Alford has justly termed it, to be able to present it to the public in a plainer and more popular form.

At the very outset the word 'first' (or *πρώτη*) in the text is perhaps sufficient to afford a clue, or at least to suggest an inquiry. Might not Quirinus have held the office of Governor of Syria, not once only, but on two occasions—first, in the year 4 before the Christian Era, when Judæa, after some previous preparations and announcements, was taxed according to the Jewish manner, each man repairing to his own city for that purpose; and secondly, in the year 6 after the Christian Era, when Judæa, reduced to a Roman province, was taxed according to the Roman fashion, and when Quirinus was sent out for the second time to the same post? Were such the case, the words of St. Luke, in strict grammatical construction, would mean only that the Census preceding the birth of Christ was the first Census taken under Quirinus, as distinguished from the second.

Such, then, briefly stated, is the theory that Dr. Zumpt and Mr. Lewin desire to maintain. But was the fact really so? Did indeed Quirinus fill his Syrian office at an earlier date? Now, for the events of this epoch in the East we have, in general, two separate and trustworthy authorities, the one Roman, and the other Jewish, Dion Cassius and Josephus. It so happens, however, by a singular coincidence, that both of these fail us at this particular point, exactly for the same period of time. There is an interval in the history of Dion Cassius, arising from a break in the manuscript, from the year 6 before Christ till the year 4 after, according to the Common Era. Josephus relates very fully the reign of Herod the Great, and also the first events in the reign of his successor, but breaks off abruptly at the marriage of Archelaus to his brother's widow, and does not resume his narrative until the accusation brought against this prince in the tenth year of his reign, when he was summoned to Rome by Augustus, and deposed. For the fact, then, which we are seeking we have no direct historical testimony, either in proof or disproof. We can only proceed by historical inference, which, as all students of history know, is sometimes quite as convincing as the former.

The

The Governor or 'Legatus' of Syria was at this time one of the most important officers of the Roman Empire—representing the person of the Emperor, not merely in the province, but in any adjacent and dependent kingdom. To fill this post, a previous Consulship was a necessary qualification; and such, we may observe in passing, was possessed by Quirinus, even at the earlier period, since he had been Consul in the year 12 before Christ.

We find that Caius Sentius Saturninus, a man also of Consular rank, administered Syria from the year 9 to the year 6 before Christ. In the latter year, he was succeeded by Publius Quinctilius Varus, another *Consularis*, so well known subsequently from his terrible disaster in the German forests. Owing to the break in the established histories, as already explained, we lose sight of Varus in his Eastern course after the summer of the year 4. Our next direct evidence as to this succession of chiefs is derived from a coin which was struck at Antioch eight years later, that is, in the autumn of the year 4 after Christ, and which names Lucius Volusius Saturninus as the Roman Governor of Syria.

It does not seem probable that Varus continued in Syria much beyond the autumn of B.C. 4, when all trace of him ceases. It was a maxim laid down under Augustus, for the better administration of the Roman Empire, that no Governor having command of an army in a province should, so far as was possible to apply one uniform rule, be left at his post for less than three years or for more than five;* by the former limitation obtaining the benefit of some experience, and by the latter guarding against ambitious hopes and schemes of independent authority. In practice, however, it will be found from the instances adduced during this reign, that the period of three years was much more frequent than the term of five, although occasionally, and after an interval, the term of office was renewed. It is thought by Dr. Zumpt and Mr. Lewin that Varus was called away from Syria soon after the term when he is last named in connection with that province, and that he was immediately succeeded by Quirinus.

We come now to the proofs. Quirinus survived till the year 21 of the Christian Era, and Tacitus, while recording his death, has rapidly sketched his career.

'Quirinus,' he says, 'was born at Lanuvium, a municipal town; and he was in no wise related to the ancient patrician family of the Sulpicci; but being a brave soldier, was for his vigorous military services rewarded with the consulship by the Divine Augustus; and soon after

* Dion Cassius, lib. lii. c. 23.

with

with triumphal honours for having stormed the strongholds of the Homonadenses in Cilicia. Next, when Caius Caesar was sent to bear sway in Armenia, Quirinus was appointed his guardian, and at the same time paid court to Tiberius, then in exile at Rhodes.*

Tacitus goes on to state, in a passage which does not so immediately concern us, that Tiberius, on account of former friendship, pleaded warmly for the honour of a public funeral to Quirinus, which the Senate accordingly decreed as the Emperor desired. To others, adds the historian, the memory of Quirinus was far from grateful, on account of the dangers to which, as elsewhere explained by Tacitus, his wife Lepida had through his means been exposed, and also on account of his own avaricious and overbearing old age.

It is to be observed that Tacitus, in the passages which we have quoted, does not give, or profess to give, all the main incidents of this statesman's career. He says nothing, for example, of the government of Syria, which Quirinus held in the year 6 after Christ, or of the memorable Census, as recorded by Josephus, which he then enforced on his province. It is very natural that the first government in the year 4 before Christ should, in express mention, be omitted also. But still the few facts which the Roman historian does allege are of the highest value for the question now before us.

We have first to consider the Caius Caesar to whom Tacitus is here referring. This was the grandson and presumptive heir of Augustus. In the first year of the Christian Era he was despatched by the Emperor to Syria, proceeding from thence to Armenia to wage war against the Parthians. To this young prince, then, as Tacitus tells us, Quirinus was appointed guide or guardian (*rector*). It appears, however, that for some reason not explained, Quirinus did not long hold that office. We find Suetonius name another man of Consular rank, by name Marcus Lollius, as acting in the same capacity to Caius (*comes et rector*) as the war proceeded.† It proved disastrous both to chief and adviser. Caius received a wound before the town of Artagers of which he never recovered, and he expired in the year 4 of our Era. Lollius was suspected of treacherous communication with the enemy, and died, it is said, of poison administered by his own hand.

Lollius, as we learn from another historian, was succeeded by

* 'Nihil ad veterem et patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinus pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium, sed impiger militiae et acribus ministeriis consulatum sub Divo Augusto, mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis, insignia triumphi adeptus, datusque rector Caio Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti, Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat.' (Tacit. 'Annal.' lib. iii. c. 48.)

† Suetonius 'Tib.' c. 12.

Censorinus,

Censorinus.*—Caius Marcius Censorinus, that is, who had also filled the Consulship in former years. The question then arises, whom Augustus, on sending his grandson into Syria, was likely to select as his guide and guardian. Dr. Zumpt maintains that it must have been some man already conversant with Eastern affairs, and that in all probability it was the Governor of this very province and the chief of the army stationed there. He holds, then, that Quirinus was at this time Governor of Syria, as were also, in succession to him, first Lollius and then Censorinus.

Dr. Zumpt has certainly one strong instance to allege, so far as analogy can guide us. In the year 17 after Christ, Tiberius, then Emperor, sent on a mission to the East his adopted son Germanicus, who, as regards the heirship of the Empire, stood in much the same relation to him as Caius Cæsar had done to Augustus. There was this difference, however, that while Caius was young and untried, Germanicus had experience in war. He required, therefore, not a guardian (*rector*), but only a helper (*adjutor*). Tiberius, desiring to appoint as such a man on whom he could thoroughly rely, recalled Creticus Silanus from the government of Syria, and set in his place Cnaeus Piso, who was directed at the same time to attend upon and assist the Prince.†

This argument does no more, we admit, than make the earlier government of Quirinus probable. But by another train of reasoning it becomes very nearly certain. Tacitus tells us that Quirinus obtained the emblems of a triumph from his expedition against the Homonadenses in Cilicia. Some readers may feel surprise that we should here be eagerly discussing the affairs of an obscure tribe with an interminable name. Yet it is perhaps with this obscure tribe that lies the clue to the whole system of Gospel chronology. And first, When did this expedition occur? It is placed by Tacitus after the Consulship of Quirinus, and before his attendance on the grandson of Augustus. It must therefore have been some time previous to the year 1 of the Christian Era. Next, In what capacity did Quirinus obtain his triumph? It can only have been as Governor of the province to which this savage tribe was considered to belong. In the system of the provinces under the dominion of Rome, there was never any severance of civil government from military leadership. The same chief who conducted a war had at the same time the supreme administration of the province which was the scene, or had been the starting-point, of that war. It was not till the third century of our Era that a change was made in this respect. So fixed was this rule, says Dr. Zumpt, that not even one single exception can be found to it up to the period which he names.

* Velleius Patereculus, lib. ii. c. 102.

† Tacit. 'Annal.', lib. ii. c. 43.

With

With this result to spur us, we may be willing, in company with Dr. Zumpt, to explore the scanty records of this robber tribe—for such the Homonadenses were. The sovereignty over them had been claimed by Amyntas, King of Galatia, who was slain by treachery in the year 25 before Christ, while attempting to subdue them.* At his death, Galatia became a Roman province, its first Praetor being that same Marcus Lollius who subsequently became the *comes et rector* of Caius Cæsar. The mountainous district of Cilicia—the rugged Cilicia, *Cilicia Aspera*, as the Romans termed it—had also formed part of the dominion of Amyntas, and it fell, at his decease, to Archelaus, King of Cappadocia. It is probable that the little robber-land shared at this time the fate of Rugged Cilicia, and was afterwards with it embodied in the Empire. Certain it is that the predatory habits of this people roused at no distant date the resentment of Rome, and gave rise to the victorious expedition of Quirinus.

We have further to observe of the Homonadenses that they dwelt so near the confines of Cilicia as sometimes to be called its inhabitants, and sometimes only its neighbours.† It is quite clear, however, from the express words of Tacitus, *per Ciliciam*, that, in the time the conquest of Quirinus was achieved, the Homonadenses were taken as within the Cilician borders. *Per Ciliciam*, we admit, is not exactly the same phrase as *in Ciliciâ*: it implies that these robber-fastnesses were scattered up and down the province, but it implies also as conclusively that they were not beyond or outside it. Now, as to Cilicia, there seems to be no doubt that all through that age, after it came under the dominion of the Empire, it was held to be a portion or dependency of the Syrian province. Of this there are several proofs, which we may state as follows:—

In the year 16 after Christ, Vonones, expelled from his kingdom of Parthia, sought refuge with Creticus Silanus, Praefect or Governor of Syria. This Governor confined him in Pompeiopolis, *Ciliciae maritimæ urbem*, as in a city subject to his Syrian jurisdiction.

In the year 19 after Christ, Cnæus Piso,‡ seeking to recover his province of Syria, sent to the petty chiefs (the *reguli*) of Cilicia, as though dependent on that province, to levy men for him.§

* Strabo, 'Geogr.' lib. xii. c. 6.

† 'Est contermina illi gens Homonadum quorum intus oppidum Homona.' (Plin. 'Hist. Nat.', lib. v. c. 23, not 94 as we find it in Zumpt.) On the other hand, an expression of Strabo indicates that he reckoned them as Cilicians. ('Geograph.' lib. xii. c. 6.)

‡ Tacit. 'Annal.' lib. ii. c. 4 and 58.

§ Ibid., lib. ii. c. 78.

The

The Clitæ, as we learn from Tacitus, were among the tribes of Cilicia.* We find that, in the year 36 after Christ, Vitellius, as Governor of Syria, sent his Legate, with four thousand legionaries, to reduce that tribe.†

Again, in the year 52 after Christ, we find another Praefect of Syria, Curtius Severus, march with his cavalry against the Clitæ.‡

Thus also, in the year 72 after Christ, Antiochus, King of Commagene, being at Tarsus, a principal city of Cilicia, Cæsennius Pætus, then Governor of Syria, despatched a centurion to that city to arrest him and send him in bonds to Rome, thus treating Tarsus as a part of his own territory.§

It follows, then, that when Quirinus commenced his expedition against these mountaineers, he did not outstep the bounds of his appointed jurisdiction, and was dealing with a dependency of the Syrian province.

The same conclusion as to his government at that time of this particular province is also arrived at by Dr. Zumpt through a different process—the process of exhaustion. He inquires what province, if not Syria, Quirinus could have held in this campaign. Bithynia, Galatia, and Pontus are eliminated by him, as not being Consular provinces, or, in other words, not territories which had invariably for their Governor some chief, as was Quirinus, of Consular rank. There remain in the East only the province of Asia Proper and the province of Syria. But in Asia Proper, there were no troops;|| while in Syria four legions were stationed. From the latter province alone could have proceeded such warfare as would entitle the successful chief to triumphal honours.

It will be observed that these separate trains of argument all tend to one result. They render all but certain a former government of Quirinus in Syria—that government commencing probably in the latter months of the year 4 before Christ, and continuing till the year 1 after Christ. Five years would then elapse before his reappointment, and during these five years it might very well be that he held the other Consular province in the East, the province of Asia Proper, as seems to be stated in the ancient inscription to which we shall presently refer.

The list of the Governors of Syria at this period, with the dates at which they entered upon office, is accordingly established by Dr. Zumpt as follows:—

* 'Agrestium Cilicum nationes quibus Clitarum cognomentum.' (Tacit. 'Annal.', lib. xii. c. 55.)

† 'Tacit. Annal.', lib. vi. c. 41.

§ Josephus, 'Bell. Jnd.', lib. vii. c. 7.

‡ Ibid., lib. xii. c. 55.

|| Tacit. 'Annal.', lib. iv. c. 5.

C. Sentius

C. Sentius Saturninus from the year	..	9 before Christ.
P. Quintilius Varus	..	6 "
P. Sulpicius Quirinus	..	4 "
M. Lollius	..	1 after Christ.
C. Marcius Censorinus	..	4 "
P. Sulpicius Quirinus	..	6 "
Q. Creticus Silanus	..	11 "

It is true that this succession which Dr. Zumpt establishes does not at first sight solve the entire difficulty caused by the words of St. Luke. For, as we cannot place the Nativity of Christ later than the year 5 before the Common Era, so we can as little place the first governorship of Quirinus earlier than the year 4. But this remaining difficulty is apparent only. It is easy to conceive that a general Census, more especially according to the Jewish method of division into tribes, must have taken a considerable time for its completion. It is easy to conceive how Joseph and Mary might go 'to be taxed' at Bethlehem in the year 5, under the government of Syria by Saturninus or Quintilius Varus, and yet not be called upon to pay, nor find the taxing finally ordered, till two or three years later, under the government of Quirinus. In this manner all ground for cavil disappears.

There might yet be another source of information on this subject. No scholar but is well aware of the great value for historical researches of the ancient inscriptions. Collected they were, in great part, even two centuries ago, but it is only of late years that they have been completed and classified and provided with classical notes by the skill of such men as Orelli. On this path, however, it behoves us to tread warily, for the ground is strewed with pitfalls. Forgeries, of modern date, though in Ciceronian Latin, are very frequent. Thus, many years since, we had occasion, in the pages of this Review, to show that the famous epitaph on Julia Alpinula, so much admired by Lord Byron, and so familiar to the readers of Childe Harold, is, in fact, the work of a modern hand.* It is strange how few scruples were felt, and how lightly such falsifications were regarded. Thus Mr. Surtees, of Mainsforth, the historian of Durham, a man of the highest character, and wholly incapable of falsehood or deception on any other subject, sent to Sir Walter Scott a Northumbrian ballad which was, every line of it, his own handiwork, but which, as he alleged, was taken down from the recitation of a woman, eighty years of age, mother of one of the miners in Alston Moor. 'She had not,' she said, 'heard it for many years; but when she was a girl it used to be

* 'Childe Harold,' canto iii., stanza 66. 'Quarterly Review,' No. clv., June, 1846.

sung at merry-making till the roof rung again.' No wonder that a tale so circumstantial was implicitly believed. Sir Walter received the gift with pleasure, and inserted it without suspicion in his 'Border Minstrelsy' as an authentic record of the olden time.*

It so happened that, long before any idea was raised of an earlier term of office for Quirinus, some surprise was expressed that, considering the importance of his government of Syria in the year 6 after Christ, when Judæa was first reduced to a Roman province, no record of him should remain on any known inscription. As though to meet this want, it was ere long announced that a monument in his commemoration had been discovered in the Venetian territory. This was first published at Padua in 1719. It refers to the proceedings of Quirinus, intending by that reference the year 6 of our Era, and it goes on to state that one of his lieutenants, *Æmilius Secundus* by name, had by his orders taken the Census at Apamea, where he found 117,000 citizens. Since this inscription deals only with the government of the year 6, it would be, even though of unquestionable authenticity, wholly immaterial to our present object. But it is in truth a mere modern forgery. First, as in the case of *Julia Alpinula*, the original stone could never be produced. Next, there are some slips in the lapidary Latin. 'I hold it to be fictitious,' says the sagacious Orelli.† 'Only those,' says Dr. Zumpt, 'who are not conversant with such inscriptions could give any credit to this.'

There is, however, another inscription which is thought to refer to Quirinus, and of which the authenticity has never been disputed. It is on a sepulchral tablet discovered near Tivoli. Several copies, the first in 1765, have been with more or less correctness taken from it; but, unhappily, the first part has altogether perished, while the second is much mutilated. We will give it as it stands in the last and most authentic copy, as taken by Mommsen and inserted by Orelli ‡:—

* * * * *

.
EGEM QUA REDACTA IN POT	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
AUGUSTI POPULIQUE ROMANI SENATU	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SUPPLICATIONES BINAS OB RES PROSP	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
IPSI ORNAMENTA TRIUMPH	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
PRO CONSUL ASIAM PROVINCIAM OP	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
DIVI AUGUSTI .. TERUM SYRIAM ET PH	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

* Note 12 to first canto of 'Marmion'; and 'Life of Robert Surtees,' published by the Surtees Society.

† 'Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio.' No. 623, ed. Turici, 1828.

‡ No. 5366 in the third and supplemental volume, published 1856. The stone itself is now in *horreis Vaticanis*. *Litteræ magnæ sunt et pulchrae.*

Mr. Lewin, who has taken great pains and shown great sagacity in discussing this inscription, has no doubt of its application to Quirinus. He observes that the two lines previous to the first that now remain might perhaps be restored as follows:—

CIVITATEM SUBEGIT HOMONADENSIMUM QUI
INTERFECERANT AMYNTAM RE—

And he gives as an alternative of the second line—

ADFLIXERANT LATROCINIIS ARCHELAUM RE—

Of these two alternatives we must say that we greatly prefer the latter. The slaughter of King Amyntas could not be stated as the motive for the expedition of Quirinus, since an interval of some five-and-twenty years elapsed between these events.

On the first line of all, did it still remain, we might expect to find the name and titles of Quirinus; and the following would be the most probable restoration of the rest:—

* * * * *

[CIVITATEM SUBEGIT HOMONADENSIMUM QUI
ADFLIXERANT LATROCINIIS ARCHELAUM RE]
GEM QUÂ REDACTÂ IN POT[ESTATEM DIVI]
AUGUSTI POPULIQUE ROMANI SENATU[S]
SUPPLICATIONES BINAS OB RES PROSP[ERE GESTAS ET]
IPSI ORNAMENTA TRIUMPH[ALIA DECREVIT]
PROCONSUL ASIAM PROVINCIAM OP[TINUIT LEGATUS]
DIVI AUGUSTI ITERUM SYRIAM ET [PHOENICIAM].

Our readers will observe how exactly the *Ornamenta triumphalia* of this inscription tally with the *insignia triumphi* of Tacitus, as distinguished from an actual triumph. Nor will they fail to observe the *iterum Syriam* stating distinctly that two-fold term of government which our argument has been striving to establish.

But Dr. Zumpt demurs. Writing, as is his wont, with perfect fairness, he does not adopt any argument merely because it points to his own conclusion. In this case, he has a strong doubt whether, in fact, this inscription refers to Quirinus; and he thinks that Sentius Saturninus is more probably the person implied. His main reason is founded on a passage in the 'Epitome of Roman History' by Julius Florus. Thence, as he thinks, we may deduce that Quirinus, in the period between his two governments of Syria, had subdued certain African tribes, the Marmaridae and the Garamantes, which, if he did at all, he could have done only as Proconsul of Africa or Cyrene. During that period, therefore, he could not have been Proconsul also of Asia,

Asia, as the inscription declares. Mr. Lewin argues on the contrary side, but appears to overlook the strongest of all the pleas that can be urged against this text of Florus, namely, the uncertainty of the right reading. It is well known to students of Roman History that the copies of Florus differ much from one another. Professor William Ramsay says of it:—‘As might be expected in a work which was extensively employed in the middle ages as a school-book, the text is found in most manuscripts under a very corrupt form.’* In the particular passage which we are now discussing several manuscripts give the name, not of Quirinus, but of Furnius. So it is, for instance, in the edition which is now before us, printed by Hall at Oxford in 1650, and enriched by the commentary of Stadius, Professor of History at Louvain.† The Furnius here referred to was, like Quirinus, of Consular rank, having been Consul in the year 17 before Christ. He is commemorated in a passage of Seneca for a graceful saying of his to Augustus, when he obtained his father’s pardon in the Civil Wars.‡

If, then, we are willing—as we may, on adequate authority—to read Furnius in this passage of the ‘Epitome,’ we shall have no further difficulty with the tablet from Tivoli. We may, then, be fully justified if we ascribe it to Quirinus, and please ourselves with the *iterum Syriam*—a phrase, indeed, which on any other supposition remains wholly unexplained. Should there be, however, any doubts remaining, we would by no means allege this inscription or lay any stress upon its terms, conceiving as we do that the argument of Dr. Zumpt is thoroughly convincing without it.

We must observe, however, that, as regards the exact year of the Nativity, we are not altogether in accord with Dr. Zumpt. He is not quite satisfied with fixing it at the year 5 before the Common Era, and would rather choose the year 7. His principal motive is, that in the last-named year there was a thrice-repeated conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn in the sign of the Fish, corresponding, as he thinks, to the ‘star in the east’ which is recorded by St. Matthew, and which led the ‘wise men’ from their country to Bethlehem. This is a suggestion which, under various forms and dates, has been not unfrequently debated of

* Article ‘Florus’ in Dr. Smith’s ‘Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.’

† This edition gives the passage as follows:—[Augustus] ‘Marmaridas atque Garamantas Furnio subigendos dedit. Potuit et ille redire Marmaricus sed modestior in aestimandā victoriā fuit’ (Florus, lib. iv. p. 133).

‡ ‘Nullo magis Cesarem Augustum demeruit et ad alia impetranda facilem sibi reddidit Furnius quam quod, cum patri Antonianas partes secuto veniam impetrasset, dixit; *Hanc unam Cæsar habeo injuriam tuam; effecisti ut vivarem et morerer ingratius.*’ (Seneca, ‘De Benef.’ lib. ii. c. 25.)

late years. But, as is well observed by the present Archbishop of York, 'the words of St. Matthew are extremely hard to reconcile with a conjunction of planets.' At all events, this is a wholly different order of ideas, into which we decline on this occasion to follow Dr. Zumpt. We take him for our guide only so far as he treads on historical ground.

Adhering, then, to that ground, we continue to maintain that the first difficulty which we have stated as arising from the text of St. Luke—his mention, namely, of the Census of Quirinus—is most fully cleared up. There remains the second difficulty, from the age of about thirty years ascribed to our Lord at the commencement of his ministry. Let it be observed that this difficulty will still exist, whatever view we may take of Quirinus. For in any case, knowing as we do the exact date of Herod's death, we cannot place Christ's birth at an earlier date than 5 before the Common Era. Assuming, then, the 15th year of Tiberius to be equivalent with 29 after Christ, there would still remain at the latter period an age of at least thirty-four years.

With this difficulty, also, Dr. Zumpt proceeds to deal in the second portion of his book. He shows, with a vast extent of erudition and alleging many cases of analogy, that St. Luke appears to have computed his 15th year of Tiberius not from the year 14, when Augustus died, but from the year 11, when Augustus, by formal decree, associated Tiberius with himself as co-regent of the provinces and joint *imperator* of the troops. On this basis, the commencement of Christ's ministry would fall in the year 26, Christ being then between thirty and thirty-one years of age. His Passion would ensue in the year 29, under the Consulship of the two Gemini, the very date assigned to it by the constant and uniform tradition of the early Church.

This explanation, which Dr. Zumpt has so ably vindicated, was, as he informs us, first propounded by an Englishman almost a century and a half ago,—Nicolas Mann, whose Latin *Essay* bears date 1743.* In our own time it has been countenanced by the high authority of the present Archbishop of York. 'The rule of Tiberius,' he says, 'may be calculated either from the beginning of his sole reign, after the death of Augustus, in the year of Rome 767, or from his joint government with Augustus, that is, from the beginning of the year 765. In the latter case, the 15th year would correspond with the year of Rome 779,

* We learn, however, from that excellent and most useful book—not yet we regret to say completed—Allibone's 'Dictionary of English Literature,' that this Latin *Essay* was only a translation of the author's earlier work in English, published 1733. Mann was master of the Charter House. Both his treatises—the Latin and the English—are in the Library of the British Museum.

which goes to confirm the rest of the calculations relied on in this article.'*

We do not, however, propose to follow Dr. Zumpt into this, the second part, of his book. It is wholly distinct from the former in its line of argument, and might form the subject of a separate essay. We desire only, in adverting once again to Dr. Zumpt's complete success (for so we deem it) in the first part of his researches, to point out how encouraging is the example it affords. Here is a difficulty which but some thirty years ago Dr. Strauss was gloating over and declaring to be entirely insoluble,—and now we behold it solved. Here we have another proof that Biblical studies are not, as they were once regarded, a stationary science, but, like all other sciences, admit of progression and increase.

It was certainly too often the custom of English Divines, during the whole of the last century, and during also a part of the present, to put all thorny questions as much out of sight as possible, or, if compelled to deal with them, to be content with what the Germans call *Gerede*—an array of high-flown words that convey no definite meaning. It was not felt how much more danger there is to faith in leaving every student to discover these difficulties for himself, without any clue to guide him through them. It was not felt how far more earnest and high-minded would be the system that has now succeeded,—frankly to admit the lack of clearness whenever the explanation is imperfect: not as owning the objection to be valid, but only as inviting further thought and inquiry to resolve it. Did we desire to show an instance of the practical result of either system, we might select, on the one side, the annotated edition of the English Bible compiled by Bishop Mant and Dr. Doyly, and, on the other part, the recent *Commentary on the Greek Testament* by Dean Alford. Without intending any disrespect to the first two theologians, we must say that a student who refers to them in any perplexity will derive from them very little satisfaction. He will never find the depth to be fathomed, but only the surface smoothed over. In Dean Alford's book, on the contrary, the tone is manly and outspoken; the object is not to bind up the eyes of the inquirer, but rather to direct and invigorate his sight. It is only, we are convinced, in the latter spirit that the Church of England can continue to prevail in the coming contests. Thus, and thus alone, as we conceive, in the anxious time that is now before us, can the Christian cause be worthily professed and efficiently defended.

* Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' article 'Jesus Christ.' The archbishop was then, as Dr. Thomson, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.

ART. IX.—1. *The Satires, Epistles, and Art of Poetry of Horace.*

Translated into English verse by John Conington, M.A., (late) Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford. London, 1870.

2. *The Odes, Epodes, and Satires of Horace.* Translated into English verse by Theodore Martin. Edinburgh and London, 1870.

ACCORDING to the judgment of Lord Lytton, whose graceful version of the Odes of Horace was reviewed a little more than a year ago in these pages, Satire has no pretensions to even a secondary place beside Lyric poetry, nay, is to be reckoned as the 'antipodes' of it in its essence and mission. Lord Lytton will not allow to a satire of Horace qualities of genius superior to or other than those of the 'Gil Blas' of Le Sage, or of the Essays of Montaigne: he has neither eye nor ear for any less elevated product of the Muse than the lyric effusion which is 'the song of all times and nations.' But with all respect for one whose criticism is never valueless, whose classic taste is genuine, and whose success as a translator of the Odes we are inclined to rate very highly, we must decline to endorse an estimate which would exclude from the rank of poets an eminent section of the didactic school, and cut off, moreover, from reactionary tastes and times of life a resort to a soberer and more realistic phase of poetry than that which is found in lyric stanzas, or in Pindaric flights of fancy and metre. In the interests of that age, whether of communities or individuals, which responds no longer to the thrill of impassioned poetry, and by contact with matter-of-fact life has ceased to be impressible by melting mood, we are concerned to stand up for a style of composition, which, 'sermoni propior' though it be, can yet by its polished harmony and terse expression set off in numbers the lessons of good sense and keen observation; can, by its appeal to point, salt, and urbanity, bid the charm of versification survive the decay of ardent youth, and—adapting manner and matter to the requirements of riper experience—minister not ineffectively to the solace and entertainment of age. Horace's Satires, or even Epistles, may not represent his highest credentials of poetic genius. The shoal of translators which has gathered round his Odes, and which actually obscures the light of the two or three English scholars who have in preference bestowed their pains upon his Satires, must be taken as a proof of some charm in Horace's lyrics more widely attractive than that of his more didactic strains. Yet we are far from certain that the feature of the former most lastingly cherished, is not the terse,

quotable gnomic maxim, which has, after all, a smack of the latter ; and there can be no question that the lessons of life and manners, which the Satires enforce in kindly spirit and hexameter form, retain the heed of veteran scholars, when the triumphs of lyric minstrelsy have lost their hold upon them. There is a time and a place for both : a season when the fancy of toying with Lalage, imbibing cups of Massic under the shady arbute-tree, mingling in moonlit dances, and being swept along by Bacchic frenzies, is more congenial than the lecture in verse against the vices and foibles of human nature, which Horace delivers—albeit kindly and amusingly—in his satiric poems : a season, too, when there comes a reaction, and the tables are deliberately turned. At this latter reactionary crisis the genius of Horace asserts, to our thinking, its highest claim on our admiration, no less for the exquisite urbanity, discriminative tact, and light-handed touch with which he fulfils his function of satirist, than for the perspicuity of language, and sustained, though easy, versification, in which he utters truths that Lucilius would have blurted out rudely and inharmoniously, and Juvenal have expressed with a sweeping vehemence characteristic alike of his manner and material. It is the mellow wisdom, the fund of observation, the temperate way of saying sharp things, so as to correct without offence, and conciliate reflection without seeming to assume censorial functions, which charms us in Horace's satires as we grow older ; nor does it at all affect this estimate, that, of all his works, according to accepted chronologies, the Satires were the first published. Rather should it enhance our opinion of his genius to find that at the age of from thirty to thirty-four years the son of a freedman and tax-collector was so thoroughly 'au courant' with Roman life and manners, so imbued with the 'urbanitas' which was an index of social as well as literary refinement, as to have composed and published poetry that might well have passed for the ripe fruit of an older and more imposing tree. The Epistles, indeed, represent an even more perfect sample, but the Epistles are the Satires, without their sting, of the poet, when ten more years had passed over his head.

Those whom a liberal education has enabled to enjoy the Satires in the original will not need to be reminded of all this : but in a day when, in spite of the current depreciation of classical studies, even the unlearned do not care to seem wholly unacquainted with the wit and wisdom of the ancients, or unable to trace to their sources the many borrowed gems of English poetry, it is of some importance that there should arise adequate versions of such mines of lively observation and reflection as the Satires of Horace ; and two such we have to welcome, not only surpassing

passing any previous attempts, but also, each in its own way, representing the Venusian so satisfactorily, that if none other should adventure this field, his shade would yet have no reason to complain of the indifference or incuriousness of Englishmen. One of these is the scholarly, well considered, able translation of the lamented Professor Conington, who to that insight into the original, which defies the possibility of a point being missed or an allusion slurred in translation, added withal so much of the native gift of poesy, and so much proficiency resulting from study and practice, that he may be said to have combined the excellences of poet and scholar in a greater measure than any of his predecessors. He scarce lived to see his version through the press. A little later, Mr. Theodore Martin, a representative of such as court the Muse in the crowded city rather than of those who woo her, like Professor Conington, in cloistered shade, enhanced the obligation, under which he had already laid scholars and general readers in his unique translation of the *Odes* and *Epodes*, by putting forth his *Satires* as their sequel. Over his former ground, which he had made his own by sparkling vivacity, genuine poetic spirit, and capital adaptation of the English lyric to the Latin, Mr. Conington had, we need hardly say, run almost neck-and-neck with him; owing, it is true, any advantage in the estimation of scholars to the success with which he asserted and illustrated the principle of metrical conformity. But our present business is with the *Satires*, and with the demonstration, by a comparison of Mr. Conington and Mr. Theodore Martin, as translators of them, that the calibre of each is equal to the demand made upon it, and that where one manifests a peculiar gift or advantage, it finds its make-weight in some distinct speciality of the other. Nor only so; but whereas Mr. Conington's scholarship may well have been the more unerring, and Mr. Theodore Martin's inborn poetic gift the more certain to make itself felt, it will result, we suspect, from candid inquiry, that in a measure far beyond their fellows these twain have so striven after perfectness of work, that, through a mutual interchange of excellences, it becomes hard to say which is in aught to be preferred to which, both vindicating a claim to the very first rank among English translators of the classic poets.

Their 'modus operandi' is indeed different. Whilst Mr. Martin sends forth his *Satires*—under the wing, it is true, of those established favourites, his *ode*-versions—with scarcely one word of preface, Professor Conington has gone into a preliminary inquiry as to the fittest style, form, and measure for a version of this portion of the works of Horace. This may seem to many 'de trop'; yet, though his translation's success cannot be said

to

to depend on his preface, and though prudence might dictate dependence on general effect and result, rather than on what, if current opinion is to be believed, is commonly 'lost labour' so far as nine-tenths of the reading public are concerned, still reviewers ought to own that such a preface, as that prefixed to Mr. Conington's satires, is a great help to his reviewers in suggesting test-points for comparison, and laying down lines of treatment, to serve more or less as landmarks of criticism. Not to be prolix in our use of these, it may suffice to say that the late Corpus Professor traces the difficulties of a translator of Horace's Satires to the choice of style and metre, the former question being the more perplexing of the two. As to metre, his deliberate preference is for the Heroic, as it is exemplified in the easy, sprightly muse of Cowper; and he believes it to be less obnoxious to the risk of becoming 'slipshod' than the octosyllabic verse of Butler's 'Hudibras,' which found favour with Smart and Boscawen among translators, and Swift and Pope among imitators, of Horace. It is, he urges, the colloquiality of this measure, used by himself though it was for his version of the 'Æneis,' which constitutes its danger to a translator of the 'Satires.' It involves an ever-present risk of abuse, and a tendency to render the issue 'slipshod, interminable, unclassical.' We are not insensible to the cogency of this reasoning; though it deserves to be said in reply that there is a somewhat large field in Mr. Martin's translations into this metre (no less than eleven out of eighteen), from which to show that the danger may be minimized, if not wholly avoided. An instance might be cited from the 8th Satire of the 1st Book, in which the garden god, Priapus, describes how Canidia and her sister witches were put to flight by the undesignated action of their enchantments upon his wooden frame. Much of the satire consists of passages that might be pitfalls to a too colloquial translator, though the original here and there—in its mock heroic—rises above the average flights of satire. Mr. Martin's version sustains—though in octosyllabics—the character of the original; and the sample we quote—embodying Priapus's complaint against the witches—will show how competent a measure it proves, in his hands, to represent even graver passages. How happy is his resort to it, in lighter veins, we shall have occasion to show hereafter. The lines we quote represent I. Sat. viii. 20-29 [Has nullo perdere possum—responsa daturas].

'Do what I will, they haunt the place,
And ever, when her buxom face
The wandering moon unveils, these crones
Come here to gather herbs and bones.

Here

Here have I seen with streaming hair
 Canidia stalk, her feet all bare,
 Her inky cloak tucked up, and howl
 With Sagana, that beldam foul.
 The deadly pallor of their face
 With fear and horror filled the place.
 Up with their nails the earth they threw ;
 Then limb-meal tore a coal-black ewe,
 And poured its blood into the hole,
 So to evoke the shade and soul
 Of dead men, and from these to wring
 Responses to their questioning.'—p. 296.

As this is one of the Satires, which, with what we cannot help considering a too sternly expurgatorial eye, Professor Conington has left untranslated, we miss the parallel heroics which might have been compared with these octosyllables: but a reference to the version of the same passage by the Rev. Francis Howes,* a translator of whose meritorious but unappreciated labours Mr. Conington's generous spirit led him to unearth and vindicate, would show that the ten-syllable line has not enabled him to realize the force and life of the Latin with more terseness or precision than Mr. Martin's octosyllable. From his preface we should gather that the professor recognized no competing metre save the Hudibrastic, and we confess that so far as the fourteen-syllable ballad metre is concerned, not even Mr. Theodore Martin's use of it in rendering the 2nd and 4th Satires of the 1st Book disposes us to quarrel with his exclusiveness. To anticipate what we have to say about style, it will be allowed that a prime characteristic of Horace is terseness; and if we take up the 4th Satire and contrast the instruments, rather than the handling of them by Martin and Conington (say, in the passage where Horace commemorates his father's mode of teaching him by living examples), we cannot see how to escape a conviction that on this very score of terseness the one is unfitted to its task, at least in comparison with the other.

' I learned the habit from the best of fathers, who employed
 Some living type to stamp the vice he wished me to avoid.
 Thus temperate and frugal when exhorting me to be
 And with the competence content, which he had stored for me ;
 " Look, boy," he'd say, " at Albius' son—observe his sorry plight !
 And Barrus, that poor beggar there ! say, are not these a sight,
 To warn a man from squandering his patrimonial means ?

—Martin, p. 276.†

* 'The Epodes, Satires, and Epistles of Horace,' translated by the late Rev. Francis Howes, M.A., Minor Canon of Norwich. London, 1848.

† I. Sat. iv. 105-11. *Insuevit pater optimus . . . perdere quis velit.*

‘ When

'When my good father taught me to be good,
Scarecrows he took of living flesh and blood.
Thus if he warned me not to spend but spare
The moderate means I owe to his wise care,
T'was, " see the life that son of Albius' leads !
Observe that Barrus, vilest of ill weeds !
Plain beacons these for heedless youth, whose taste
Might lead them else a fair estate to waste.'—*Conington*, p. 19.

It is not that here the superiority of Mr. Conington's version lies, as we might have expected, in his fidelity to the letter of the Latin, which, curiously enough, Mr. Martin's version more exactly reproduces: but the ear—or we are greatly mistaken—rejects instinctively the prolixity of the former measure, when competing with the latter as a representative vehicle of Horatian terseness. There is one measure—used but once, and, therefore, too seldom to afford the basis of a deliberate opinion, by Mr. Theodore Martin—that in which he renders the 2nd Satire of the 2nd Book—which possibly, had he contemplated it, Mr. Conington would have admitted to competitive honours. It is the metre of Goldsmith's 'Haunch of Venison'—an English metre—a lively metre—a metre which no critical weighing of pros and cons will induce an honest taste to condemn as an occasional exponent of the light-handed, playful vein of Horatian satire. A snatch of it, where the satirist is quizzing Roman epicures for setting higher value on costly than on savoury dishes at their dinner parties, will serve to show the aptitudes of this measure.*

'Work till you perspire. Of all sauces 'tis best,
The man that's with over-indulgence oppress'd,
White-livered and pursy, can relish no dish,
Be it ortolans, oysters, or finest of fish.
Still I scarcely can hope, if before you there were
A peacock or capon, you would not prefer
With the peacock to tickle your palate, you're so
Completely the dupes of mere semblance and show,
For to buy the rare bird only gold will avail,
And he makes a grand show with his fine painted tail.
As if this had to do with the matter the least !
Can you make of the feathers you prize so a feast ?
And, when the bird's cook'd, what becomes of his splendour ?
Is his flesh than the capon's more juicy or tender ?
Mere appearance, not substance, then clearly it is
Which bamboozles your judgment.'—p. 316.

In the other version of the same passage which lies open before

* II. Sat. ii. 20-30. Tu pulmentaria quere, &c.

us there is certainly less life and not more faithfulness ; and considering how well in this instance the measure of the above lines represents Horace's manner and spirit, one might be led to regret that Mr. Martin did not make more frequent use of it. Perhaps the secret is that it tires on the ear. We have just glanced at a new translation of the 1st Book by Mr. Millington, done from end to end in the measure of the 'Retaliations,' and the 'Haunch of Venison,' and our glance has gone far to confirm the suspicion that the ear might have too much of it. On the whole, we concur with Professor Conington that—supposing it to be a law of translation that but one equivalent is admissible for what is uniform in the original, or, in other words, that some one English metre must be elected to represent the Horatian hexameter—the metre deserving preference is the colloquial or conversational heroic. If, on the other hand, for unsatidious readers variety is desirable, and it is undeniable that alternative measures sensibly relieve the strain of uniformity and monotony, a place is at once found for the octosyllable, as well as for the other experiments in metre which Mr. Martin has used with more or less success. Much doubtless depends on tact and judgment. A translator, endowed with these, and capable of apprehending the mind and manner of his original, will seldom err by clothing his translations in an ill-fitting garb. The first concern is to realize in what Horace's style consists, and, that done, to attempt an approximate imitation of it. Towards this end Mr. Conington's preface furnishes some useful hints, discovering in the ordinary language of ancient good society, as seen in conversation and in familiar letter-writing, the best mode of representing Horace's persiflage ; and holding up for imitation his characteristic *ease* and *terseness*, as constituent parts of a manner 'on which, whether grave or gay, his charm depends,' and 'of an individuality of attraction which makes the charm of Horace unlike the charm of any other writer.'

The *ease*, perhaps, is less transferable than the *terseness* : and while we are free to admit that it is a marvel to us how cleverly the late Latin professor at Oxford has used his complete insight into the mind of Horace to give point and pungency to his translation, by means of epigram and antithesis introduced by way of compensation, it were uncandid to suppress a misgiving that here and there his version is open to the charge of stiffness, the result, it may be, of such minute acquaintance with his model that the copy suffers from being over-wrought. This, indeed, is discoverable only in a few places ; and whereas herein Mr. Theodore Martin's gay freedom of treatment puts him at once at an advantage, it is open to those whose sympathies are with Mr. Conington to retort

retort that his finished heroics are never obnoxious to the blame of vagueness or lax translation. For our own part, we are astonished at the general exactness and amount of special research into scholia and old or new commentaries which Mr. Martin's work exhibits, and could name passage upon passage which, upon inquiry, will prove to have been moulded on Bentley or Orelli; or influenced by some interpretation of one of the 'forty commentators.' But on the whole, the division of the honours of style may proceed on this wise. The palm of ease is with Martin, of terseness with Conington; although as regards both these essentials of approximate reproduction of Horace the one and the other are entitled to rank very highly. Their neck-and-neck excellence may be seen in many graver, as well as more sportive, passages, but it comes out most conspicuously in some that are neither one nor other—such, *e.g.*, as the testimony Horace bears in Book I. Sat. vi. to his father's liberality in reference to his education—a passage in point of natural feeling as touching as Goldsmith's praise of his brother in the 'Traveller,' and one which both our translators have handled so well as to awaken an echo of that heart-prompted tribute. We give the latter lines of it from each version.*

'No; while my head's unturned, I ne'er shall need
 To blush for that dear father, or to plead
 As men oft plead, 'tis Nature's fault, not mine,
 I came not of a better, worthier line.
 Not thus I speak, not thus I feel: the plea
 Might serve another, but 'twere base in me.
 Should Fate this moment bid me to go back
 O'er all my length of years, my life retrack
 To its first hour, and pick out such descent
 As man might wish for e'en to pride's content,
 I should rest satisfied with mine, nor choose
 New parents decked with senatorial shoes,
 Mad most would think me, sane, as you'll allow,
 To waive a load ne'er thrust on me till now.—Conington, p. 30.

'Now I know
 More earnest thanks, and loftier praise I owe.
 Reason must fail me ere I cease to own
 With pride, that I have such a father known:
 Nor shall I stoop my birth to vindicate,
 By charging, like the herd, the wrong on Fate,
 That I was not of noble lineage sprung:
 Far other creed inspires my heart and tongue.

* I. Sat. vi. 89-99. Nil me pœnitæat . . . portare molestum.

For now should Nature bid all living men
 Retrace their years, and live them o'er again,
 Each culling, as his inclination bent,
 His parents for himself, with mine content,
 I would not choose, whom men endow as great
 With the insignia and the seats of state ;
 And though I seemed insane to vulgar eyes,
 Thou wouldest perchance esteem me truly wise,
 In thus refusing to assume the care
 Of irksome state I was unused to bear.'—Martin, p. 289.

We are fortunate here in finding both upon a common ground of metre, and though in each we may discover some little surplusage of words, the only bold alteration or addition is that of the 'senatorial shoes' with which Mr. Conington takes leave to tread out the 'Roman fasces and insignia'; as much, a severe critic might suggest, at the bidding of 'exigeant' rhyme, as in illustration of one of his favourite theories, that 'all translation must proceed upon a principle of compensation.' Another of the Satires, in reproducing which both translators have resorted to the English Heroic, is the tenth of the first book, a piece which has so much to say upon the scope and style of satire, that it may not be uninteresting to examine the work of each in reference to a part of it. We give Mr. Martin's version of the lines 7-14 [Ergo non satis est, &c.].

'Tis not enough, a poet's fame to make,
 That you with bursts of mirth your audience shake ;
 And yet to this, as all experience shows,
 No small amount of skill and talent goes.
 Your style must be concise, that what you say
 May flow on clear and smooth, nor lose its way,
 Stumbling and halting through a chaos drear
 Of cumbrous words that load the weary ear,
 And you must pass from grave to gay—now, like
 The rhetorician, vehemently strike,
 Now, like the poet, deal a lighter hit
 With easy playfulness, and polished wit,—
Veil the stern vigour of a soul robust,
And flash your fancies, while like death you thrust.
 For men are more impervious, as a rule,
 To slashing censure, than to ridicule.'—Martin, pp. 30-3.

Waiving the citation in full of Mr. Conington's parallel passage, we must point out one or two features in which it pleases us better than what we have just quoted. For example, the fifth and three following verses of the above passage do not so well illustrate the application to translation of the practice they recommend as this neat couplet of the Professor :—

'Terseness

‘Ternesness there wants, to make the thought ring clear,
Nor with a crowd of words confuse the ear:’—

a couplet wherein the Latin is as closely matched in words as in length of lines, the only alteration needed being, perhaps, the substitution of ‘run’ for ‘ring’ in the first verse. A little further on, Conington recognizes no distinction, as Martin does, between ‘rhetoris’ and ‘poetae,’ but takes their style as identical, and meant to contrast with that of the ‘urbanus,’ or polished wit.* Mr. Martin appears to place no comma after the word ‘poetae’ in the Latin, and hence probably the mistake. In Conington’s version the style of bard and orator is set over against

‘the language of a well-bred man,
Who masks his strength, and says not all he can;
And pleasantry will often cut clean through
Hard knots that gravity would scarce undo.’

The italicized line must be accepted as the truest equivalent of the words of the original, although the finely conceived couplet in which Martin amplifies the idea of Horace has the ring and seal of poetry about it. Mr. Conington’s closing couplet, too, is nearer the Latin, though this is not by any means the invariable rule with him. If he had bound himself hand and foot in the trammels of literality, he would never so neatly have hit off that little illustration of a prolific poet, which Horace throws in by the way, later on in the same satire, and which we quote in compensation for our but partial citation of him above. The Latin runs

‘Etrusci
Quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni
Ingenium; capsis quem fama est esse librisque
Ambustum propriis.’—I. x. 62-3.

Like to Etruscan Cassius’ stream of song,
Which flowed, men say, so copious and so strong,
That, when he died, his kinsfolk simply laid
His works in order, and his pyre was made.’—Conington, p. 41.

Ternesness like this may be noted in every page of the Professor’s version: and such neat, close-fitting garbs for succinct Latin lines and scraps as the following, which we string together as creditable to his pains and genius alike. Thus, ‘Parvula—magni formica laboris,’ in the first satire of all, reappears as ‘that tiny

* The passage runs:—

‘Defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetie,
Interdum urbani, parcentis viribus atque
Extenuantis eas consulto.’

type of giant industry.' 'Nil agit exemplum litem quod lite
resolvit' [II. iii. 103] comes out as

'Excuse me, 'twill not do
To shut one question up by opening two:'

and when called upon to put into English verse what Horace says of satire, viz., that 'nisi quod pede certo differt sermoni,' it is 'sermo merus,' we know not who of translators could have hit off a terser, and yet less servile rendering than

'And save that she talks metre, she talks prose.'—I. iv. 47.

Such short hits, we are aware, ought not to outweigh sustained excellence developed in longer passages, but that Conington's 'Satires of Horace' can boast of the latter will be admitted by any who read his version of the origin of right and law in the third satire of the first book, a passage which strikes us as the ideal of well-balanced translation.* In many cases the measure selected by Mr. Martin forbids such shorter hits as we have referred to: and the satire from which the last line quoted by us is taken, is one of these. But frequently, where both run on the same gauge, it is a nice and near contest of excellence. Take these lines from the Third Satire:—

'Qui ne tuberibus propriis offendat amicum
Postulat, ignoscet verrucis illius; æquum est
Peccatis veniam poscentem reddere rursus.'—I. iii. 73-5.

Mr. Conington translates them

'He that has fears his blotches may offend
Speaks gently of the pimples of his friend:
For reciprocity exacts her dues,
And they that need excuse must needs excuse.'

The subtlety of the last line is almost excessive, though we should hesitate to pronounce its effect other than successful. Yet we are haunted by a suspicion that its elaboration mars the sense of ease, and are thus the readier to repose with cheerfulness in the simpler, and here also more faithful, translation of Mr. Martin:—

'For, who would have his friend his wens o'erlook,
The casual freckles of that friend must brook.
And the same mercy should by us be shown
To others' sins we ask for to our own.'

Even with the latitude of his metres, too, this translator now and then steals a march on his rival through off-hand, unstudied,

* See Hor. Sat. I. iii. 99, &c., and Conington's Translation, p. 12:—

'When men first crept from out earth's womb,' &c.

spontaneity,

spontaneity, and the genuine ease that does not strive after effect. Thus in Sat. I. iv. 62, he takes the lines, in which Horace illustrates by a scrap of Ennius the difference between the Epic and the Satire as genuine poetry,

‘Non ut si solvas: “postquam discordia tetra
Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit:”
Invenias etiam disiecti membra poetæ—’

in their natural and transparent sense, and translates them—

‘Yet by no alchemy will you in the residuum find,
The members still apparent of the dislocated bard,
As if in like degree these lines of Ennius should be marred:’

Mr. Conington goes more out of his way. He sees, perhaps accurately, lurking in the last line an allusion to the fate of Orpheus, and following up a hint from the version of Howes, of whom we have already said he was a professed admirer, elaborates a couplet, one line of which is perfect, the other an importation, with the very slenderest warranty. Howes wrote:—

‘Here, dislocate, distort him as you will,
Though piece-meal torn, you see the poet still.’

Conington, scorning to stop short at mere allusion to the fate of the Thracian bard, improves the occasion thus:—

‘Tis Orpheus mangled by the Mænads. Still
The bard remains, unlimb him as you will.’

In like manner, when, earlier in the same satire (vv. 19, &c.), Horace disclaims likeness to Crispinus and contemporary reciters of his class, in the words—

‘At tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras,
Usque laborantes dum ferrum molliat ignis,
Ut mavis imitare—’

Mr. Theodore Martin expresses his point with more ease, as well as terseness, than the Professor, although the latter undoubtedly evolves the sense meant to be conveyed in a not unpoetical periphrasis:—

‘But you, be like the bellows, if you choose,
Still puffing, puffing, till the metal fuse;
And vent your windy nothings with a sound
That makes the depth they come from seem profound.’—Conington.

‘You, if you like, may imitate the blacksmith’s bellows’ blast,
That puffs and pants till in the fire the iron melts at last.’—Martin.

But it is time that we should inspect these diversely-gifted translators on what to many will seem their ‘criterion’ trial-ground,

ground, the gay, bright, satiric pictures of Roman life and society, of which the 'Journey to Brundisium' and Horace's 'Bore,'* are the type. In these, and one or two capital satires of the second book, Mr. Martin is thoroughly at home; and yet, whilst fairly revelling in the congenial relaxations of the octosyllabic metre, he does not fail to keep well before him the letter, as well as the spirit, of the pattern he reproduces. His rival, still cleaving to heroics, imports more fun and life into them than his measure might have seemed capable of; and both represent the gaiety of Horace's mood in their creditable imitations. Each, for instance, offers full change for the lively bit in the 5th Satire (Book I.), which tells how sleep was murdered in the barge, during the first night of the journey to Brundisium, by mosquitoes, bull-frogs, and unseasonably musical boatmen. Both vie in representing Horace's famous circumlocution for 'Equus Tuticus,' or, as some say, *Asculum*.†

'Then four-and-twenty miles, a good long way,
 Our coaches take us, in a town to stay
Whose name no art can squeeze into a line,
 Though otherwise 'tis easy to define :
 For water there, the cheapest thing on earth,
 Is sold for money, but the bread is worth
 A fancy price, and travellers who know
 Their business take it with them when they go :
 For at Canusium, town of Diomed,
 The drink's as bad, and grits are in the bread.'—*Conington*, p. 25.

'In chaises hence we travel post
 Some four-and-twenty miles at most,
 At a small hamlet halting, which
 Into my verse declines to hitch,
 But by its features may be guessed ;
 For water, elsewhere commonest
 Of all things, here is sold like wine :
 But then the bread so sweet, so fine,
 That prudent travellers purvey
 A stock to last them *all the day*.
 For the Canusian's full of grit,
 And yet is water every whit
 As scarce within that town, of old
 Founded by Diomede the bold.'—*Martin*, p. 283.

* We are loth to subscribe to the opinion, though it is cogently supported by Dean Merivale, in his 'History of the Roman Empire,' vol. iv., 598, &c., that the hero of this lively satire was the poet Propertius. Horace is apt to name those whom he assails, and it would be unlike his kindly nature to lash even with his mild thong, a poet of some, though not the highest, repute among his contemporaries.

† Sat. I. v. 86-92. 'Quatuor hinc rapimur viginti et millia,' &c.

In the 10th line of the last extract it might be better to read 'beyond the day' for 'all the day'; a trifling emendation which implies no cavil at a version hitting off every point of the original, and this without any seeming effort. In Conington's parallel we note abundant skill and terseness, and creditable abstinence from omission or addition. To other places in his version of this satire we must take exception on these counts; for, in vv. 28-9, where we are told that Maecenas and Cocceius were—

‘Missi magnis de rebus uterque
Legati; aversos soliti componere amicos’—

his otherwise concise couplet—

‘Sent on a weighty business, to compose
A feud, and make them friends who late were foes,’—

does injustice to the ambassadors, in that it omits the point intended in 'soliti'; and again, at the close of the satire, where Horace enumerates his Epicurean theory as to the gods, and denies that

‘Si quid miri faciat Natura, deos id
Tristes ex alto celi demittere tecto.’—v. 102-3,

we venture to think that he would have shrunk from the 'meiosis,' or disparaging circumlocution, with which the Professor unwarantly represents 'alto celi tecto.'—e. g. :—

‘Tell the crazed Jews such miracles as these!
I hold the gods live lives of careless ease,
And, if a wonder happens, don't assume
"Tis sent in anger from the upstairs' room.’

Mr. Martin does better in both passages, by simply treading in the tracks of the Latin. With him Horace's companions are

‘Upon a mission bound
Of consequence the most profound,
For who so skilled the feuds to close
Of those, once friends, who now were foes?’—p. 280.

and he, too, is content to leave unvulgarized the Horatian phrase for the 'home of the Gods,' and to translate the lines expressing Horace's doubt as to their interference with the concerns of earth :—

‘For true
I hold it that the deities
Enjoy themselves in careless ease:
Nor think, when Nature, spurning law,
Does something that inspires our awe,
"Tis sent by the offended gods
Direct from their *august abodes*.’

On the 9th Satire [Ibam forte viâ] both have bestowed successful pains. Let us try both as to the famous passage where Horace's interpellation 'Est tibi mater, &c.,' provokes an answer waggishly misinterpreted by him to be a confession of wholesale murders, of which he adjures his 'tease' to fill up the measure, by adding him to the list, and so verifying the Sabine witch's prediction.*

'He paused for breath: I falteringly strike in—
"Have you a mother? Have you kith and kin
To whom your life is precious?" "Not a soul!
My line's extinct, I have interred the whole!"
"O happy they!" (So into thought I fell)
After life's endless babble they sleep well:
My turn is next: dispatch me: for the weird
Has come to pass which I so long have feared.
The fatal weird a Sabine beldam sung,
All in my nursery days, when life was young:
"No sword nor poison e'er shall take him off:
Nor gout, nor pleurisy, nor wracking cough:
A babbling tongue shall kill him; let him fly
All talkers, as he wishes not to die."—Conington, p. 35.

'Here was an opening to break in
"Have you a mother, father, kin,
To whom your life is precious?" "None;
I've closed the eyes of every one."
Oh, happy they, I inly groan.
Now I am left, and I alone.
Quick, quick, despatch me where I stand,
Now is the direful doom at hand
Which erst the Sabine beldam old,
Shaking her magic urn, foretold
In days when I was yet a boy:
"Him shall no poisons fell destroy,
Nor hostile sword in shock of war,
Nor gout, nor colic, nor catarrh.
In fullness of the time his thread
Shall by a prate-apace be shred;
So let him, when he's twenty-one,
If he be wise, all babblers shun.'—Martin, p. 300.

The skill with which Professor Conington has rendered the points of this colloquy and the mock heroic tenor of the witch's prophecy, is considerable; and if any critics are minded to object to his inlaying a slightly altered line from Macbeth, by

* Sat. I. ix. 26-34. 'Est tibi mater . . . adoleverit etas.'

way of adding effect to the pregnant exclamation ‘*Felices!*’ we cry pardon for it, on the ground of its appropriateness, as a supplement both to the sense and spirit of the passage. Yet the palm is due to Mr. Martin, who, without such resort, has represented as faithfully as fluently the easy rapid transition of Horace’s vivacious fancy. Avoiding successfully the stiffness of severe literality, he catches every thread of the poet’s tissue, and turns it to account in reproducing the charm and effect of the whole. It is curious that this should be so palpably his merit here and elsewhere, in comparison with his distinguished rival; but that it is even so, one may see when, having to render—

‘*Nil sine magno
Vita labore dedit mortalibus.*’—I. ix. 60,

he turns it into—

‘*Nought
In life without much toil is bought*’—

simple English, which is more a *bonâ fide* translation than Conington’s—

‘*In this world of ours
The path to what we want ne’er runs on flowers*’—

which, even as a paraphrase, one can hardly identify with the Horatian saw. Into other like gnomic sentences of Horace, two of which occur to us, Mr. Martin, without equal conciseness, has thrown singular life, and yet not introduced alien matter. His equivalent for Sat. I. vii. 10, which we give with the Latin, might pass for a bit of Hudibras:—

‘*Hoc etenim sunt omnes jure molesti,
Quo fortis, quibus adversum bellum incidit*’—

‘*But as a law, when men fall out,
Just in proportion as they’re stout
In heart or sinews, neither will
Give in till they are killed or kill.*’

The other sentence comes from the last satire—one of the gastronomic satires—of the Second Book, and forms a maxim to inspire Amphitryons and heroes alike.

‘*Sed convivatoris, uti ducis, ingenium res
Adversæ nudare solent, celare secundæ.*’—II. viii. 73-4.

Mr. Martin’s rendering of it is happy enough to pass into a proverb:—

‘*But*

‘But then the genius of a host,
 As of a general, is most
 Brought out, when adverse fates assail it,
 A course of luck serves but to veil it.’—Martin, p. 379.*

We fear that we have been already too liberal of quotation, to make room for any quotations from the gastronomic satires, as the 2nd, 4th, and 8th of the 2nd Book may be termed. They are amusing to read, as showing that the dogmatism of cooks’ oracles is by no means of modern growth, and a reviewer of cookery books might do worse than salt his articles with scraps of the translations before us, which give out the ‘dicta’ of the anonymous ‘officier de bouche’ of the 4th Satire, with all the consequence of Jules Gouffé or Urban Dubois. The poet, we cannot doubt, was quizzing the professor when he set down the words—

‘Pratensisibus optima fungis
 Natura est: aliis male creditur.’—II. iv. 20.

‘To meadow mushrooms give the prize,
 And trust no others, if you’re wise.’

He must have been too country-born and too good a judge, not to utilize, as his nation does to this day, the numerous esculent agarics. A little extract from an account of a feast of a different kind, the country-mouse’s ‘at home,’ in the admirable finish of the 6th Satire of Book II., we cannot refrain from giving—told as it is by each translator so completely in his own style: Conington being neat, terse, and very Horatian; Martin, on the other hand, lively and freer, to the advantage of his picture, and with no detriment to fidelity. Here is his ‘field-mouse’ doing host:—

‘In brief he did not spare his board
 Of corn and pease, long coylly stored:
 Raisins he brought, and scraps, to boot,
 Half gnawed of bacon, which he put
 With his own mouth before his guest,
 In hopes, by offering his best
 In such variety, he might
 Persuade him to an appetite.
 But still the cit with languid eye
 Just picked a bit, then put it by;

* Conington’s renderings are:—

‘For ‘tis a rule, that wrath is short or long,
 Just as the combatants are weak or strong.’—I. vii. 10.

‘But gifts concealed by sunshine are displayed
 In hosts, as in commanders, by the shade.’—II. viii. 73-4.

Which with dismay the rustic saw
 As, stretched upon some stubby straw,
 He munched at bran and common grits,
 Not venturing on the dainty bits.'—II. vi. 83-9.—*Martin*, p. 363.

The expansion of the lines—

‘Cupiens variâ fastidia cœnâ
 Vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo,’

in the verses italicized is as happy as can be conceived. Now let us turn to Conington:—

‘He spares not oats nor vetches ; in his chaps
 Raisins he brings and nibbled bacon scraps,
 Hoping by varied dainties to entice
 His town-bred guest, *so delicate and nice*,
Who condescended graciously to touch
Thing after thing, but never would take much,
 While he, the owner of the mansion, sate
 On threshed-out straw, and spelt and darnels ate.’

—*Conington*, p. 84.

It will hardly do after the former extract; good as it is, and for the most part skilful, there is a formality about it; and though the Professor never wrought but on a principle and system which he could ably justify, it may be doubted, throughout his translation of the Satires, whether their one sole drawback is not the effort, which he owns to, of compensating the heavy outgoings of translation by trifling additions, in the way of imported point and pungency, to the general sum of liveliness.* Meaning to achieve something of this kind in Englishing the line and a half, which we have cited from the Latin above, he does not seem to us to have quite succeeded.

It must be said, however, that Professor Conington's compensatory principle never betrays him into solecisms as regards the substitution of modern equivalents for ancient allusions. Refined scholarship is the surest guarantee in this respect. Though he assumes such mild licences, as calling a 'scarus' a 'sardine,' and writing 'pounds' for 'sestertia,' he has too much sense of the fitness of things to talk, as he instances Dryden talking in translation, of the 'Louvre of the Sky,' and he would have revolted from the taste of a most recent translator, who has had the courage to render 'invideat quod et Hermogenes, ego canto,' 'Singing, that jealous might make a Sims Reeves.' And we commend with confidence to any incepting translator of a classical author, the excellent advice of the Professor in his Preface, pp. xviii-xx., as regards 'the patent difficulty of

* See Preface, p. xiv.

knowing what to do with local and temporary customs, allusions, and proverbs.' It has this great advantage, that the practical illustration of it is contained within the same cloth covers. Mr. Theodore Martin, on his part, is no less careful to avoid sacrificing the air and prestige of ancient life and thought, which there is in his original, by unwarrantable modernisms. We hardly call to mind a phrase to which exception can be taken, unless, perhaps, it be the repetition more than once (for once was all very well) of the expression 'thundering réveillé,' to represent 'knocking vehemently at a door.' It is a mannerism which might well be retrenched, and which one should not care to meet again in the Epistles, which every scholar must hope are in due time to follow Martin's 'Satires of Horace.' We have said enough to show how very highly we rate these. In a brief 'In memoriam' to Professor Conington, in the 4th No. of the 2nd volume of the 'Journal of Philology,'* Professor Munro 'does not hesitate to say that he believes his translation of the Satires and Epistles of Horace to be on the whole, perhaps, the best and most successful translation of a Classic, that exists in the English language.' This is saying much, but, everything considered, hardly too much. Caution would suggest the qualification 'one of the best,' or 'one of the very best.' That which makes it so is the unerring penetration of the original author's sense, of which all lesser scholars are sure now and then to fall short. In examining both the versions at the head of this article with an eye to a correct estimate of the Latin meaning, we have constantly found each at-one in adopting the soundest interpretation of a doubtful phrase. For example, in rendering

'Cum referre negas quali sit quisque parente
Natus, dum *ingenuus*.'—I. vi. 8,

both accept Gesner's interpretation of 'ingenuus,' *i.e.* 'ingenuis moribus,' and repudiate the other forced and improbable explanation, which Howes makes a faint effort to recommend by a not very obvious 'double entendre.'

'No matter, where, you say, or whence they rose,
So but their blood in *gentle* current flows.'

In Englishing 'Tricesima Sabbath' (I. ix. 69), we see that both have thoroughly digested the note of Orelli; and in II. ii. 50, the palm of fullest accuracy is due to Mr. Martin, who by a periphrasis has got in the sarcastic joke on Gallonius's failure for the praetorship, which, either because his verse would not admit it, or because he saw fit to discredit the commentator's

* 'Journal of Philology,' vol. ii. pp. 334-5.

gossip,

gossip, Conington's translation ignores. With him, 'Donec vos auctor docuit prætorius' is simply, 'Until a prætor taught us they were good.' With Martin more truly, in spite of circumlocution—

‘Till that prætor, *for suffrages vainly intreating,*
Discovered and taught, both were excellent eating.’

On the other hand, Mr. Conington's rendering of 'malis ridentem alienis,' II. iii. 72* (a phrase, touching which commentators are at issue), exhibits more grasp than Mr. Martin's; and in passages where the latter has gone slightly astray, the Professor's nice accuracy supervenes to set him right. One such is—

‘Missus ad hoc, pulsis, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis,
Quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis,
Sive quod Appula gens, seu quod Lucania bellum
Incurteret violenta:’—II. i. 36,

a passage in which Mr. Martin's translation reads as if 'sive quod' introduced an alternative cause of the Venusian being located where he was; whereas 'sive' and 'seu,' as Conington sees, do but explain the possible enemies Rome had to fear.

‘Planted 'tis said, there in the Samnites' place,
To guard for Rome the intermediate space,
Lest *these* or *those* some day should make a raid
In time of war, and Roman soil invade.’—Conington.

Another is where the picture of Ofellus, 'metato in agello'—

‘Cum pecore et natis fortem mercede colonum.’—II. ii. 114-115,

really represents him as a *tenant* to a *soldier* ('an intruding veteran,' Conington puts it), to wit, the Umbrenus, to whom commissioners had meted out the farm of which Ofellus had been once owner. Mr. Martin seems to have overlooked this, and to have misunderstood 'mercede' by translating it 'to profit.'

In every such difficulty Conington's version is a safe guide, and it is this, superadded to his taste, discrimination, and not small poetic gift, which goes far to justify Mr. Munro's very high estimate, and to recommend his book to every student of the Satires. Beside the veterans who still cherish their Horace, and love to refresh their memory of his wit and wisdom by draughts not only at the fountain-head, but also at such 'off-springs' as the translations of Conington and Martin, there will

* 'He'll laugh till scarce you'd think his jaws his own.'—C.

‘Drag him to court, his face all grin
At taking you so finely in.’—M.

be two classes of readers to benefit by those versions. First, the young students, to whom in unravelling the poet's sense—depending often on mental supply of connecting links—the accurate, masterly, sequence of the argument in Conington's version cannot fail to prove a real boon; while, as life and spirit are the salt of a translation of Horace, and as the knowledge of his Satires will be clearly most imperfect without some perception of these features, the gay, brisk, sparkling verses of Theodore Martin's translation will furnish them with a recipe for throwing life into their presentments of the poet, whether in *vivā voce* or on paper. We should like a son of ours to attack the Satires of Horace with an Orelli, flanked on either side by Conington and Martin, and feel sure that then, especially with regard to the most original of the poet's works, he would never be minded to sing with Lord Byron :—

'Then farewell, Horace, whom I hated so.'

The other class is the growing one of non-classical readers,* who have sense enough to value on faith the treasures which they find difficulty in unearthing, but from which, not so long ago, statesmen, orators, and good talkers took pride in borrowing or quoting. It is scarce to be expected, or even wished, that in our busy age undue patience should be shown to the man who, give him rope, would quote Horace in season and out of season; yet the power, thrifitly husbanded, is no mean one, for there are few better 'man of the world's vade mecum' than the Satires and Epistles. Out of the reading of these—even in translation and at second-hand—will be gleaned many a pleasant hint as to minor morals, many a neatly turned maxim or figure of speech, to garnish style or leaven conversation; and, when the book is laid by, the memory will retain so choice a residuum of pleasantries, railleries, and skits at vices and foibles, that the

* To this class we commend the 'Horace, by Theodore Martin,' which forms the sixth volume of the series of 'Ancient Classics for General Readers,' edited by Mr. Lucas Colling. This volume has been published since the main portion of the foregoing article was written, and is devoted to a general view of the poet's life and writings; whereas we have been considering only particular portion of the latter. But though we have neither quoted it, nor made use of it, we have no hesitation in saying that the reader, who is wholly, or for the most part, unable to appreciate Horace untranslated, may, with the insight he gains from the lively, bright, and, for its size, exhaustive little volume to which we refer, account himself hereafter familiar with the many-sided charms of the Venusian, and able to enjoy allusions to his life and words, which would otherwise have been a sealed book to him. It will also be found by young students a by no means imperfect introduction to the life and manners of Augustan Rome. We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to recommend the other volumes of this useful Series, most of which are executed with discrimination and ability.

time spent upon it will have been no more wasted than those hours which, if report tells truth, one of our not classically educated public men has bestowed so profitably on Milton. In any wise—to recur to the same stanza of 'Childe Harold,' from which we have just quoted above, and to take the liberty of transposing the words of another line of it—the mere English reader may learn from two such excellent presentments of Horace's Satires, as those on which we have been dwelling, 'to love,' even though he cannot to the full 'comprehend his verse,' and to be well content with what is set before him in them :

‘E'en though no deeper moralist rehearse
Our little life, nor Bard prescribe his art,
Nor livelier Satirist the conscience pierce,
Awakening without wounding the touched heart.’*

ART. X.—1. *Nipon o Daï Itsu Ran, ou Annales des Empereurs du Japon.* Traduites par M. Isaac Titsingh, avec un Aperçu de l'Histoire mythologique du Japon par M. J. Klaproth. Paris, 1834.

2. *Nippon : Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Nében- und Schutzländern.* Von Ph. Fr. von Siebold. Elberfeld, 1851.
3. *Bibliographie japonaise ou Catalogue des Ouvrages Relatifs au Japon qui ont été publiés depuis le XV^e. Siècle jusqu'à nos Jours.* Par M. Léon Pagès. Paris, 1859.
4. *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier, taken from his own Correspondence, with a Sketch of the General Results of Roman Catholic Missions among the Heathen.* By Henry Venn, B.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's. London, 1862.
5. *Japan : being a Sketch of the History, Government, and Officers of the Empire.* By Walter Dickson. Edinburgh, 1869.

THE Portuguese, as is well known, first brought an European prow into the Indian seas. In 1497, Vasco da Gama doubled the stormy Cape and landed at Calicut on the Malabar coast. The same improvements in ship-building and skill in navigation which enabled the Portuguese to reach, helped them to rule over, those distant seas. Their clumsy *caracols*, armed with a few rude pieces of artillery, destroyed the frail barks of the timid navigators of the Indian Ocean with almost as much ease as the English and the Dutch steamers now-a-days run down the piratical *prahus* of the Sunda Islanders. The

* 'Childe Harold,' IV. lxxvii.

Portuguese were the tyrants of the seas and the terror of the Mecca pilgrims. They seized upon a number of maritime stations, among others Ormuz, Diu, Malacca, and several of the Moluccas, whence they could command the trade of the East. They twice attempted to take Aden, but without success. Goa was their capital ; from it they ruled over most of the towns on the Malabar coast. But the petty princes who then shared the south of the Indian peninsula did not tamely submit to the sway of the Portuguese, whose cruelty and treachery they soon learned to detest. An incessant series of petty wars, although generally turning out to the advantage of Portugal, was still too heavy a drain on a country whose population was scarcely sufficient for the vast enterprises it had undertaken in India, Africa, and America. The rivalry of the Spaniards alarmed them, and they were getting more and more embroiled in hostilities with the nations of the northern coast of Africa. The Portuguese were, therefore, anxious that their dominions in India should be placed on a more secure and peaceable tenure, which might save a moiety of the large garrisons necessary to hold so many scattered posts along a permanently hostile coast. 'After many deliberations at the Council of Portugal to find some measures which might in future conciliate the Indians, it was determined to try the assistance of religion in consideration of the fruit they had gained from it in the kingdom of Congo.'* This was very much to the taste of the king, John III., and his brother, Cardinal Henry, who favoured the new order of Loyola and introduced the Inquisition into Portugal (1533).

An application was made to the Pope for two Jesuit missionaries to go out to India : Francis Xavier and Simon Rodriguez were sent. Rodriguez was induced by the king to remain in Portugal, where he founded the Jesuit college of Coimbra, and as confessor to the court rendered important service to the mission : but Francis Xavier set sail for the Indies in the same ship with the viceroy, Don Martin Alphonse de Sousa. Xavier was a Spanish gentleman, whom Ignatius Loyola had gained over to his new order at Paris, where he was delivering lectures on the philosophy of Aristotle. When he left Lisbon, he was thirty-six years of age, seven of which he had spent in the order of Loyola, whose system, maxims, and policy he had thoroughly learned. The squadron that bore the Jesuit missionary, with two assistants, reached Goa on the 6th May, 1542, after a voyage of thirteen months.

Little had been done as yet to spread Christianity amongst the

* Osorius 'Histoire de Portugal, contenant les Gestes mémorables des Portugallois dans les Indes,' Paris, 1588, liv. xx.

Indians. The Portuguese conquerors, according to the accounts of their own historians, lived after the most dissolute fashion surrounded by their concubines and slaves. Justice was sold in the tribunals, and the most hideous crimes were only punished when the criminals had not money enough wherewith to corrupt their judges. Even the bigotry which characterises the inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula seemed for the time to slumber. Francis Xavier began by preaching a purification of manners amongst the Portuguese; and after converting a number of the slaves and Pagan inhabitants of Goa, he set out for the southern coasts of India. Here the Franciscans had been before him. Twenty thousand of the pearl-fishers had submitted to the rite of baptism on the promise that they would be protected against the inroads of the Mahometans; but few of them understood the nature of the ceremony which they had undergone. Xavier never dreams of denying the share which the temporal power of the Portuguese bore in the triumphant success of his mission.

'It sometimes happens,' he writes,* 'that I baptize a whole town in one day. This is in a great measure to be attributed to the Governor of India, both because he is a singular friend and favourer of our Society, and because he spares neither expense nor labour to promote the propagation of the faith. By his assistance we have on this coast thirty Christian towns.'

A little after Xavier despatches a messenger to Portugal to complain of the slackness of the Portuguese officials; and the king in reply sends out a new viceroy and grants Xavier the most ample inquisitorial powers. Idolatry was suppressed in the Portuguese possessions; and both threats and promises were used to gain the natives to Christianity. Certainly these were not the only means employed by Xavier in his missionary enterprise.

* The Latin edition of 'Xavier's Letters' generally used is that printed at Mayence, a reprint of that of Rome, 1596. There are several French translations. In an able and not entirely undeserved criticism of Mr. Venn's 'Life and Labours of St. Francis Xavier,' in the 'Dublin Review,' July, 1864, the reviewer denies that Francis Xavier used the assistance of the secular power of the Portuguese to help his conversions. There is no space here to quote from authorities. Let the reader who wishes to find proof for himself compare pp. 38-42 of the article in the 'Dublin Review' with the original letter of Xavier there cited, and with Lucena, 'Vida do Padre S. Francisco de Xavier,' tomo i. livro ii. cap. xxii.; and with 'La Vie de Saint-François Xavier,' par D. Bouhours, Paris, 1783, liv. iii. pp. 133-6; and 'L'Histoire des Choses plus mémorables en Indes orientales,' &c., par Jarrie, Bourdeaux, 1608, liv. ii. chap. ii.

In the 'Epistola Indice,' pp. 261-288, and in the work of Jarrie (see liv. ii. chap. iii. and iv., and also liv. v.), there are accounts written by the Jesuits themselves of the violent and reckless manner in which the inhabitants of the islands round about Goa as well as those of the mainland of Salsette were forced to become Christians by Xavier's immediate successors at the College of the Holy Faith.

Neither could he without the Portuguese, nor the Portuguese without him, have worked out the extraordinary results which have been the boast of Catholicism ever since. Nothing could be more fitted to strike the mind of the Indian than the character, appearance, and manner of life of the apostle. In person he was tall and rather spare, but well proportioned, with brown hair, fair complexion, and blue eyes. The expression of his face was lively and cheerful; his address affable and winning. He made the same garment do for frock and mantle, and lived on a morsel of bread. He rarely slept more than four hours a day, and his rest was often broken by extatic visions and pious exclamations. He went about on foot under the burning sun of India; and his whole time was employed in preaching, instructing, and directing his subordinates. His missionary labours on the coast of India occupied three years, and extended from Goa to Meliapur on the opposite coast of the peninsula. Leaving his converts to his assistants and catechists, Xavier then set out for Malacca, from which place he sailed amongst the Moluccas and the adjacent islands, returning to India two years afterwards.

It must be borne in mind that the Apostle of the Indies was both the leader and director of a widely spread missionary movement, conducted by a rapidly increasing staff, not only of Jesuits,* but also of priests and missionaries of other orders, as well as of native preachers and catechists. Xavier reserved for himself the arduous task of travelling to regions as yet unvisited by any preachers of Christianity; and his bold and impatient imagination was carried away by the idea of bearing the Cross to the countries of the farthest East. The islands of Japan, already known to Europe through the travels of Marco Polo, had been reached by the Portuguese only eight years before, namely, in 1541, and Xavier, while at Malacca, had conversed with navigators and traders who had visited that remote coast. A Japanese, named Angero (Hansiro), pursued for homicide, had fled to Malacca in a Portuguese ship. He professed a real or feigned desire to be baptized, and was presented to Xavier at Malacca, who sent him to Goa. There he learned Portuguese quickly, and was baptized under the name of Paul of the Holy Faith. One of the most curious documents in the 'Epistola Indicæ' † is a short account of Japan, written from the information furnished by this man.

* In a letter, dated Cochin, 14th January, 1549, Xavier enumerates twenty Jesuit missionaries already in the Indies; four of whom were at the Moluccas, two at Malacca, ten in India, and four at Socotora.

† 'Epistola Indicæ,' Louvani, 1566, pp. 175-198.

The missionaries appear struck for the first time with the external resemblance * between Buddhism and Catholicism: the anonymous author of the Epistle, which must have been written in 1549, finds in Japan most of the doctrines of the infallible church—one God, the Miraculous Conception, the Trinity, Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, Angels, the worship of the saints, and the existence of one living supreme Head of the Church. The doctrines of Xagua (Sankya) were, he says, brought through China to Japan above five hundred years before, from a kingdom to the west of China named Cegnico, which he evidently imagines to have been the Holy Land, little dreaming it was the country in which he then was. Christianity, the writer had just been informed by a bishop of the Armenian Church, had once been preached in China. It might, he thinks, have been altered and disfigured by some impostor like Mahomet, and thus Xavier, whose intended voyage to Japan was announced, would only have to restore the true faith to its original purity. Some of the points of analogy mentioned in the little treatise were entirely fanciful, yet no two religions of independent origin can resemble one another more closely in external ritual, and yet differ more thoroughly in spirit, than the Buddhist religion and the Roman Catholic Church. Every one who has been in a Buddhist temple cannot have failed to have remarked its resemblance to a Catholic chapel: the paintings, the use of bells and rosaries, the same veneration for relics, the shaven, celibate priests, with their long robes and wide sleeves, the prayers in a dead language, the measured chant, the burning of incense, the orders of monks, nuns, and anchorites, and other institutions, characteristic of both religions, have for ages tempted Catholic missionaries to call Buddhism the devil's imitation of Christianity, and induced the learned to conclude that the ritual of the one has been borrowed from that of the other, though it has not been agreed which was the copyist.

Having carefully arranged the affairs of the Seminary of the

* The resemblance between the Buddhist and Roman Catholic ritual was noticed by Xavier, though it does not appear to have struck him so forcibly as we might expect. See his letter, Kagosima, 3rd Nov. 1549, and the note in the French translation, Brussels, 1838, vol. ii. p. 160. It is noticed by Bouhours, 'Vie de Saint-François Xavier,' in his chapter on Japan, and by Bartoli, lib. iii. cap. vi. See also Alcock's 'Japan,' vol. i. p. 336, vol. ii. p. 309. The Catholic ritual has in like manner been mistaken for that of Buddhism. Jerome Xavier, while residing at the court of the great Akber, was informed by a traveller that the people of Cathay were Christians, which induced the father to send a missionary to China through Thibet. In the subsequent pages it has not been thought necessary to cite all the authorities consulted in writing this article. Most of the 'Littere Annuae,' and other rare works of the Jesuit missionaries, are in the library of the Museum Calvet at Avignon, where we have consulted them. Some of them will be found with difficulty elsewhere.

Holy Faith at Goa and the entire machinery of the mission, Francis Xavier took ship for Malacca on the 14th April, 1549. On the 24th of June he sailed for Japan, along with Angero and his two companions, in a Chinese junk belonging to a famous pirate, an ally of the Portuguese, who left in their hands hostages for the safety of the apostle on the voyage.* After a dangerous voyage they reached Kagosima, the native town of Angero, under whose auspices Xavier was well received by the governor, magistrates, and other distinguished people. The apostle was unable to commence his mission at once, though, according to his biographers, he possessed the gift of tongues. 'We are here,' he writes, 'like so many statues. They speak to us, and make signs to us, and we remain mute. We have again become children, and all our present occupation is to learn the elements of the Japanese grammar.' His first impressions of Japan were very favourable, and remind us of those of our own ambassador, Lord Elgin, when, after a long interval, those islands were again opened to European commerce. Japan was then, as now, under the nominal rule of the Dairi or Mikado, who resided at Miako, but his power was well-nigh reduced to the privilege of giving titles. The authority of the Cubo or Siogun had also become very much relaxed, and the islands were divided amongst fourteen kings,† who in their turn counted chieftains under them that pretended to a greater or lesser degree of independence, according to their strength or opportunity. Their power depended upon the number of their armed retainers, whose services they rewarded by grants in land. There were few merchants, and the labouring classes were little regarded. Japan was then celebrated for its gold and pearls, but owing to the smallness of trade the country still remained poor. The arts seem to have made as much progress as in Europe. Xavier evidently considers the Japanese as a nation not behind any European one in civilization, and speaks of Miako as a greater city than Lisbon. He noticed the same strange customs as our travellers of to-day. Amongst them, the well-known practice of Hara-Kiri, or suicide, is not wanting.

* Tursellinus, 'De Vita Francisci Xaverii,' 1596, lib. iii. cap. xix.; Lucens, 'Vida,' livro vi. capitulo xiv. p. 413.

† Solier, 'Histoire ecclésiastique des Isles et Royaumes du Japon,' Paris, 1627, enumerates sixty-six independent kings, over whom the Dairi was nominally paramount. But what extensive knowledge would it demand to prove such a proposition? We have taken the number given by Angero in 'Epistolis Indicis,' *ut cito*. The Jesuit chroniclers always call the Mikado the Dairi, a name now used for the court of the Mikado; in the same way they call the Siogun the Cubo, or Cubosama. The word Tycoon, unfortunately adopted in the recent commercial treaties, is neither Japanese nor European, and has now little chance of coming into use since the office of the Siogun has been lately suppressed.

Five hundred years before, the religion of Buddha had been introduced from China, and the ancient idols broken (*idolis comminutis*). This primitive form of devotion, the worship of the Camis or Sintos, which Buddhism has not yet entirely supplanted, seems to have consisted in the adoration of the powers of nature, and the apotheosis of great kings and heroes.* We learn from some of Xavier's successors that Buddhism was divided into two great sects, the most numerous of which was called Xodoxins, who devoted themselves to the worship of Amida. The second was called Foquexus from the book Foque, which contained their revelation written in a foreign language. They were the followers of Xaca or Xagua (Sankya). Mr. Dickson thinks that the Bonzes or Buddhist priests were now at the height of their power, but it was the opinion of the early Jesuit fathers that the Bonzes had already lost much of their influence and most of their revenues, which were originally large. They now subsisted principally upon alms, and upon the sums received from their religious ministrations and attendance upon funerals. We are told, however, by Xavier that most of the learning of the country and the education of the youth were still in their hands.

There was also in Japan a materialistic school of philosophy, as in India and China. It was confined to the upper classes, and only taught in secret. The Japanese, writes Xavier, surpassed in probity all the nations he had ever met with. They were ingenious, frank, faithful, fond of honour and of dignity. They had a passion for bearing arms, were poor, and lived on rice and a spirituous liquor distilled from it, but they were contented, and the nobility despised plebeian opulence. He notices again and again, with admiration, that almost every Japanese can read, and the defective ideographic characters strike him as better than our phonetic symbols, for he observes that people who use different languages, such as the Chinese and Japanese, are equally able to understand the same signs. He also remarks that the people are of an inquiring turn, candid, and ready to yield to the force of argument. When he had learned enough of the language to speak a little of it, he commenced his mission. Angero had already made some converts among his household relations and friends, but these attempts do not seem to have attracted much opposition, and even Xavier's first preachings excited more attention than contradiction. For the first time in Japan, he preached a personal God, the Creator of the Universe, and

* See an interesting article of Father Mounicou, a Catholic missionary, now or lately in Japan, on 'Mythologie japonaise' 'Revue de l'Orient,' Feb. 1863; also the introduction of M. Klaproth, *op. cit.*

shewed the materialistic tendency of the Buddhist religion. His old lectures at the College of St. Barbe in Paris no doubt stood him in good stead. He had already had an interview with the King of Satsuma, who had forgiven Angero for his crime, and who now granted to Xavier an edict allowing his subjects the liberty of embracing the Christian religion. On the 3rd of November, 1549, Xavier again writes, directing three of the best missionaries to come out to join him, finding the disposition of the Japanese very favourable to the Gospel. He also mentions that two bonzes intended to proceed to Goa to be educated at the College of the Holy Faith. His next letter is dated nearly a year after ; he had passed the time in studying Japanese, into which language he had translated the principal articles of the Creed, and a short account of the Creation. He had made about a hundred converts, but the King of Satsuma began to look coldly on Xavier and his companions, because the Portuguese vessels, which had at first always come to Kagosima, now sailed to Firando,* enriching his enemy. Mr. Dickson informs us that Kagosima is not a place well fitted for a large trade, being too far out at sea, and cut off by high ranges of hills from the interior. Nevertheless, this desertion made the king disposed to listen to the representations of the Bonzes as to the danger of the people renouncing the religion of their ancestors, and he ordered that any one who received baptism should be put to death. This intolerant decree compelled Xavier to leave Kagosima for Firando, but as he and his companions could not yet speak the language fluently, they did not make more than a hundred converts. They then left for Amanguchi, the residence of a powerful native prince, and afterwards went to Miako, but finally took up their abode at Amanguchi. The ruler of this place gave Xavier permission to preach the Gospel within the bounds of his principality, and assigned him and his companions an unoccupied monastery for their residence. Here Xavier lectured twice a day upon the Japanese religion. His discourses were numerously attended by the Bonzes, the nobility, and the common people. At the end of every lecture he answered the objections which were made against it, and, as he tells us, with signal success. He remarks that those who were most eager and pointed in their opposition were the first to be converted, became his most intimate friends, and revealed to him the peculiar doctrines of the different religious sects. Day and night he was besieged by a crowd of importunate questioners, and called without ceremony to satisfy the curiosity of the great. The result of the conferences, which lasted two

* Solier, liv. ii. chap. iv.

months,

months, was the conversion, or at least the baptism, of five hundred people. Xavier left Japan on the 20th November, 1551, after a stay of two years and four months.

In his controversies with the Japanese, Xavier had been continually met with the objection—how could the Scripture history be true when it had escaped the notice of the learned men of China? It was Chinese sages who had taught philosophy and history to the Japanese, and Chinese missionaries who had converted them to Buddhism. To China, then, would he go to strike a blow at the root of that mighty superstition. Accordingly he sailed from Goa about the middle of April, 1552, with a merchant, named James Pereira, who was to act as ambassador to the Emperor of China. On arriving at Malacca, this man becoming involved in a quarrel with the Portuguese governor, was forcibly detained, and Xavier went on alone to the island of San-Cean, a place of rendezvous between the Chinese and Portuguese merchants, distant about half a day's sail from Canton. But no one had the courage to brave the penal laws which guarded the entrance of foreigners into China; and, being a prey to continual anxiety to reach the new scene of his labours, Xavier fell ill, apparently of remittent fever, and died on the 2nd of December, 1552. According to a story which is believed throughout the Catholic world, his body was miraculously preserved from corruption, and was fifteen months after landed at Goa, perfectly fresh and soft as if he had died the day before. It was consigned with great solemnity to its last resting-place in the vault of the Church of the Holy Faith at Goa, where it still remains an object of pilgrimage and religious veneration to the native Christians of the Malabar coast, who regard the Apostle of the Indies as in no way behind the immediate disciples of Christ, and attribute to him a long roll of the most astounding miracles and prodigies. One who reads the wonderful tales of the acts of canonisation of Saint Francis Xavier a hundred years after his death will be a little astonished on hearing the manner in which his successor at Goa, Melchior Nunez, speaks of these extraordinary performances a few years after they are assumed to have taken place. 'Many things became known of him after death which, while he still lived, remained unknown.' Xavier himself, save in one ambiguous passage of his letters,* never alludes to any of the astounding miracles so freely ascribed to him by his biographers of later date. It would be but a waste of space to celebrate in a formal eulogium the wonderful labours this man underwent, his extraordinary courage, energy, and self-denial;

* See letter dated Cochin, 12th January, 1544.

the sweetness of his disposition, and his affectionate concern for the souls of his fellow-creatures. His faults were those of his age and creed, intolerance to other religions save his own, and a too great readiness to resort to the temporal arm for the conversion of the heathen. As portrayed in his own letters, and by Lucena and his succeeding biographers, he stands the very image of a true, brave, accomplished, and persuasive missionary. To this day he is the ideal and pattern of his successors in the work amongst the Roman Catholic clergy; and his example, traditions, and precepts, have everywhere exercised a pervading and lasting influence upon the course and conduct of the different missions which he founded.

The result of Xavier's labours was the formation of a mission which, from Goa as a centre, radiated over much of the coast of Asia from Ormuz to Japan. Its powers of propagandism were most felt on those parts of the coast more directly exposed to the secular influence of Portugal, and especially in the Portuguese possessions, where the terrors of the Inquisition were put in practice to spread the Catholic Faith. The number of Roman Catholics now existing on the Malabar coast probably amounts to half a million, but a large proportion of them are half-caste descendants of the Portuguese—the result of those dissolute amours which Xavier condemned. Their religion, however, is only a base and degenerate graft of Catholicism upon the rotten trunk of Paganism. Even at the present day the native Christians are inferior to the Mahometans and Hindus of Northern India in intelligence and morality. Thus the attempt of Xavier to introduce a vigorous and thriving shoot of Christianity into India has been, after all, a failure—a failure which liberal Catholics themselves acknowledge.

Far different was the history of the church which Xavier had planted in Japan with his own hands, which grew up without the sunshine of political favour, and which, as he had foretold, struck a deep root in the soil. The Jesuits have left us long and circumstantial accounts of the history of Christianity in Japan. They are compiled from the missionary reports, many of which have also been printed in a separate form. These documents give a much more trustworthy account of Japanese history and manners than can be obtained from the stilted information published by residents at the open ports since the recent commercial treaties. The Jesuit priests learned the Japanese language, and mixed with the people in all the relations of life. They joined with the great in their entertainments, and often in their intrigues and schemes of ambition; they were conversant with the sorrows and joys of the poor; and the deep confidence of the

Confessional gave them an insight into the feelings and thoughts of every class of society, which the Japanese government of to-day with their innumerable spies can never obtain. No doubt these accounts are sometimes unfaithful in detail, and rarely do justice to the opposite side; but though one is often wearied with stories of silly miracles and with prosy discourses, it is clear that the authors looked narrowly to the chain of human events, and had an accurate knowledge of the politics and passing history of the countries in which they lived. The unfavourable side of the picture is supplied by the observation of Dutch and English travellers of the seventeenth century, and by the complaints of rival orders such as the Franciscans and Dominicans; but we must not look to them for a connected historical narrative.

Mr. Venn, who has carefully studied the 'Letters of Xavier,' did not even perceive the historical value of the 'Literæ Annæ' of the Jesuits:—

"I have looked," he writes (p. 209), "into the various collections of 'Epistolæ Japonicæ,' but, like the 'Epistolæ Indicæ,' they are filled with legends, and it is impossible, after reading 'Xavier's Letters,' to open those pages without the conviction that we have passed out of the regions of truth into those of exaggeration, suppression, and fiction."

Writers on the present condition of Japan have entirely neglected these important documents. Even Mr. Dickson, in his recently published book, which comprises a complete history of Japan, and gives a general account of the history of Christianity in the islands more accurately than any preceding writer in the English language, seems not to have read the original Letters of the Jesuit Missionaries. It is difficult to trace the sources of his information, for his citations are few and vague, and he seems to have drawn most of his facts from a 'History of the Church of Japan,' apparently that of Crasset. Still his work is the most valuable one that has yet appeared. He has compared the Jesuit history with the 'Japanese Chronicles,' and has had the additional advantage of visiting Japan and conversing with some of the Japanese.

The two missionaries, whom Xavier had left at Japan, were soon after joined by three others; and in 1556 they were visited by the Provincial of the Order in the Indies, Melchior Nunez, who paid much attention to the Japanese mission and selected for it the best missionaries, as Xavier had recommended. The Provincial was accompanied to Japan by the well-known Mendez Pinto, the author of one of the few well-written books in the Portuguese language. Cosmo de Torrez, a layman who had

been

been induced by the preaching and example of the 'Apostle of the Indies' to enter the Order of Jesus, remained at the head of the mission, as Xavier had left him. The missionaries guided the trade with the Portuguese; and several of the petty princes of Kiusiu were so anxious to attract to their dominions this lucrative traffic that they repeatedly cajoled the good fathers with hopes of their becoming converts.

The Jesuits attached themselves to the fortunes of the King of Bungo, a restless and ambitious prince, who in the end added four little kingdoms to his own, and thus became master of a large part of the island of Kiusiu. In his dominions Christianity made such progress that the number of converts began to be counted by thousands. The King of Bungo always remained the friend of the Jesuit missionaries, and fostered the trade with the Portuguese. He long remained a disciple of the materialistic philosophy; but twenty-seven years after his first interview with Xavier he followed the example of his queen, and was baptized under the name of Francis. The missionaries perseveringly sought to spread their religion by preaching, public discussion, the circulation of controversial writings, the instruction of the youth, the casting out of devils, the performance of those mystery plays so common in that age, by the institution of *confréries* like those of Avignon, and, above all, by the well-timed administration of alms. Nor need we be surprised to learn that their first converts were principally the blind, the infirm, and old men one foot in the grave. There are, however, many proofs in their letters that they were able both to attract proselytes of a better class and to inspire them with an enthusiasm which promised well for the growth of the mission. In those early days the example of Xavier was still fresh; and his immediate successors seem to have inherited his energetic and self-denying disposition, though none of them could equal the great mental and moral qualities of the Apostle of the Indies. They kept at the same time a watchful eye upon the political events that were going on around them, and soon began to bear a part in them. The hostility between them and the Bonzes became more and more bitter. The first public display of religious violence, however, came from the Christian party,* who, in revenge for the overthrow of a Cross, which they traced to the instigation of the Bonzes, set fire to the dwellings of their opponents, burned some of their idols, and threw the rest into the sea. This excited so much hostility against the missionaries that, although the out-

* Solier, liv. iii. chap. viii. Crasset, 'Histoire de l'Église du Japon,' Paris, 1715, tome i. liv. iii. chap. liv. Consult also Maffaeus 'Select. Epistol. ex India,' lib. i.

rage had been committed without his knowledge and consent, Father Vilela was obliged to leave Firando.

The first chief who publicly professed Christianity, the King of Omura, in the island of Kiusiu, was thrice expelled from his capital, and another time from his palace, by conspiracies of the Pagans, who nearly succeeded in drawing the two principal missionaries into an ambuscade, in which a Japanese nobleman of the Christian party was murdered. It would be difficult to say what share the Jesuits bore in these troubles; but if we remember their well-known policy, we shall be disposed to repeat in much the same spirit the accusation of a Bonze of Miako, as early as 1564, that 'all the lands where these new preachers placed their feet were suddenly destroyed by war and faction.'

They had reached Miako in 1559, where they met with toleration from the secular government, and were even suffered to build a church and make several hundred converts. The missionaries led a troubled existence, and had several times to quit the capital from the intrigues of the Bonzes, who only waited an opportunity to banish or destroy them, but found themselves baffled by the caution, tact, and political address of the strangers.

The Jesuits found a friend and protector in Nobunanga, who, whilst styling himself the avenger of the murdered Siogun and the protector of his successor, in reality arrogated to himself the whole power of the empire. Nobunanga was tall and slender, with a delicate form and scanty beard; he was a daring and successful soldier, and a shrewd, subtle, and wary politician; he cared little for the princes of Japan, and still less for its idols, which he treated as stupid inventions. He bore a bitter hatred to the Bonzes, whose temples and monasteries he despoiled and demolished to build a new palace, causing the very images of Buddha to be torn from their shrines and dragged with a rope round their necks through the streets of Miako, where, for a time, the Bonzes did not dare to show themselves. He forced the principal citizens to put their own hands to the work, which he superintended himself, wearing a tiger's skin and carrying a naked sword in his hand, with which he occasionally struck off the heads of those who offended him. The Bonzes naturally took an active part against Nobunanga in an insurrection; but he, gaining the upper hand, led his army against their sacred seat at the foot of the mountain of Frenoxama, burnt their ancient monasteries, and put all those he found to the sword.* This terrible ruler granted the Jesuits full liberty to rebuild their church at Miako, and to

* See the letter of Louis Froes, dated Miako, August, 1572, in the collection of Maffaeus, for a description of the massacre of the Bonzes and the destruction of their temples.

preach the Gospel in his dominions, even adding the privilege of exemption from taxes. Allowing for the troubled state of the country and the readiness of the Bonzes to take advantage of any popular tumult to assault the missionaries, we have reason to be astonished at the toleration shown to them ; indeed, no prince in Europe of that age would have permitted a new religion to be preached through his dominions by foreign priests. The Jesuits no doubt expected that the Cross would soon be triumphantly planted on the ruins of the Buddhist temples, and the Bonzes probably associated in some way their reverses with the intrigues of the professors of the new religion, which began to number men of rank and influence.

Nobunanga, while willing to make use of the Jesuit missionaries to weaken the influence of the Buddhist priests, was so little influenced by their teaching that he formed the project of adding his own name to the list of the deified rulers of Japan. He now founded a new city and built a magnificent temple, to which he removed all the most venerated idols upon which he could lay his hands. Above them all he placed a stone, bearing his own arms and devices, and demanded that every one should pay it worship, promising, in a proclamation, long life and prosperity to those who should comply. It was noticed that no Christian had obeyed the edict, and this might have subjected them to the revenge of the tyrant, had not a conspiracy been promptly formed against him, while his younger son was absent on an expedition with the flower of the army. His palace was set on fire, and he was consumed in the flames, together with his eldest son, who had been the first to worship his idol (1582).

The conspirators promised the same toleration to the Jesuit missionaries, who had now gained so many proselytes that their support was worth having. But the revolution was of short continuance ; the younger son of Nobunanga, on hearing the news, returned with the army, defeated the conspirators, and took a terrible revenge for his father's death. He was, however, soon supplanted by one of his captains, who assumed the name of Taicosama. This man had once been a woodcutter, and though of low stature and unpleasing appearance, had, through his' valour and skill in war, raised himself to the highest rank in the army. He declared the infant child of the eldest son of Nobunanga the rightful heir to his grandfather's power, but assumed the real government himself.

The usurper at first treated the Bonzes with contempt, and caressed the missionaries, who appear to have gained over his queen, a woman of great talents, but of dissolute manners. Under her influence he issued an edict similar to that of his predecessor,

cessor, permitting the Jesuits to preach the Gospel throughout all Japan, with exemption from taxes.

Every one in Niphon now obeying him, he passed over into Kiusiu, and received the fealty of its kings. The appearance of Christianity, especially in the north of that island, was most flourishing. The Christian party, now the strongest, had gained the support of the ruling party, and the Bonzes had been banished from the states of Bungo, Arima, and Omura; their temples had been destroyed, and their revenues seized upon. In Omura, whose ruler had vowed that he would tolerate idolatry no longer, the Jesuits had baptized 35,000 people in two years (1575-76). The King of the isle of Gotto also had professed Christianity, and the King of Tosa, in the island of Sikok, had been baptized, and had with much difficulty quelled a rebellion which followed his conversion. According to Crasset, the total number of Japanese Christians, in 1587, was 200,000. In Niphon the Jesuits had gained numerous converts, some of them people of rank and power, among others, a distinguished general of Taicosama, named Justo Ucondono (Takayama), who demolished the temples within his lands, and forced his vassals to be Christians.

But the imprudent readiness which the Jesuits had shown in resorting to such violent measures in the island of Kiusiu had revealed the nature of their designs and policy. Moreover, it is likely that the Japanese had learned their character from other sources. Some Japanese travellers had reached Goa and Malacca, where they must have observed the religious persecutions the native population had endured; and the missionaries complain of the damage done to their cause by the dissolute lives of the Portuguese merchants, especially by their carrying away girls for the harems of Goa and Macao.

We must pass over the history of the missionaries during the remainder of the reign of Taicosama. Though sometimes persecuted and threatened more than once with expulsion from his dominions, they continued to make progress. The most violent persecution to which they were exposed was in the year 1596. The courage displayed by the Japanese converts on this occasion seems to have been worthy of the times of the early Church. Some demanded to be put on the list of Christians, others went to the houses of the fathers, desiring leave to remain there, in order that they might share with them the glory of a martyrdom so different from their own notions of an honourable death. The large number of names upon the roll of Christians startled the Siogun; but, without any regard to the petitions of the Jesuits that the statutes against the offending missionaries should be commuted

commuted to exile, six Franciscans, three Jesuits, and fifteen lay members of the mission were seized upon and conducted to Nagasaki, where they were impaled alive. They all met their fate with heroic constancy. But the Christians were saved from further danger by the death of Taicosama, which took place in 1598. Feeling his last hour approach, the sagacious usurper had employed his remaining energies in making arrangements to secure his office to his son, Fide-jori, then a minor. The regency was committed to Iyeyas, Prince of Quanto, to whose daughter the young prince was betrothed. Four other governors were appointed to divide the regent's power, and, if possible, curtail his ambition; and five Daimios held the office of tutor or curator to the young prince. Taicosama left orders that he should be deified as the god of war. One of the Jesuits was admitted to visit him with some European presents on his last illness. He received him courteously, and ordered the fathers to be presented with two hundred sacks of rice and a ship fit to take them back to their own country, a present whose significance no one could mistake.*

Everywhere in this age we meet with those daring and intriguing priests. We find them at Agra, disputing with the learned scholars at the court of Akber, the greatest of the house of Timur Khan; in the suite of the warlike Emperors of the Manchu Tartars, the invaders of China—at the same time fanning the hopes of the failing Chinese dynasty of Ming; in the heart of Africa, as the councillors of the great Emperor of Abyssinia, inciting him to war against his subjects for the unity of the Catholic Faith, in the same way as they armed assassins to slay the King of France and the heretic Prince of Orange, and formed a conspiracy to blow up by gunpowder the King and Parliament of England. We find them seeking for the sources of the Nile, which they knew issued from the great lakes near the equator; exploring the Canadian lakes; seeking the sources of the Amazon and La Plata, and bringing to Europe the fever-healing bark of the cinchona-tree. We see a brother of the same order, a little spare old man, whom they called Count Tilly, seated on a war-horse, watching with pitiless eye the sack and massacre of Magdeburg. Even at Yarkand, across the Himalayas, in the very centre of Asia, where, a few years ago, our own pilgrim of science—the unfortunate Schlagintweit—was beheaded, do we behold one of those missionaries of Catholicism with a turban on his head, and armed with sword

* The interview is described in a letter of Francis Pasius, in the collection of letters, 'De Rebus Japonicis, Indicis et Peruaniis,' by John Hay, of Dalgetty, a Scotch Jesuit. Antwerp, 1605.

and bow and quiver, searching for the half-fabulous kingdom of Cathay.

One of the most powerful of the Japanese princes at this time was a Christian, called by the missionaries Don Augustin (Tsucamidono), King of Fingo and Grand Admiral of Japan, who had commanded the Japanese troops in the invasion of Corea during the reign of Taicosama. Having returned shortly before the death of the latter, Don Augustin now became the head of the Christian party in Japan, with military reputation enhanced by a great victory he had just gained over the Chinese fleet. Though a zealous Catholic, he was also an able, bold, and ambitious politician, who perceived that his own personal aggrandisement would be promoted by the spread of the new religion. His possessions in Japan were very extensive, and, as the recognised head of the Christian party, he could count upon every Christian proselyte throughout the empire as his well-wisher. He allowed the fathers to employ force in order to induce his own subjects to become Christians. On his lands the work of conversion was pushed with such rapidity that, from the death of Taicosama to the year 1600, the baptisms, exclusive of infants, reached the number of seventy thousand. It was thought that Paganism would soon entirely disappear; and Christian converts from all parts of Japan came to live under his rule. He founded a college in the isle of Amacusa, where the Jesuits taught Latin, music, and the rudiments of European science to the sons of the nobility. Here, too, they established a printing press, translated several religious works into Japanese, and printed thousands of controversial tracts.

Meantime dissensions broke out between Iyeyas and the other governors and tutors in charge of the young prince. Nine Daimios of Japan, seeing with disappointment that the strong rule of the regent left them no hope of regaining their former independence, entered into a league against him. At the head of it was Gibonoscio, a man of too irresolute a character to lead such a combination, and who thus looked for assistance to the great political and military talents of the Christian prince of Fingo. Don Augustin joined the league; but the fortune of war turned against the confederates; he was defeated in battle, taken prisoner, and conducted with two other chiefs to Miako. He refused the good offices of the Bonzes, who followed his two companions to the scaffold. 'Go away,' said he, 'I am a Christian, and have nothing to do with such fooleries.' He then placed thrice upon his head a picture of Christ and the Virgin, and, pronouncing the sacred names of Jesus and Mary, submitted to the headsman's stroke. His body,

wrapped

wrapped up in a silken shroud, was conveyed to the dwelling of the Jesuits at Miako. Sewed up in the shroud were found letters to his wife and children, containing a few of those simple reflections upon the instability of human affairs, and the importance of serving God, which seem to strike men most in their adversity.

Ieyyas, better known by the name of Daifusama, no longer disguised his intention of retaining in his own family the dignity which he had received in trust. He did not, however, at first molest the Christians, who were still in a flourishing condition except in the kingdom of Fingo, where the successor of Don Augustin stopped at no measures necessary to reverse the policy of his predecessor. But nowhere had the persecutions been so steadily continued as to destroy Christianity: if one petty prince persecuted the Christians, they could take refuge in the domains of another. Often they selected provinces where the new religion was less known, and so opened a way to the missionaries. Christianity was thus diffused through all Japan, even to Yesso,* but in very unequal proportions. The Christians were most numerous in Kiusiu, and were comparatively few in the northern and western parts of Nippon. The Jesuits reckoned about 1,800,000 Japanese converts, with 900 priests, 124 of whom were of the Order of Loyola. The rest belonged to some other of the missionary orders; there were few of the secular clergy in Japan.† But the destruction of the new religion was in all probability already planned; and several circumstances contributed to harden this determination into a measure of state policy, hereditary in the house of Ieyyas.

The hostile cruisers of Holland now appeared in the Japanese waters (1602), and the Dutch did what they could to expose the policy of the Jesuits.‡ The Prince of Arima had been dethroned by his son, who became a Pagan, and the Prince of Omura,

* There is a curious account of this then unknown island by Jerome des Anges at the end of 'Relations du Japon de l'an 1619,' Paris, 1625.

† Many of the priests were Japanese. The Dominicans were most numerous after the Jesuits and Franciscans. We have consulted their accounts, but with little fruit. In 1622 the Franciscans counted six hundred thousand Christians remaining in Japan. See Rapine, XIth Decade, p. 704. This work, entitled 'Histoire Générale de l'Origine et Progrès des Frères Mineurs de Saint François, par R. P. Rapine' (Paris, 1631), gives us the advantage of a contemporary record from an independent source to compare with the 'Letters' of the Jesuits.

‡ The calumnies the Jesuits suffered from an English captain of a Dutch ship (William Adams, no doubt) are recorded at due length in their 'Epistola Annua.' The following passage is plain enough—'Ma li Mercanti Inglesi e Olandesi sono stati quelli, che hanno fomentato e accresciuto il desiderio, che nel petto del Ré ardeva di conservare il Regno.' (Lettera Annua del Giappone dell' Anno 1613. In Roma, 1617.) That the Japanese knew the game which the Catholic missionaries were playing in the Philippines, and feared its repetition in their own islands, is proved by the colloquy between a Jesuit and a Japanese nobleman in the 'Relation du Japon de l'Année 1622,' p. 196.

disgusted by some crafty intrigue of the Jesuits, deserted their cause. The conquest of the Philippine Islands by the Spaniards, which was powerfully aided by the preaching of the Jesuits and Franciscans, and by the forced conversion of the natives, filled the minds of the Japanese with alarm and distrust. The missionaries generally date the commencement of the great persecution at 1612. The truth is, persecution seems never to have raged with equal severity all over Japan. In 1613 twenty-eight Christians suffered death in the city of Yeddo, but in 1614 they had a college and two hospitals at Nagasaki, and a college at Miako, where they counted 7000 Christians. Nevertheless, their religion was doomed. Henceforth the history of Catholicism in Japan is but that of a relentless persecution enforced upon the Daimios by the Siogun. The persistent and courageous fortitude of the Christians, and the terrible determination of their persecutors to destroy every vestige of the new religion at whatever cost, are both significant of the Japanese character. We notice the same odious features as in many a persecution which the Jesuits themselves had excited against others, though several new tortures are added to the grisly horrors of martyrology. Some of the victims were swung in the air by the legs and arms with a huge stone resting on the back; others had their stomachs forcibly filled with water, which was then as violently forced out by external pressure, and others were precipitated into the boiling springs of Mount Ungen. If the Jesuits had shown themselves too little scrupulous in the means they employed to forward their propagandism, if in the days of prosperity they had yielded to the temptations of power and success, their conduct now amply proved that they were faithful to what they believed, and were ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of their flocks. Many priests had remained lurking in Japan after the persecution commenced, and many who were banished returned in various disguises. Most of them perished at the stake or on the gibbet. The honour of martyrdom is contested by the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustans, who, though fewer in number, showed equal courage. They were supported in the most determined manner by the Japanese Christians, many of whom perished at the stake along with their confessors. The ashes of the martyrs were carefully gathered together and thrown into the sea, for nothing exasperated their persecutors more than the homage which the remaining Christians paid to the relics of those who had gained the crown of martyrdom. In the valuable collection, the 'Voyages curieux,' there is an account of the persecutions by an early Dutch trader* who had witnessed

* Rey Gysbertz; see *op. cit.*, Paris, 1663, *ii^{me} partie.*

some of them. He confirms, in the most circumstantial details, the letters of the Jesuits, especially as to those points which seem the most incredible—the astonishing constancy and heroic martyrdoms of young children. The 'Annual Letters' have a calm and resolute tone, but the frequency of stories of miracles and prodigies, and especially of the finding of crosses in trees, and other questionable occurrences, give a proof of the heightened fervour of their imaginations. Fiery zealots from every part of the Catholic world made their way to Japan to gain the crown of martyrdom. Among the names of the sufferers we notice those of the Father Spinola, a grandson of the celebrated Spanish general in the Netherlands, and the Father Marcellus Francis Mastrilli. The latter, a noble Neapolitan, who had enjoyed frequent heavenly visions during his recovery from a concussion of the brain, bore from the Queen of Spain a splendid robe to wrap round the body of Francis Xavier, whose tomb was opened for that purpose during the night by several priestly dignitaries of Goa (1635). The Father Mastrilli put between the fingers of the dead man a letter declaring himself the saint's child, servant, and slave, and vowing to follow in his footsteps. He rendered important assistance to the Spaniards in the subjugation of the island of Mindanao, one of the Philippines. With much difficulty he made his way to Japan, there to perish (1637), after committing a number of extravagancies.

For a moment it seemed as if Christianity would gain another chance. The Prince Fide-jori, son of Taicosama, had grown up to manhood in the great city of Ozaca under the guardianship of an able and energetic mother. Some of the fathers had been allowed to establish an observatory there and to teach physics and astronomy, mingled with natural theology, to the prince and nobility; and, according to Kämpfer, the Japanese writers still record that the young prince was suspected of being a Christian, and that many of his officers and courtiers professed the same religion. Singular to say, the Jesuits themselves, though they claim many proselytes in Ozaca, make no pretensions to so high a convert. At any rate the prince was disposed to tolerate and take political advantage of the new religion. Gathering a numerous army, which was commanded by a Christian general, Fide-jori made war against Iyeyas, but was defeated in a great battle, and is supposed to have perished with his mother amongst the burning ruins of the castle of Ozaca. Thus did Iyeyas become the founder of the dynasty of Sioguns, who ruled down to our own day in his capital of Yeddo.

The persecutions became bloodier and bloodier, and the trade with the Portuguese was placed under ever-increasing restrictions.

tions. No foreigners were allowed to reside in any part of Japan save Nagasaki, and all the half-caste descendants of the marriages between the Portuguese and natives of Japan were banished from the islands.

In the year 1635, the Dutch captured a Portuguese ship, in which they found letters from the Japanese Christians praying for aid. They forwarded them to the Siogun, and it is easy to imagine the result. The Christians of Arima, finding the persecutions intolerable, rose to the number of 37,000, placed at their head a descendant of their ancient kings, and seized the fortress and isthmus of Ximabara. Here they stood sternly at bay against an army of 80,000 men, assisted by the artillery of the Dutch; but failing of provisions and the munitions of war, they sallied out, and died sword in hand. The Jesuits had already got up a mock embassy to the Siogun, which had been detected and turned back; and in 1640 the merchants of Macao, who made their fortune by conducting a neutral trade between China and Japan, sent a ship to Nagasaki to try if commercial relations could not be re-established. The ship was seized and burnt, thirteen of the crew sent back in a junk, sixty-one were beheaded, and a gibbet was raised on the island of Decima with this inscription:—

‘As long as the sun shines in the world, let no one have the boldness to land in Japan even in quality of ambassador, except those who are allowed by the laws to come for the sake of commerce.’

These were the Dutch, and every one knows by what humiliating restrictions they bought the privilege. This barbarous decree has never to this day been abrogated in a constitutional manner; and the retainers of the Prince of Satsuma, who committed the murder which brought about the bombardment of the first city in Japan that received an European envoy in the person of Francis Xavier, perpetrated the deed in accordance with the laws of the empire, which still regards all foreigners as outlaws.

A renewed effort of the Roman Catholic clergy to penetrate into the empire of the Rising Sun was made in 1642, exactly a hundred years after the Apostle of the Indies landed at Goa to commence his eventful mission. Five Jesuits and three other priests landed in the territories of the Prince of Satsuma, but were almost immediately arrested and put to death.

In the year 1709, Mr. Dickson tells us, the Abbé Sidotti, an Italian priest of good family, made a desperate attempt to enter Japan, and succeeded in getting landed on the coast of Satsuma, where he was arrested and detained in the neighbourhood

bourhood of Jeddo until his death. This was the last effort made by the Church of Rome to gain converts in Japan until our own days, when these missionary efforts are being again renewed.

Kept carefully excluded from intercourse with the foreigner, the Japanese Christians gradually lost all remembrance of the faith which they had learnt from the mouths of the European priests. A thousand Japanese Christians are said to have suffered death for their religion; the rest were kept under the closest surveillance, forced to carry the image of some idols round their necks, and were called upon at stated times to worship the gods of the empire. Some of their descendants exist at Yeddo to this day, despised as people of the most infamous class, and still bearing the name of a religion of whose creed they know nothing.* None will deny the necessity of studying the history and modes of thought of the Japanese if we wish to deal prudently with them; and hence, the Letters of the Jesuits, to which we have directed attention in this article, deserve and will repay careful study. The Japanese are our antipodes in more things than in geographical position.

'Nowhere,' says Sir Rutherford Alcock, 'is the present more completely interwoven with the past, or the impress of a nation's history and traditions more indelibly and plainly stamped in the lineaments of an existing generation, than in Japan. The present is heir to the past always and everywhere, in the life of nations no less than of individuals; but the present is linked to the past in Japan in a sense so peculiar that it is worthy of special attention.'

'This study of the past can alone furnish a key to the character and policy of the nation, in the possession of which lies our best hope of the future, and of turning what it may have in store to good account. We *must*, indeed, read both the present and future of Japan by the light of the past, for by such reflected light alone can either be rightly understood.'

The history of Japan up to the renewed opening of some of its ports to foreign commerce in 1858 was one of peace and prosperity. Since then it has been full of great and momentous events, presenting many difficult questions to European diplomats, and giving the greatest concern to every Japanese anxious for the welfare of his country; but this lies beyond our present subject.

* See 'Voyage autour du Japon,' par Rodolphe Lindau, chap. xii. p. 247. Paris, 1864.

ART. XI.—1. *The Army Regulation Bill.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, 16th February, 1871.

2. *Letters on Military Organisation.* By Lord Elcho, M.P. London, 1871.

3. *The Military Forces of Great Britain.* By Major-General Sir L. Simmons, K.C.B. London, 1871.

4. *The Army of Great Britain; what it is and what it might be.* By Sir William Hamilton, Bart. London, 1871.

5. *On the Prussian Infantry, 1869.* Translated from the German by Colonel Henry Aimé Ouvry, C.B. London, 1870.

MR. FROUDE, in his 'History of England,' describing the state of this country at the accession of Elizabeth, remarks:—'The art of war was changing; and the English peasantry, so far from having been taught the use of harquebuss and pistol, were no longer familiar with even their own bows and bills. "The truth is," de Feria, the Spanish ambassador, said, writing to his master, "the truth is, the realm is in such a state that we could best negotiate here sword in hand. They have neither men, money, leaders, nor fortresses, while the country contains in abundance every requisite for the support of an army." Such was the state of England in 1558. Three centuries have passed away, and our present position is much what it then was. A future writer on English history, who may be fortunate enough to unearth the treasures of a Russian or Prussian Simancas, may find some such letter as the following from Count Bernstorff or Baron Brunow to Prince Bismarck or Prince Gortchakoff:—'The truth is, this country has so neglected its military organisation that it has no power to enforce its own views. Any course, therefore, that is pleasing to our Imperial master may be taken. Doubtless, the English Ministry will protest, but that may be neglected. A threat of war will soon put a stop to any complaints that may annoy your Excellency. They have no army, no fortresses; their richest cities are completely open to attack, and heavy requisitions may be levied on them. The country is teeming with wealth, scattered and unprotected, all over the world. Your Excellency can do anything you please; far from being in a position to interfere with you, England is helpless to protect itself.'

The art of war is changing; and the English nation has not learned the use of the modern instruments and appliances of the military art or the necessity of organisation and forethought, while it has forgotten the old traditions bequeathed to it by

its

its great leaders, and has lost its former confidence, self-reliance, and self-denial.

We propose to direct the attention of our readers to some of the changes that have taken place in the art of war, to the present state of the British army (the weapon with which the nation must encounter these changes), and to the scheme of Army Reform which the Government has put forward. We premise these remarks by observing that in questions of such vital importance as those involved in national defence—that is, national existence—we entertain no party feeling. National defence touches each individual too closely to allow of party distinction. We care not who the statesman is, to what political faith he may adhere: let him but place the national defence on a sure basis; let him but give the country a military organisation such as will press lightly on the people, either as regards their persons or their pockets; such as will enable the voice of England, when raised in the councils of nations, to be again heard with that respect which, from her wealth, civilisation, and population, she is entitled to expect; and we are sure that he will obtain the hearty support of the country. Such a statesman will confer a lasting benefit not only on his own country, but on the world at large: on his own country, because he will have removed a constant source of irritation and unquiet which—let men deny it as they choose—tends to lower and degrade England in the eyes of her own people; on the world at large, because the voice of England, ever raised to counsel peace and moderation, will then be listened to, instead of being disregarded, as at present, with scarcely concealed contempt.

The history of war forms a portion of the general history of man. Each successive stage of civilisation has marked an improvement in the art. As knowledge has increased and discoveries have been made, we invariably find that knowledge and those discoveries applied to perfect the means of attack and defence. The laws which govern the sciences of mechanics, chemistry, and electricity, have been investigated and turned to practical use; and it is to improved arms, railways, and telegraphs that the changes in the art of war are due.

When we survey the wars that have recently taken place, and compare them with those waged at the close of the last, and the beginning of the present century, we are at once struck by the fact that personal qualifications and influence have lost much of their power. We do not see great masses of human beings swayed and stimulated by the genius of a single man. Recent wars have produced no Suwarrow, no Blücher, no Napoleon. But we find war taking its place amongst the exact sciences,

sciences, study and forethought becoming as requisite for the man who wields an army as for him who designs a steam-engine or constructs a railway.

We are informed by the author of 'The Prussian Infantry in 1869,' no mean judge of what he wrote about, that—

'No one contested the fact that the breech loader was in itself a very superior weapon, but the cardinal point was, whether the common soldier would be able to attain to that degree of military education, or whether his intelligence would ever become sufficiently developed, to enable him properly to make use of that delicate and dangerous arm. If this could be attained, then certainly the weapon would be irresistible. *Mere drilling* will never make such soldiers; they must not merely act at word of command, but according to their own judgment, and of their own accord, which will then operate, so that the humblest soldier will become able to take an active part in the battle.'

Here, then, is one great change in the art of war—the intelligent use of modern firearms. Personal gallantry and intrepidity, untempered by knowledge, and untrained by education, have lost their power to command success.

If we now turn to another great cause of change, we find that the general use of railways has enabled nations to concentrate and mass together bodies of men far larger than could possibly be done in former days: the time required to concentrate the force being so much less, and the power of feeding and supplying them so much greater. The communications of the different bodies of troops, when on the line of march, being now easily kept up by telegraph, and the roads by which they march being no longer blocked and crowded by vast trains of waggons and pack-animals, the moment of arrival of the various fractions of an army at any given point or points may now be arranged almost to a certainty. Hence the application of the two great modern discoveries to war; the railway, which gives the power of rapid movement, and the telegraph, which bestows the power of instantaneous communication, have enabled a modern general to operate over a far larger area and with a far greater force than formerly. From this follows the necessity of dividing an army into component portions, or smaller armies, each complete in itself, and of allowing far greater latitude not only to the generals who command these armies, but even to the inferior officers right down through the long chain of responsibility to the privates themselves.

To obtain the full advantages which railways and telegraphs give, the greatest care must be bestowed on what may be termed the sinews and nerves of an army. Consequently, we find the staff, artillery, engineers, and administrative branches have been largely increased, and more carefully educated and trained; large fortresses

fortresses have been built to command and control the new means of communication which science has given ; commercial harbours have been protected and guarded by torpedoes ; and artillery of the most powerful kind has been mounted on fortifications.

Without entering into details which must be familiar to all our readers, the issue is reduced to very narrow limits. The whole art of war is changed : how shall we meet the change ? Our old weapons are useless and obsolete : how shall we improve and reform them ?

During the last few years the nation has been gradually beginning to see the defenceless condition in which it is placed. The Volunteer movement was one of the results of this feeling. It marked an entire want of confidence in the power of our military institutions to protect the country, or of the ability of our rulers to reform them. The words of Bacon well deserve to be pondered. 'When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate they may be sure of a war ; for, commonly, such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating, and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth war.' France for twenty years has gradually become soft and effeminate, she has grown very rich, and the hand of the spoiler has fallen heavily on her. How stands the case with England ? She has grown rich, very rich, and 'the prey inviteth.' Has she, too, grown soft and effeminate ? What means has she got to protect her wealth from the hand of the spoiler ?

When Mr. Cardwell assumed the office of Secretary of State for War, nothing was more remarkable than the uneasy state of, not only the officers, but also the privates of the army. The numerous attacks made on the army in Parliament, the exaggerated and erroneous statements of misinformed persons, and, above all, the violent language of a certain section of the Radical press, had produced their natural results. To say that the bonds of discipline, the confidence of officers and men, *inter se*, were relaxed, would be too strong a statement. But still those who know the army best will acknowledge that the foundation on which these things rest, were somewhat shaken. The officers of the army, from the Commander-in-Chief to the junior ensign, were held up to contempt ; they were described as the 'froth,' and the privates as 'the scum of society.'

The officers of the artillery and engineers, who had obtained their commissions by a public competition, as free and unreserved as the most ardent Radical could desire,* found that

* About ten per cent. of the young men who compete for the Royal Military Academy are commissioned in the Artillery ; about one-half that number in the Engineers.

they were being continually passed over and neglected. In 1867 a Select Committee of the House of Commons, moved for by Mr. Childers, reported that the retirements and consequent promotion of the artillery and engineers was 'very complicated, uncertain in its operation, based upon no clear principle, and inadequate for its purpose ;' that as regards 'keeping each rank in an efficient state, and getting rid of worn-out officers, the present arrangements work badly.' Sir J. Pakington disregarded, *in toto*, the recommendation of the Committee. Is it to be wondered at, that a certain amount of soreness was felt throughout the scientific corps ?

The Department of Control had just been introduced with a high hand, quite irrespective of the feelings or wishes of the army, in opposition to the opinion of Lord Strathnairn's Committee, on the recommendations of which it was said to be based : uneducated ignorant men were put to perform duties which required a considerable amount of scientific knowledge.* Artillery and engineer officers—specially educated men—were placed as subordinates to commissariat officers who had no such training—thus showing clearly the small amount of respect paid to scientific knowledge. General officers in command were placed in the most equivocal position with regard to their own subordinates, who assumed the right of directing and controlling them in the discharge of their duties.†

The militia and regular army were only partially armed with breech-loaders, and the Volunteers still had the old muzzle-loading Enfield rifle.

Turning to the defensive works for the protection of the coast, we find the works for the protection of the Royal Dockyards nearly completed, but entirely unarmed, the guns to be mounted on them being still under consideration, while the great commercial ports of the country—Liverpool, the Clyde, the Forth, the Tyne, and the Humber—were perfectly open and unprotected in any way.

Such was the state of our defences when Mr. Gladstone's Government succeeded to office, pledged to retrenchment, and to give peace and repose to Ireland by disestablishing the Church, and passing a Land Bill.

* There are few things that have more completely shaken the faith of the army in its rulers than the reports of Lords Strathnairn and Northcote's Committees. Not only do these two reports contradict one another, but the chief witnesses contradict themselves.

† This has been pointedly denied in the House of Commons. But the regulations on the subject are very clear. Should the general officer disagree with the Controller, the latter forwards a report of the disagreement, countersigned by the former to the Secretary of State for War. In official life, reports invariably pass from the subordinate to the superior.

Continuing the policy of the last Government, troops were largely withdrawn from the Colonies. Had the measure stopped there, the policy might have been a wise one. Concentration is strength ; but the soldiers brought home from the Colonies were simply discharged. How this could add to our strength it is difficult to understand. Large quantities of stores were sold ; only obsolete ones we were told ; but still, as no new purchases were made, obsolete stores were better than none. Workmen were discharged from the arsenals freely. No money was allowed for the purposes of experiment, in order to develop the latest and cheapest system of harbour defence,—that by means of submarine mines. Officials and soldiers were hastily discharged, no attempts being made to arrange for their recall, if subsequently required. By such means Mr. Cardwell, in moving the Estimates of 1870, showed a saving of nearly two millions. It is, however, a simple process to reduce taxation by discharging men and selling stores. It is equally simple to augment the army by hiring men and buying stores. But it requires a statesman to produce an army based on national institutions, capable of expansion and contraction without impaired efficiency, and without adding to the taxes of the country.

Such, then, was the state of our army when the war broke out between France and Prussia. The uneasy conviction that England was insecure now grew stronger and stronger. It was in vain that the country was assured that its true policy was one of isolation ; that it should look on calmly, sell arms and munitions of war to both parties, and profit by the result. It was in vain that one Cabinet Minister informed his audience that if France were crushed England might reduce her army. It was in vain that, as the strife thickened, the pages of a contemporary informed the nation ‘that a new law of nations was gradually taking hold of the mind, and coming to sway the practice of the world ; a law which recognises independence, which frowns upon aggression, which favours the pacific, not the bloody, settlement of disputes ; which aims at permanent, not temporary, adjustments ; above all, which recognises as a tribunal of paramount authority the general judgment of civilised mankind.’ Our senses gave the lie to these soft words. Men saw old treaties trampled on, the strong threatening the weak, and England in no condition to fulfil the guarantees and promises of support which she had given. The nation, recalling the hundreds of millions spent during the last twenty years, called upon its rulers to give an account of their stewardship. Brave words were spoken ; why should we recall them ? Their value has since been fully estimated. Bit by bit, little by little, the truth leaked out,—that we

were helpless, that hundreds of millions had been spent, and the result was as follows :—

In Great Britain and Ireland, including dépôts of regiments in India and the Colonies, there were the following forces available :—

Infantry	56,132
Cavalry	11,064 with 6695 horses.
Field Artillery	5,724 with 180 guns.
Garrison Artillery	8,295

After deducting the dépôts, the garrison of Ireland, and fortresses, we could have put in line last July about—

Infantry	30,000
Cavalry	5,000
Guns	120

the whole being nearly equivalent to one Prussian Corps d'Armée.

In addition to this insignificant body there was *on paper* a force composed as follows :—

Militia	131,773
Yeomanry	16,731
Volunteers	170,094
Army Reserve, Class I.	3,000
" Class II.	20,000
<hr/>	
Total	341,598

showing a goodly total ; but Sir Lintorn Simmons, who has had ample opportunities of judging of the value of this force, sums it up in the following words, which are so much to the point that we quote them *in extenso* :—

‘ Every soldier knows that three things are necessary in the constitution of an army : first, training ; secondly, discipline ; thirdly, experienced officers.

‘ If we test the infantry militia by this standard, as all foreign officers undoubtedly do who come to this country to study our military institutions, the account will be,

Training	Almost Nil.
Discipline	Ditto.
Experienced officers	Very few.

‘ And they will add that the only use which could be made of them is to aid the police in enforcing the laws, to maintain peace and order in our own country, and to assist in garrisoning our fortresses.

‘ The result of all these 341,598 men in the Reserve force is, that possibly they might yield an addition of 3000 trained soldiers included in Class I. of the so-called “Army Reserve Force” to augment the regular army, and that the whole of the remainder would not add a single

single trained bayonet to the effective field army of England. What it might do, however, would be to liberate the effective army for service in the field, by taking the duties of keeping peace and maintaining order in the country, and with the assistance of the garrison and coast brigades of artillery and of the dépôts of regiments in India, of partially garrisoning our fortresses.'

Hence, supposing England had been involved in war during the past six months, we should have had the magnificent force of 30,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry and 120 guns, wherewith to meet an enemy. And for this force we have been paying fifteen millions a year!

We have seen that rapidity of execution is of vital importance in war, and that protection for commercial harbours is, in these days of legalised plunder, become a necessity. Now, last July the English army was not possessed of a single mile of telegraph wire; there were no means of repairing or destroying railways, and no corps instructed in the art of rapidly forming and working them. The whole of these important means of communication are in the hands of irresponsible civilians, who, however willing, would be quite unable, to deal with the questions of moving even a moderate force complete with its stores. We find that the Mersey, the Clyde, and the Forth, are perfectly open, without one single gun mounted, or one torpedo laid down for their defence. In case of the fleet being worsted in an action, or deceived, and drawn off from the vital point, there is nothing—absolutely nothing—to prevent an ironclad running into the Mersey, the Clyde, or the Forth, and laying a requisition of one, two, or three millions on Liverpool, Glasgow, or Edinburgh, shelling the town, if refused, and carrying off the inhabitants as hostages. Last, but by no means least, there is London, the richest prize in the world, open to be seized by any one who likes to take it. True, there is our fleet; but, if war had broken out, what side would Russia have taken? What would America have done? The fleet! that fleet would need to be ubiquitous and omnipotent to do all that is expected of it. Guard India, the Cape, the West Indies, Australia, protect the largest commerce in the world, watch and guard Ireland and the coasts of Great Britain. Were it four times as numerous as it now is, it could not accomplish one-half of what is expected from it. How often have we read in support of reductions of our naval strength, 'One ironclad is as powerful as half-a-dozen of the old wooden vessels, therefore we may reduce our force of ships in that proportion.' Fatal fallacy; we have ironclads because other nations have them too, and the increased power of a ship does not

not confer on it greater powers of locomotion, rather the reverse, for it diminishes its stowage of coal.

Such then was the state of the military defences of this country at the close of the last parliamentary session, when Mr. Cardwell came forward and asked for two millions of money to undo what he had just done, to enlist 20,000 men in order to replace those whom he had discharged.

During the Parliamentary recess the terrible lessons of the war have taught us the miseries to which a defenceless country is exposed, and have impressed upon all parties the necessity of re-organizing our Army, and of putting our defences on a footing that would secure us against invasion, and relieve us once and for ever from the disgraceful periodical panics to which we have been exposed. But, as the time appointed for the meeting of Parliament drew near, it was seen that Army reformers, however earnest they might be in seeking one goal, were desirous of reaching it by two different roads. It became evident that one large class of writers and speakers deemed that improvements and modifications of our existing systems would avail, while others considered that we must entirely alter and remodel the whole of our arrangements: or, in other words, one party, of whom Lord Sandhurst and Lord Elcho may be taken as the most prominent leaders, desired the remodelling of our military institutions with the recognised principle of universal military service tempered by the ballot; while the other party, of whom Lord Derby, Mr. Trevelyan, and Sir Lintorn Simmons, are prominent members, were opposed to the ballot, and relied upon voluntary enlistment.

It is important to bear this distinction in view, as other issues are being brought into the question. Lord Derby struck the key-note of the subject when he said, 'Tell me your policy, and I will tell you what kind of army you should have.' It is evident that until a satisfactory answer to this question is given, unless we settle first what the policy of the country is to be, or, in other words, what army we are going to maintain, it becomes impossible to decide how far the ballot is requisite. England has, by continual protestations that she will not go to war,—that she has isolated herself entirely from Continental affairs,—made the world believe she will not fight. And yet she has so bound herself up with Europe by treaties, and is so much bound up with them by her interest, that she has no policy whatever, she has lost the initiative, important alike in war as in diplomacy, and, like those who walk one way and look another, she is liable to fall over the smallest obstacle. This country, we maintain, is in such a position that she must prepare for

for *all* risks ; she must be prepared to defend herself not only on her own shores, but, if compelled to do so, to exert the whole force of the nation in a foreign war. Much as this may be deprecated, a bold offensive war is often the best defence, and perhaps the one most likely to protect the country from invasion. To send 100,000 men to defend Belgium might be the best security for our own shores. The Romans never expelled Hannibal from Italy until Scipio invaded Africa ; and the Duke of Wellington's victories in Spain secured England from all further thought of invasion. We are at present but reaping the natural fruits of a timid temporising policy. An organization capable of national defence in its broadest sense, that is to say, an organization which will enable us to defend our shores, and if requisite throw 100,000 men on any portion of Europe, is therefore absolutely requisite. 'If Great Britain, with all her wealth, is not prepared to keep such an army, the logical alternative is to dismiss her forces and trust in Providence. Either alternative is intelligible and logical, but half-and-half measures such as are now in vogue only court destruction by irritating the powers of the world, while trusting in their forbearance for existence.' Sir Lintorn Simmons, from whose pamphlet we have quoted the foregoing words, proposes to obtain the men for the army by voluntary enlistment. Considering that 40,000 men between the ages of twenty and twenty-four are required each year, he thinks it possible to obtain them on the principle of offering 'a fair day's wages for a fair day's work.' He would therefore give 2s. 2d. a day to each private, stopping 6d. a day from the pay, and lodging it in the savings-bank, so that at the end of three years a sum of 28*l.* would accumulate, which should be handed to the soldier on discharge ; and he would offer a retaining fee in the form of 10*l.* a year for nine years, during which term the soldier would serve in the reserve, and be liable to join the colours in case of war. He proposes that battalions for India and the Colonies should be made up of volunteers for six years' service. His scheme would give a force of about 250,000 men in the Army and its Reserves fit for immediate service. We do not hesitate to say that the whole plan is a very admirable one, but it depends on so many contingencies that we doubt its practical efficacy. These contingencies are :—1. Could 40,000 men between twenty and twenty-four years be obtained annually, who would enlist on the proposed terms ? 2. Would 5000 to 6000 of these men volunteer for service in India and the Colonies ? 3. Would ninety per cent. of the discharged men engage for nine years' service in the Reserve ?

These questions can only be answered by the light of past experience ;

experience ; and we find that in July, 1856, nearly a year after the Crimean war, the Army was 45,000 men below its establishment—the bounty being 10*l.* for the cavalry and 8*l.* for the infantry. And this at a time when every exertion was made to keep the small British force, never exceeding 60,000 men, supplied with recruits, when India and all the Colonies were drained of regular troops, and the Mediterranean Stations garrisoned by militia.*

Again, recruiting for the army was stopped entirely on the 1st of January, 1870. Between that date and last July nearly 20,000 men were discharged. Last July the army was 4500 men below its authorised establishment ; and although every effort has been used to obtain recruits, although the winter has been a very hard and severe one, only 14,000 men have been added to the army, the total number of recruits being 26,000 and the loss during the period we have named being 7500 men. And this although the labour market was glutted, not only by the discharged soldiers, but also by the cessation of enlistment during the early part of the year, while at the same time the standard of height was reduced to 5 feet 4½ inches, a reduction which experience has shown increases the number of recruits by about one-fourth. We are therefore compelled to come to the conclusion that Sir Lintorn Simmons' scheme would break down at the very point where all such proposals break down, the actual supply of the individual man.

Turning to Lord Elcho's 'Letters on Military Organisation,' which we have taken as affording a representation of the second great class into which army reformers have split, we find Lord Elcho proposes :—

' That without interfering with the present modes of enlistment, the system of long enlistment should also be tried, divided into three or more periods of service, with different liabilities and increasing pay attached to each period, until the completion of the whole engagement, when the reserve pay would be succeeded by a life pension. Thus, a soldier engaged, say for twenty-one years, might serve five years with the colours, seven years in the First Reserve—liable at any time to join a regiment at home or abroad, if necessity arose—completing the term of his engagement in the Second Reserve, attached to the Militia, which would thus gain a permanent nucleus of trained soldiers. That the army "Militia Reserve" should be increased, and that a certain number of Militia regiments should be mobilised, that is, placed

* Those people who believe the army is composed entirely, or even largely, of bad characters, are strangely in error. Bad characters do not enlist unless with a high bounty ; and doing away with bounty is one great improvement introduced by Mr. Cardwell.

on a permanent active list, and be at all times ready for service anywhere along with the regular army.

Secondly, as regards the Regular or Sedentary Militia for home service only. That it should be increased; that individual volunteering for army service from the Militia should be forbidden, except into the Army "Militia Reserve"; that for every man who volunteered into it, another should be raised for the Militia; that the Militia *for home service* should be raised by ballot, no substitute being allowed, and voluntary enlistment in the Militia being confined to the mobilised regiments.

Thirdly, as regards the Volunteer force. That it should be maintained and made efficient by constituting a certificate of efficiency in a Volunteer Corps an exemption from the Militia Ballot, and that continuous efficiency should further be required for five years.

Thus, every youth on attaining the age of twenty years, no matter what his rank or position, would have to risk the chance of service in the Militia, or give five years' continuous efficient service in the Volunteer force; and if during anyone of these five years he failed to become efficient, or was dismissed his corps, he would in the year following, although past the ordinary ballot age, have to run the chance of Militia service.

Pension and ballot are the keystones of these proposals, which are in the main sound, but are open to some very serious objections.

1. If we have the ballot and continuous service with a pension working together, the nation will be weighted both in person and purse.

2. The proposal to convert regiments of militia into regiments of the line, by mobilising them, and then enlisting for them as for the line, is simply adding so many additional battalions to the regular army.

3. There is no proposal for localising regiments, which we conceive takes the sting out of the ballot system.

4. There is no fusion together of the different armies of which the military force of the country consists.

Such was the general type of the various proposals for army reform laid before the country shortly before Parliament met; and then it was announced in her Majesty's Speech that Army Reform would be brought prominently before the House of Commons, and that her Majesty's Ministers would propose a scheme suitable for the wants of the country. It is not too much to say that so stirred were the people of this country by the events taking place in France, that rarely have the utterances of a minister been more anxiously expected than were those of Mr. Cardwell, when he rose to address the House on the 16th of February last. And the views which he stated as having actuated the Government are undoubtedly correct:—

We

'We have,' said Mr. Cardwell, 'on the part of the community at large an interest in the subject, which in former years it has been very difficult to evoke; and it is the opinion of the Government that if we are to deal at all with a question of this magnitude and importance, we ought not to deal with it in a superficial and partial manner, but to take a broad and comprehensive review of the subject, and endeavour to lay the deep foundations of a system which may render danger or the apprehension of danger in the future, altogether unknown.'

Words such as these must ever command the sympathy and respect of Englishmen. But there are things which command the respect and sympathy of Englishmen still more than words, and those are deeds. Are the proposals of the Government such as will remove all 'apprehension of danger in the future'? Does the Government propose to re-organise the military force of the country so as to enable it to meet the changes introduced in the art of war? If an affirmative answer can be given to these questions, then the country owes Mr. Gladstone's Government a deep debt of gratitude.

The proposals contained in Mr. Cardwell's speech, and embodied in 'the Army Regulation Bill' are seven in number.

I. The abolition of purchase.

II. To withdraw from the Lieutenants of Counties the power they now have with regard to the auxiliary forces.

III. Army enlistment for a period not exceeding twelve years, to be spent partly in the reserve and partly with the colours, as the Secretary of State and the soldier may agree on.

IV. The militia to be raised by voluntary enlistment, and the period of drill extended for a period of six months, at the option of the Secretary of State for War.

V. The laws of the ballot are altered. It is to be used only in cases of great emergency; then Parliament must be summoned, and the Sovereign, by an Order in Council, may direct the militia to be recruited by the ballot.

VI. The Articles of War to be applied to the Volunteers when under arms for a review.

VII. The Government to have power on an emergency to take possession of the railways.

Let us now try and examine each of these seven heads, and test how far they improve the national defences; how far they meet the altered condition of war; and how far they will enable England to occupy her proper position in the world. On each of these proposals we would offer a few remarks.

I. There are few subjects that have been more misunderstood, and we are sorry to say misrepresented than the purchase system. It is a bargain between the officers and the State, a most one-sided

sided bargain, it is true, for the former gain little and lose much, while the latter gains everything. Mr. Cardwell asks the nation to get rid of this bargain, to destroy a system that exists and gives satisfaction to the officers of the army ; and he states that the cost of putting an end to it will be 8 millions. No detailed estimate of this large sum is furnished. Many well informed people say the cost will be 12 millions. Assume it, however, at 8 millions, what system is proposed in its place ? simply none. What estimate is furnished of the cost of carrying out efficiently what purchase now does without cost ?—simply none. The proposal then is to destroy an existing system by the transfer of an unknown sum, varying from 8 to 12 millions from the pockets of the tax-payers to the pockets of the officers of the cavalry and infantry of our army. To substitute in place of this system an unknown something. And when this is all done, how stands the question of National Defence ?

Simply where it was before.

The opponents of purchase have made so many extraordinary statements about it, that the mind of the public has conceived the most erroneous ideas on the subject. Without going into the origin of purchase, let us examine its practical working. When a young man having 450*l.* is desirous of getting a commission, he must pass an examination before he is eligible, and that examination is in the hands of the Government, who may make it as strict as they think fit. As a matter of fact, these examinations become stricter and stricter each year. Suppose the young officer gazetted as an ensign, no amount of money can make him a lieutenant until he is first on the list and has passed an examination which may be as strict as the authorities choose to make it. Suppose the lieutenant's step gained, no amount of money can make him a captain until he is first on the list, and has passed an examination which the authorities can again make as strict as they please. *And at no time can any officer be promoted unless his commanding-officer recommends him.* It is a fact well known to military men that the refusal to recommend for promotion is a powerful lever in the hands of commanding-officers. It is an equally well-known fact that the Commander-in-Chief does exercise a strict supervision over the higher appointments in regiments. These things are not published to all the world. Few men care, like a certain officer of the Guards, to inform the public that they have been passed over, and deemed inefficient ; but the thing is continually done, and, as continually, political and personal influence are brought to bear to reverse these decisions. 'Take care of Dowb,' was telegraphed by one Secretary of State for War to a general officer in the

Crimea ;

'Crimea ; and we may rest assured that 'Dowbism' exists, and will exist, in the army, as it exists, and will exist, everywhere else.

Mr. Trevelyan has informed the country that we pay 166,000*l.* a year for honorary colonelcies, 40,000*l.* for army agents, 27,000*l.* for distinguished service, and 155,000*l.* for widows' pensions ; and that these annual sums are paid on account of the purchase system, and might all be saved if the purchase system were done away with. How, he does not tell us. Let us examine these items :—

166,000*l.* to honorary colonels. Of this sum 23,000*l.* are paid to honorary colonels of the artillery and engineer services, where no purchase exists. There are certain prizes in the army : chief amongst them are these appointments ; the officers who get them are selected by the Commander-in-Chief. We can understand a better distribution of this sum, 166,000*l.* ; we can understand it being proposed to cut it off altogether, and to say to the old men who look to these rewards as a means of ending their days comfortably, ' Go ! we will give you nothing.' But we can't conceive what it has to do with purchase. What does it matter if an old General, to whom 1000*l.* a year are given, is called Colonel of the 20th Regiment ? Its only effect is, that he has to pay a certain sum to the band and mess of the regiment, while in all probability he never hears the one, nor dines at the other.

40,000*l.* for army agents. If Mr. Trevelyan had said he could not see why army agents are paid at all ; if he had proposed to raise the officers' pay, and to allow them to pay their own agents ; we could understand a reason for his doing so. Such charges are *really an increase of pay*, and should be shown as such ; but when he says that this sum may be saved by doing away with purchase, we simply ask, How ? The artillery and engineers have an agent who is paid 4500*l.* out of this 40,000*l.*, and they are non-purchase corps. What connexion has purchase with this subject ?

27,000*l.* for distinguished service remains. Out of this sum artillery officers and engineer officers, as well as others, get the 100*l.* a year that is occasionally given for distinguished service. What, in the name of common sense, has purchase to do with this ?

155,000*l.* to widows. Of this sum 89,000*l.* go to the widows of cavalry, infantry, artillery, and engineer officers—the two latter non-purchase corps—and the remaining 66,000*l.* go to the widows of medical, commissariat, military store, and other departmental officers. In the name of common sense and honesty,

we

we ask what has purchase to do with this? Had Mr. Trevelyan said, 'Don't pay officers' widows any more,' had he said, 'Increase the officers' pay, and let them provide for their own widows;' either proposal we could have understood, but we cannot see what purchase has to say to this question.

But of all the curious statements we have heard put forward is that which says, 'Officers who pay for their commissions do not fight as well as those who do not. They are afraid to risk their lives.' We call this 'a curious statement,' because it displays such ignorance of the history of England that we wonder, even in these days of loose speaking, how any man dared to make it.

Purchase has conferred the following benefits on the nation:—

1st. It has given a rapid flow of promotion without cost to the taxpayer. Out of 127,000*l.* voted for full-pay retirements, 61,000*l.* go to the cavalry and infantry, and 66,000*l.* to the artillery and engineers. If purchase is destroyed, and a sum equivalent to that which the artillery and engineers now get is voted for the cavalry and infantry, this sum of 127,000*l.* must be increased to 700,000*l.* If the retirements be placed on the footing that the Special Committee of the House of Commons, presided over by Mr. Childers, declared was requisite for the artillery and engineers, this sum must be increased to 1,700,000*l.*

2nd. In every profession, where men enter young, numbers must come in who are put there by their friends, and who are unsuited, from many causes, for the duties. Purchase gets rid of these men rapidly and quietly. Out of 1000 men who enter the army as ensigns, it appears that 442, or two-fifths, leave before they become captains, and 185, or nearly one-fifth more, leave as captains. Thus, more than three-fifths of the whole number leave before they become Field-officers. Hence the State is no longer burdened with either employing or pensioning men whose tastes and feelings are not adapted to a military life. Compare this with the non-purchase corps, the artillery and engineers, in which officers enter to serve for their lives, and in which the Duke of Cambridge said the service suffered because it was almost impossible to get rid of inefficient officers.

3rd. Independent officers are obtained. In the present state of the art of war independent officers are all-important. The opinions of the author of 'The Prussian Infantry, 1869,' are at least worthy of respect, and he tells us, speaking of peace reviews, 'An officer does not act according to his own military view, but according to the principles which he knows are held by the superior officer, with whom the final decision lies.' The anomalies perpetrated 'sink deep into the minds of the troops, and

and poison the judgment of the officer who is *not intellectually self-dependent*.

4th. Purchase is an admirable bargain for the nation. Mr. Clode, in his book, 'The Military Forces of the Crown,' tells us—

'The purchasing officers of the line, have done more than provide a retirement for non-purchasing officers of their own branch of the service, they have given a retirement to officers of the non-purchase corps (i.e. Artillery and Engineers), and to others who have never been contributors. Their fund has been diminished on several occasions, by direct payments to the Exchequer, and by indirect payments to the same account, that is by buying up the commissions of officers whose half-pay then ceased to be a charge on the Treasury.'

Mr. Cardwell assured the House of Commons, in a quotation from Shakespeare, that honour, not gold, is the soldier's guerdon. Assuredly honour, not gold, has been the purchasing officer's guerdon.

When purchase is abolished, what prospect is there that a better or any system at all will be substituted? Purchase acts now as a kind of natural selection. Those men who are unsuited for the army go away, without expense to the country; those men who are suited remain. But it is said that promotion is to be by selection. How can selection be exercised in an army like the English army, scattered all over the world? Is it not more than likely that promotion will fall to the fortunate men who can remain at home, and hang about London? What portion of our military arrangements has always proved successful? The regimental: therefore break it down. What portion has usually failed? The staff, founded on selection: therefore introduce selection generally.

We freely admit that the very name of 'purchase' creates a prejudice against the system, which the majority of persons don't take the trouble to understand, and when a powerful ministry purposes its abolition we consider that it is doomed. But let the country clearly understand the cost. In addition to the eight or twelve millions, which are required for the purchase of commissions, another million must be provided annually for retirement, representing an enormous permanent cost. For a small portion of this sum London might be fortified, and the Forth, Clyde, Mersey, Tyne, and Humber secured from a foreign foe. Which would render the country most secure? Which, in Mr. Cardwell's own words, 'is the most likely to render danger or the apprehension of danger in the future altogether unknown?'

II. It is proposed by the Bill to withdraw from the Lieutenants

tenants of Counties the powers they now have in regard to the auxiliary forces. This is undoubtedly a wise reform, if it be worked properly. But we are not informed how these forces are to be officered. Taking away a bit of parchment from a militia officer which is signed by a Lieutenant of a county, and giving him a similar bit of parchment signed by the Queen, does not alter the efficiency of the man. It has been stated that the abolition of purchase will enable the regular Army to be fused with the Militia. How this will be accomplished we are not informed; but, as we are told by the advocates of the abolition of purchase that it will take thirty years to do away with the obstacle, the process of fusion will be slow. And, in the meanwhile, is the country the stronger for the change? Mr. Trevelyan very properly impressed upon his audience in Edinburgh that '*the organisation must not only begin at once, but it must be complete.*' On examination, we find, that, while the Militia are to be removed from the authority of the Lieutenant, the chief magistrate of the county, they are partially to be placed under the Justices of the Peace, who are to provide the barracks; and the cost of these barracks is to be borne by local rates and not imperial funds. Nothing interferes with the efficiency of the Militia more than the billeting system; yet, while Mr. Cardwell takes the patronage of the regiment out of the hands of the Lieutenant of the County, he vests the provision of barracks, and consequent efficiency of the regiment, in the Justices, and attempts to charge the local rates, already strained to the utmost, with an expenditure for imperial purposes.

III. Army Enlistment for a period not exceeding twelve years, to be spent partly in the Reserve and partly with the colours, as the Secretary of State for War and the soldier may agree on.

We are not informed of the effect of these arrangements upon the pension received by the soldier. Will he receive a pension at the end of twelve years or not? How will this affect recruiting? The whole object of short service is to get a large Reserve force. But if the supply of recruits fails, what is to become of the Reserve? The pension a soldier receives, at the end of his service, is usually one great inducement to enlist. We get, or may calculate on getting, some 30,000 recruits yearly. Should we obtain so many if there were no pensions? Again, it may be fairly asked, is it right to rest such an important matter as the formation of an army reserve on the wishes or will of the soldiers themselves? There is no proportion fixed between the numbers of men in the active army and the Reserve; and, judging by recent speeches in both Houses of Parliament, there is every likelihood

of a large proportion of the army being placed in the Reserve, and still counted as effective by the Minister for War, thus leaving the effective force of the country to be played with, as it ever has been, solely to suit the convenience of the Government of the day.

IV. The Militia are to be raised by voluntary enlistment, and the period of drill extended for a period of six months, at the option of the Secretary of State for War.

The proposal to drill the Militia recruits for six months is undoubtedly a good one ; but when will the country, so far as its national defence is concerned be benefited by this proposal ? and how will it affect recruiting for the Militia ? Will recruits be obtained as easily when they have to be drilled for six months as for one month ?

V. The Laws of the Ballot are altered. Instead of being, as now it is, the actual law of the country, it is to be used only in cases of great emergency. Then Parliament must be summoned, and the sovereign, by an Order in Council, may direct the Militia to be recruited by the ballot.

Now, if there is one thing more than another in which modern discovery has revolutionised the art of war, it is the necessity—the paramount necessity—of being *ready*. To talk of raising the militia by ballot when an emergency has taken place, is simply to talk of insuring the house after the fire breaks out. It has been well said that England, from the fact of being an island, bounds every state, and, consequently, her frontier, or coast-line, is exposed to attack on every point. Her wealthy metropolis, perfectly defenceless, is only two days' march from her frontier ; her great commercial cities, equally undefended, are chiefly on her frontier ; and, when she is attacked, the game is not the same for the two belligerents : one stakes its fleet and a small portion of its army, the other stakes her existence. ‘An emergency’ takes place. When can we put the men in line ? That is the question. Will it be in three or six months ? and what under existing circumstances do three or six months mean ?

Again we turn to Mr. G. O. Trevelyan ; and he tells us ‘Nothing conduced so much to the ruin of the Emperor Napoleon as his taking one half of a new system without having the determination to accept it in all its parts. He relied on the Mobiles, and did not dare to turn them into soldiers.’ Mr. Cardwell does not rely on voluntary enlistment when an army alone is wanted, viz. ‘an emergency’ ; but he does not dare to prepare an army beforehand. He alters one of the oldest laws of this country, *the liability to universal service for home defence*, and limits it to ‘an emergency.’ Is the country any the stronger

stronger for this alteration? Is the national defence one whit improved?

VI. The Articles of War are to be applied to the Volunteer force when under arms for a review. This simply annoys the Volunteers and does no good, for it is manifestly impossible to enforce it.

VII. The Government has power on an emergency to take possession of the railways. This is undoubtedly a wise and fitting provision, and would aid national defence.

We have now considered the Government proposals for reorganising the Army and improving the national defence, for enabling our military forces to meet the altered conditions of the art of war, and for giving us that security and that protection which the enormous sum we annually pay entitles us to expect. And we find that they amount to *nothing*—*absolutely nothing*. We are to spend this year 2,800,000*l.* extra in order to put us in nearly the same position in which we were eighteen months ago; but as for any system—any measures for dealing with this all-important subject other than in a superficial way—any sign ‘of a broad and comprehensive review of national defence’—any attempt ‘to lay the deep foundations of a system which may render danger and the apprehension of danger in the future altogether unknown’—they are not to be found in the Government proposals. It is with feelings of the deepest regret, the most profound sorrow, that we are forced to come to this conclusion. Leave the abolition of purchase out of the question, what does the proposed scheme contain for good or evil? *Absolutely nothing*. Some years ago we saw a magnificent ocean-going steamer on a rock within sight of her port, crowded with passengers, loaded with freight and specie. She was uninjured. Could she be floated off she might be saved. Those employed to rescue her sought to do so by attaching huge indiarubber cylinders to her sides, but in vain. Each time the tide rose and the strain of the great chains was thrown on the flimsy material, it tore to bits and the air escaped. Day after day of favourable weather was afforded, to the astonishment and wonder of all who knew that stormy coast. It seemed as if every chance that Providence could give, was given; but neglecting the experience of those who understood such matters, nothing was tried but bags of indiarubber filled with air. Suddenly a gale arose; the workmen had to fly for their lives; and the splendid ship rapidly became an utter wreck. England may be fitly compared to that ship: she is now unhurt, uninjured on a rock. It requires but skill and courage to float her off—to place her, as of old, on the crest of the waves. Providence has

given her warnings, has afforded her space and time, to apply those remedies which a just induction from recent events clearly demonstrates to be the true ones. Mr. Cardwell is attempting to float her off by the aid of empty promises—the abolition of purchase, the use of the ballot on emergencies, placing the Volunteers under the Mutiny Act on Easter Monday, and such like—bags filled with air, that will undoubtedly rend to ribbons when the strain of war comes on them. May that Providence which has guided England so far save her too from becoming a wreck!

What hope is there for the future? We confess we see but little. Mr. Gladstone's Government promised us two years ago a happy, peaceful, and contented Ireland, through the medium of a Land Bill and a Church Abolition Bill. Few thoughtful men believed them. They have recently asked for a Secret Committee to investigate the state of that unhappy country. They now promise 'to render the apprehension of danger unknown for the future' by the Army Regulation Bill. Does any one believe them? Who will say that two years hence a Secret Committee may not be sitting to investigate the causes of some terrible national disaster, produced by inefficient military organisation? We may well exclaim with General Trochu, 'Comment l'esprit militaire demeurait-il dans le pays avec de tels enseignements longtemps continués?'

Marshal Niel implored the Emperor to alter the French military arrangements, to shorten the length of service, to localise the corps, to form a large reserve, and retain the regular army only as a training school. All the ablest and best French officers (and despite recent events there are many such) urged this course; but the Emperor feared the powerful party who opposed any attempt at the introduction of universal military service. We see the result. It is written with the bayonet on the heart of France. Painful to think that such things may happen to us. Have we any just, any well-founded reason, to believe that we alone are to be secure?

NOTE TO THE ARTICLE ON 'The Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland,' in No. 259, p. 208.—In mentioning the eminent men who have held the Great Seal of Ireland since Lord Plunket's retirement, we accidentally omitted to name one of the most eminent of all, SIR JOSEPH NAPIER, to whose legal knowledge, high character, and political integrity we gladly pay our tribute of respect.

I N D E X

TO THE

HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH VOLUME OF THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A.

ABSAJOM and Achitophel, publication of, 321.
 Alaric and his Goths, siege of Rome by, 479.
 Alford's (Dean) article 'Cyrenins' in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 500.
 Alnwick's (Bishop) review of the ancient state of Lincoln Cathedral, 229.
 Antwerp, defences of, 28.
 Army (English), its present state, 557—the changes in the art of war due to improved arms, and to railways and telegraphs, *ib.*—the intelligent use of modern firearms now indispensable besides personal gallantry, 558—application to war of the two great modern discoveries, the railway and telegraph, *ib.*—the nation's defenceless condition, 559—Mr. Cardwell's retrenchments, 561—small amount of forces available, 562—three things necessary in the constitution of an army, *ib.*—the reserve force, *ib.*—defencelessness of rivers and cities, 563—necessity of reorganizing the army, 564—proposals for army reform, 567—proposals embodied in the Army Regulation Bill, 568—annual sums paid to honorary colonels, for army agents, for distinguished services, and to widows, 570—benefits of the purchase system, 571—army enlistment, 573—laws of the ballot for the militia, 574.
 Arnold's (Dr.) 'St. Paul and Protestantism,' 432—denies that the victory of Dissent will be that of religious freedom, 437—Nonconformist objection to his manner as a writer, 438.

B.

BELGIUM, defensive strength of, 33.
 Berenger's place among song-writers, 218.

Vol. 130.—No. 260.

Bismarck (Count), public and private life of, 71—in early life called 'Mad Bismarck,' 73—affray in a beer-house, 76—the ground-tone of his character *ib.*, 77—characteristic revenge on Count Thun, *ib.*—observations on Bismarck's policy by M. Renan and Sir A. Malet, 79—his participation in the 'Federal Execution' on Denmark, 81—contrasted with Napoleon III., 83—chief feature of his speeches, 84—repudiates Parliamentarism as a master while using it as an instrument, 85—his Boswellian chronicler Hesekiel, 86—Pan-Teutonism, 87.
 Bonzes, massacre of, and destruction of their temples, 546.
 Bounty Fund (Royal), triennial grants of, 431.
 Buddhism and Catholicism, external resemblance between, 538—'the Devil's imitation of Christianity,' *ib.*—its two great sects, 540.
 Buddhist priests or Bonzes, 547.
 Burdett's (Sir F.) memory peculiarly constituted as to anything that passed at table, 217.
 Burgh (Hussey de), fragment of his oratory, 173.
 Byron's alteration in 'English Bards' from praise of Lord Carlisle to censure, 313.

C.

CESARISM, revival of German, 358.
 Cannock Chase recommended as the site of an arsenal, 32.
 Calendars of State Papers inaugurate a new method for the study of history, 399.
 Carmagnole (song), conjectures as to the name, 209.
 Castlereagh (Lord) attacked by Plunket, 196—supposed allusions in Plunket's speech, *ib.*—reply to him of Teeeling's mother suing pardon for her son, *ib.*—his character advanced in public

estimation as it has become known, 197.

Cathedral life and work, 225—prebendaries, 231—constitution of an ancient chapter, 241—necessity of renewing the vitality of cathedrals, 242—revival of cathedral institutions for clergy training, 243—for instruction in pastoral care, 246—to create a staff of free preachers, 248—preparation of the order of readers, 249—school inspection, 250—hospital service, 251—reconstruction of a cathedral system on a liberal and popular basis, 252—applicability of the institution to modern ends and needs. *See Lincoln.*

Catholics on the Malabar coast, 543—their religion a degenerate graft on the trunk of Paganism, *ib.*

Cavendish's principles of whist, 57, 70.

Census (Roman) preceding the birth of Christ, 501.

Chabot's professional investigation of the handwriting of Junius, 328—elaborate reports on the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis, Lady Temple, and Lord George Sackville, 333.

Chancellors of Ireland, Lives of the, 164—archiepiscopal chancellors, 167.

Chénier's life and songs, 215.

Cherizy, German barbarity in burning the village of, 157.

Christie's (W. D.), Life of the first Earl of Shaftesbury, 287—merits as a biographer, 288—editions of Dryden's works, 322.

Church and Nonconformity, 432—impulses towards change from without and within, 433—broad distinction between the two forms of religious organization, 434—Nonconformist support of Liberal ideas, 436—the victory of dissent not that of religious freedom, right, and improvement, 437—the two fundamental allegations of Nonconformists against the Church, 441—the idea realised for ages of a Church historic and inherited, 443—preference of the genius of the Church for uncontroversial religion and a not too definite theology, 445—the two great Puritan doctrines, 449—comparison of Anglican and Nonconformist theological literature, 450—superiority for a religious position of a public Church above private religious association, 452—a long-tried and settled system contrasted with a competitive and aggressive proselytism, 455—objections to a dogmatic Church examined, 456—the division in the Church does not, as a matter of fact, destroy unity, 459.

Clare (Fitz Gibbon, Lord), his commanding influence as Chancellor of Ireland, 174—style of eloquence, 175—daring spirit, 176—deadly and life-long feud with Curran, *ib.*—crisis of the quarrel, 177—particulars of their duel, 180—Fitz Gibbon's deliberate aim, *ib.*—parallel between Thurlow and Fitz Gibbon, 182—anecdotes of his antagonism with Curran, 183—challenged by the Hon. S. Butler, 185—his arrogance in the House of Lords, 188—dishonoured funeral, *ib.*—humane conduct in the case of Lord Edward Fitz Gerald, *ib.*—witticisms, 189.

Clay's (James, M.P.), treatise on Short Whist, 57.

Clonmel (Earl of), Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland, 174.

Coleridge's (Sir J. F.) letter to Canon Liddon on the advantages of an establishment, 461.

Collins's 'Ancient Classics for General Readers,' a useful series, 533.

Conington's (Professor) Horace, 513—*See Horace.*

Corpus Historicum projected by the Master of the Rolls, 400.

Cotton's 'Compleat Gamester,' 47.

Cromwell, answer of Hampden to Lord Digby respecting, 74.

Curran and Lord Clare, anecdotes of their antagonism, 184—his attack on Lord Clare before the Privy Council, 185—Curran's proposed preparation for a duel with Egan, 189.

Cyrenius or Quirinus, Governor of Syria, investigation of the date of the Census of Judæa taken under, 501—sketch of his career by Tacitus, 502—forged and genuine inscriptions relating to him, 508.

D.

Danby's Test Act, 317.

Deans, status of, 239.

Debreaux (Emile), specimen of his songs, with translation, 218.

Deschappelles's 'Traité du Whiste,' 56.

Dickson's 'History of Japan,' 534—the most accurate account of Christianity in the islands, 544.

Doctrinaires (French), apology for, 366.

Downing Street, perpetual change the normal condition of, 272.

Dryden's praise of Lord Shaftesbury, 312.

Duelling, anecdotes of Irish, 185.
Dunning, when Solicitor-General, anecdote of, 311.

E.

Edwards's (Edward), 'Libraries and Founders of Libraries,' 379.
Echo's (Lord), 'Letters on Military Organization,' 566.
Emperors, different types of, 369.
Erskine, repartee of Garrow to, 194.
Experts in comparison of handwritings, Mr. Twisleton's observations on, 330.

F.

Fenian invasion of Ireland, conjectures respecting a, 36.
Fitton (Sir A.), Chancellor of Ireland, 167.
Fletcher's (Judge), charge to the jury in a case of duelling, 185.
Florus, corrupt texts of, 510.
France, its unsurpassed prosperity under the second Empire, 1—sudden overthrow unparalleled in history, 2.—invasion of, 125—the 'Government of National Defence,' *ib.*—base of operations for all the German forces, 129—details of the march on Paris, 130—every advantage obtained by either side traceable to superiority of concentration, 133—the surrender of Metz the most calamitous event of the war for France, 144—the French victory of Bacon, 145—sorties from Paris, 146—technical inferiority of the French, 151—hence two German soldiers may be estimated as equal to three French, *ib.*—ten battles of the army of the Loire within thirteen days against the best German troops, *ib.*—General Trochu's attack, 152—moral advantage of the French in the operations of the 30th November, 154—physical advantage, 155—barbarity of the Germans and the terror inspired by them, 157—burning of Cherizy, *ib.*—suicides of women, old men, and whole families, *ib.*—the servants of the pious King of Prussia, 159—the war since Sedan stigmatised by Europe as one of conquest, 161—the present position of France paralleled in Prussia's desperate situation in the Seven Years' War, 163.

Francis (Sir Philip), the author of Junius's Letters, 348.
French defeat, causes of, 257—the

chronic revolution for eighty years, 258—the cyclical period of French Constitutions about twenty years, 260—logical consequences of Napoleon III.'s policy with the army, 262—the victories of Prussia the fruit of systematic preparation, 268. *See Napoleon III.*

G.

Gambetta, virtually Dictator of France, 143.
Geneva Convention, 471—blessings due to it, 493.
German grudge against England, 91.—armies, organization of, 38—dreadful tyranny of their military system, 39.—and French history, contrast between the two most momentous epochs of, 363—cause of the war of 1806 between France and Prussia, 365—analogy between that precipitate rupture and that of 1870, 367—the possession of Metz a standing menace and national humiliation to France, 371.
Girondins, song of the, 221.

H.

Habeas Corpus Act, strange story respecting its carrying in the House of Lords, 320.
Hamilton (Duke of) and Lord Mohun, duel of, 168.
Hamley (Colonel) on the war, 491.
Handwritings, systematic instruction on the comparison of, 350.
Hara-kiri, the Japanese, 539.
Hardy's (Sir T.) descriptive catalogue of chronicles and memorials, 401.
Haze (red), inspiring the young soldier with a fury to shed blood, 495.
Historiographers of religious houses, 402.
History, two grand sources of, the State Papers and the Chronicles, 405—demands on the historian have become more rigid and exacting, 406.
Homonadenses, a robber tribe, subdued by Quirinus, 505.
Horace, translated into English verse by Professor Conington and Mr. Theodore Martin, 513—the modus operandi of the two translators compared, 515—metres employed by them, 516—the palm of ease with Martin, of terseness with Conington, 520—comparison of various passages

of the two translators, 522—their criterion trial-ground Horace's satiric pictures in the 'Journey to Brundisium' and Horace's 'Bore,' 525—specimens of the translations of the satire 'Ibam forie via,' 527—Mr. Martin's excellence in the gnomic sentences of Horace, 528—the gastronomic satires, 529—Professor Conington's compensatory principle, 530—two classes of readers to benefit by those versions, 533.

Hortense (Queen), author of 'Partant pour la Syrie,' 217.

House of Commons, how its decisions are influenced, 276—the democratic revolution of 1832 and the legislation of 1867, 279—our administration tends more and more to the vice of drifting, 281—paralysis of government, 282.

Hawes's (Rev. F.) translation of Horace, 517.

Hoyle's Treatise on Whist, 51—founder of whist, 52.

I.

India, Revenues of. The main revenue of all Indian native states derived from the land, 93—sources of 'extra' revenue, 95—the revenue of the Government about half the rental of its whole Indian territories, 97—the salt-tax from 500 to 2500 per cent. on the prime cost, 99—revenue from spirits and intoxicating drugs, 101—parallel between the injurious effects of opium and spirits, *ib.*—the opium revenue 6½ millions sterling, *ib.*—the stamp revenue nearly 2½ millions, 102—administration of justice nearly self-supporting, *ib.*—effective revenue 40 millions raised, *ib.*—expenditure, *ib.*—after deductions, 27 millions of spendable or net income, 103—average annual cost of the army, military buildings, and the marine department, 104—summary of the income and expenditure of the British-Indian empire, *ib.*—deficit of 3 millions, 105—income-tax, 106—relative value of labour and money in India, 107—population of British India, *ib.*—proportionate value of labour in this country and in India as 8 or 10 to 1, *ib.*—the land revenue not a tax on individuals, 108—how far new taxation necessary, 111—the value of money in India falling, and prices rising, 112—the Indian army, Euro-

pean and Native, 115—average annual expense of a European soldier in India, 200*L*, 115—Indian railways, 117—the secret of Indian financial difficulties, 118—comparison of Indian with English taxation, 121—two cardinal facts in regard to Indian taxation, 122.

Ireland, its disaffection, 34—probable result of a Fenian invasion of, *ib.*—Irish disloyalty would be cured by a twelve months' occupation by a foreign army, 36.

J.

Japan, Christianity in, 546—Nobunanga's massacre of the Bonzes and demolition of their temples and monasteries, *ib.*—he permits the Jesuits to rebuild their church, *ib.*—history of the missionaries during the reign of Taicosama, 548—Don Augustin, a powerful Japanese prince, the head of the Christian party, 550—rebellion of the Christians of Arima under intolerable persecutions, 554.

Jesuits, their daring and intrigues everywhere about the beginning of the seventeenth century, 549.

Julia Alpinula, her famous epitaph the work of a modern hand, 507.

Junius (Letters of), evidence of their being written by Sir Philip Francis, 328—the letters written in a feigned hand, 335—two classes of evidence identifying the handwriting with that of Sir Philip, *ib.*—facsimiles of his handwriting and that of Junius, 336—peculiarities common to both, 339—M. Chabot's mode of investigating the formation of letters, 34—nine instances of habits common to Junius and Francis, 342—their attention to punctuation, 345—comparison of paper used by Junius and Francis, 347—conclusive nature of M. Chabot's arguments, 349.

K.

Kildare (Earl of), Lord Deputy of Ireland, 165.

L.

Langrishe's (Sir H.) personation of Banquo's Ghost, and consequent duel with Flood, 181—a *bon vivant*, *ib.*

Lewin's 'New Testament Chronology,' 500.

Lessons of the War, 256—the war a remarkable experiment illustrating political science, 269—war, to the vanquished, the same under the Prussians as under Attila, 270—an army ready to take the field in 3 weeks now a condition of national safety, 271—inefficiency of our defensive preparations, 282—our destiny bound up with that of Belgium, Turkey, and Sweden, *ib.*—the great need of the crisis a military organization, 284—the great lesson of the war to drive out from us the prophets of optimism, 285—we live in an age of 'blood and iron,' *ib.*—to escape misery and dishonour, no trust to be placed in moral influence or fancied restraints of civilisation, *ib.*—to trust in untrained valour and self-devotion, the silliest of delusions, 286.

Lifford (Hewitt, Lord), Chancellor of Ireland, 172—an example of two maxims, 174.

Lincoln, the Church of, 227—students of, 232—its schools of architecture and music, 234—of geometry and divinity, 235—three points in the daily corporate life of the Cathedral, 237.

Laudare and *Laudum*, ecclesiastical meaning of, 229.

M.

Malet (Sir A.) on Bismarck's policy, 79, 92.

Mann's (Nicholas) Latin Essay relating to the date of Christ's ministry, 511.

Marseillaise (La), origin of the song, 212.

Martin of Galway and his fighting opponent Daly, 186—his vituperation of the Chancellor (Ponsonby) in the Irish House of Commons, 191.

—'s (Theodore) translation of Horace, 513. (*See* Horace.)

Martyrology, horrors of, 552.

Matthews's Advice to the Young Whist Player, 55.

Methuen, Chancellor of Ireland, 170.

Midleton (Lord), Chancellor of Ireland, 171.

Millington's translation of Horace, 519.

Moltke's (von) detailed plan for the invasion of England, 163.

N.

Napier's (Sir Joseph), Chancellor of Ireland, legal knowledge and political integrity, 576.

Napoleon I.'s brilliant strategy caused a revolution in warfare, 38.

III., material prosperity of France under, 261—his one paramount consideration outside purely industrial legislation, *ib.*—mystery of his conduct in declaring war, 263—essential feebleness of his government, 264—what would have averted his fall, 265—his policy contrasted with that of the King of Prussia, 267.

National defence, twofold problem of, 4—French and English dockyards and arsenals compared, 6—sale of Deptford and Woolwich Dockyards, 7—inadequate state of the Thames defences, 9—increase in the thickness of armour-plating and the bore and charge of guns, 10—the 'Staunch' and other gun-boats, 13—inequality of Malta and Gibraltar, 15—hypothetical consequences of an invasion of England, 17—cost of a British soldier 100*l.* per annum, 18—compared with that of a French or Prussian one, *ib.*—inefficiency of the militia, 19—steadying effect of the volunteer movement on the French colonels, 22—recommendation of the Commission of 1860 for a central arsenal at Cannock Chase, 23—reply to an objection against the fortification of large cities, 25—question of the fortification of London, 27—estimate for the complete defence of Chatham, 30—progress of the power of the United States, Russia, Prussia, and France, 36—the miserable pretext of economy the ruling passion of our statesmen, 41—where our real danger lies, 43.

National Guard (French), its tendency to create revolutions, 353.

Nativity of Christ, the common era of, untrustworthy, 497—not later than the year 5 before the common era, 498.

Naval battles, ramming in, 5.
New York and Boston, unassailable defences of, 12.

Norbury (Toler, Lord) as a duellist, 185—Lord Clare's opinion of his unfitness for the judicial seat, 189.

O.

O'Connell's duel with D'Esterre, 186
 challenged by Sir Robert Peel, *ib.*—
 Lord Norbury's sarcasm on, *ib.*
 O'Flanagan's Lives of the Chancellors
 of Ireland, 164—character of the
 work, 204.
 Opium, question whether it is more
 injurious than spirits, 101—great ex-
 tension of its cultivation in China,
 114.

P.

Paley's remark on whist, 44.
 Pan-Teutonism, 87—summary of the
 Pan-Teutonic creed, 88—designs on
 German Switzerland, Flemish Bel-
 gium and Holland, 89.
 Paris, population of, 137—the vast cir-
 cumference of Paris the principal
 cause of its strength, 139.
 Peel (Sir R.), as challenged and chal-
 lenged to duels, 186.
 Pensions (Civil List), their aggregate
 amount 18,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* a year,
 408—Act of Parliament establishing
 pensions on the Civil List, 409—
 number and amounts of pensions
 granted during the present reign,
 410—pensions for military services,
 412—naval, 413—foreign and colo-
 nial, 414—services in public offices,
 415—miscellaneous, 416—for useful
 discoveries in science, 417—pensions
 of 300*l.*, *ib.*—of 200*l.* down to 50*l.*,
 418—pensions for attainments in liter-
 ature, 421—lists of pensions from
 300*l.* to 100*l.*, *ib.*—from 90*l.* to 20*l.*,
 424—questions suggested by an ex-
 amination of the names and nationali-
 ties of literary pensions, 427—sug-
 gestions for the future management
 of the Pension List, 429.
 Phipps (Sir Constantine), Chancellor
 of Ireland, 171.
 Plunket (Lord), free from the faults
 attributed to the Irish school, of elo-
 quence, 192—Sir G. C. Lewis's com-
 parison of Pitt and Plunket as orators,
ib.—family and early career, 193—
 early eminence in criminal cases,
 194—returned for the borough of
 Charlemont, 195—immediate colli-
 sion with Lord Castlereagh on the
 Union, *ib.*—invective against Castle-
 reagh, 196—his part in the debate on
 the Union, 198—speech on, on Catho-
 lic emancipation in the British House
 of Commons, 199—answer to a pro-

posed vote of censure on him, 200—
 jockeyed out of the woolsack to make
 way for Lord Campbell, 201—his
 judicial career less successful than
 his forensic and political, *ib.*—his
 wit, 202—the boast and ornament of
 his country, 203—his luminous career
 closed in darkness and gloom, *ib.*

Pole's (Dr.) theory of whist, 57.
 Ponsonby, Chancellor of Ireland, 190—
 Toler's attack on him in the Irish
 House of Commons, 191.

Porter (Sir C.), Chancellor of Ireland,
 168.

Portuguese expeditions to the East,
 534.

Propertius supposed to be Horace's
 'Bore,' 525.

Prussia, historical position giving pecu-
 liar strength to the reigning house,
 269—Prussia's ruling passion terri-
 torial aggrandisement, 366—its con-
 duct respecting Hanover exposed by
 Mr. Fox in 1806, 367—military view
 of the Prussian system, 372—Prus-
 sia's German policy, by Professor
 Schmidt, *ib.*—the country's position
 before the war, 464.

Prussian army, its unity of action and
 of command, 20—the Prussian system
 must be adopted by France, Austria,
 and other nations, 39.

Purchase system in the army misrepre-
 sented, 568—its benefits conferred on
 the nation, 571.

R.

Record Office (National) described, 374
 —former restrictions on reference to
 State Papers, 377—Mr. Cole's de-
 scription of the condition of public
 muniments, 378—Prynne's report of
 the state of the records to Charles II.,
 378—extortionate fees abolished, 380
 —the task of making catalogues or
 calendars, 383—names of their edi-
 tors, 384—the minutest details of
 social life and domestic manners con-
 tained in the State Papers, 386—com-
 parison between manuscript and
 printed calendars, 391—Mr. Tytler's
 remarks on *Catalogues raisonnées*,
 393—the calendars take the reader
 behind the scenes, 395—their utility
 to history, 396.

Redesdale (Lord), Chancellor of Ire-
 land, 190—jokes at his expense, *ib.*
 Republic (French), the monomania ex-
 pressed by 'the principles of 1789,'
 354—the French republic always a

scourge or a sham, 355—Second French Republic (1848), 356.
 Roche (Sir Boyle) in the Irish House of Commons, 319.
 Rouget de l'Isle, author of 'La Marseillaise,' 211.
 Rowan's (A. Hamilton) challenge to Sir Robert Peel, 186.
 Ruff-and-Honours, game of, 46.
 Russian property in France, delicacy of the Germans towards, 480.

S.

Shaftesbury (first Earl of), his autobiographical fragments, 289—descent, *ib.*—a striking instance of precocity, 290—life at Exeter College, 291—successful resistance to 'tucking freshmen,' 292—a constant sufferer from disease, 294—chosen burgess for Tewkesbury to the Short Parliament, 295—elected for Downton to the Long Parliament, *ib.*—offers the King to undertake the general pacification of the realm if the required powers were vested in him, *ib.*—renounces the King's party, 296—honour and delicacy respecting his knowledge of the king's affairs, 297—appointed Field-Marshal General, *ib.*—galantry in storming Abbotsbury, *ib.*—participation in a popular superstition, 298—makes common cause with Cromwell, *ib.*—speech in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, 301—tone and style of his speeches, 303—plays an active part in the measures leading to the Restoration, 305—made Baron Ashley for his service in accomplishing it, 306—rivalry with Clarendon, 307—member of the famous Cabal, 308—made Lord Chancellor and an Earl, 309—restores the equestrian procession of the judges, 311—estimate of his judicial character, 312—required to give up the Great Seal, 315—courtesy of Charles II. to him, *ib.*—aggressive measures against the Court, 317—defeats Danby's Test Act, *ib.*—conflicts with the bishops, 318—committed to the Tower, *ib.*—a saying of his rivalled by Sir Boyle Roche, 319—the Roman Catholic Disqualification Act and the Habeas Corpus Act his work, 320—attacked by Dryden in 'Absalom and Achitophel,' 322—flight to Holland, 323—summary of his character, 324—his two theories of character and conduct, 325—anec-

dotes of his ready wit and humour, 326.
 Shaftesbury (the present Earl of), his intellectual, moral, and political character, 327.
 Simmons's (Sir Lintorn) pamphlet on the army of Great Britain, 565.
 Songs, national, 205.
 (French patriotic), 'Vive Henri Quatre,' 205—the royalist song, 'O Richard, O mon Roi,' 206—origin of 'Pauvre Jacques,' *ib.*—the revolutionary song, 'Ça ira,' 207—the name of Carmagnole, 209—the 'Marseillaise,' the chief patriotic song, 210—its origin, *ib.*—the 'Chant du Départ,' with translation, 212—the 'Réveil du Peuple,' 215—the Napoleonic anthem, 'Partant pour la Syrie,' 217—songs of Béranger and Emile Debreaux, 218—'Les Conscrits Montagnards,' with translation, 219—historical songs of the later crises of France, 220—'La Parisienne,' representative of the Revolution of 1830—with translation, *ib.*—'Mourir pour la Patrie,' 221—songs of the Revolution of 1848, *ib.*—De Musset's 'German Rhine,' with translation, 222—songs sprung from the present time, 223—'C'est notre Tour,' with translation, *ib.*
 Surtees (the historian of Durham), his Northumbrian ballad alleged by him to be of the olden time, 507—adopted by Sir Walter Scott in his 'Border Minstrelsy,' as a genuine traditional ballad, 508.
 Syria, list of governors of, about the birth of Christ, 507.

T.

Talleyrand's *mot* on whist, 56.
 Taylor's 'Junius Identified,' 345.
 Temple's (Sir R.) 'Indian Finance,' 106.
 Theological colleges, 245.
 Thomson's (A.), 'Whist, a Poem in 12 Cantos,' 54.
 Thorlak, bishop in Iceland, 232.
 Trevelyan's (Sir C.) 'Indian Finance,' 98.
 Triumph, game of, 45.
 'Tucking' freshmen at Exeter College, 292.
 Twisleton (Hon. E.), on the identification of the author of Junius, 328—the only work conveying systematic instruction on the comparison of handwritings, 350.

'Tycoon' of Japan, a word neither Japanese nor European, 539.

V.

Vaticinium Lehniense, 362.
 Venetian Calendar (Brown's), 387.
 Venn's 'Life and Labours of St. Francis Xavier,' 544.
 Vicars' College at Hereford, 254.
 Volunteers as an element in our defensive strength, 20.
 Votes gained by Parliamentary speeches, instances of, 199.

W.

War, definition of the science of, 132—success depends on superiority of concentration, *ib.*—the art of fortification an application of the same principle, 133—mode of conducting a sortie, 136.
 —, Usages of. Terms imposed expressly in foresight of future war, 463—means of keeping war within the influence of civilisation, 465—difference between international and domestic law, 466—complaints against the Germans for violations of the usages of war, *ib.*—pleas attempting to justify the Germans, 468—the Convention of Geneva, 471—the privilege of quarter, 472—the laws of war as promulgated by the Prussians, 474—evils of the requisition system as opposed to paying for supplies, 476—'souvenirs' carried away by the Prussians, 478—parallel between the hordes of Alaric round Rome and the hosts of Kaiser Wilhelm about Paris, 479—unnecessary cruelty at Tours, 481—barbarous proceeding at Strassburg, *ib.*—refusal to recognise the *Francs-tireurs*, 482—comparison of them with the *Landsturm*, 483—our Volunteers have no more authorisation than the *Francs-tireurs*, *ib.*—difference between the 'citizen armies' of Prussia and France, 486—inhuman reprisals at Nemours, 487—the repetition of similar 'military executions' in Denmark, *ib.*—the fate of Nogent-le-Roi, 488—vengeance at Châteaudun, 489—two new practices of the Germans as to the law of hostages, *ib.*—the 'law of suspected

persons,' 490—objects needing settlement by a new convention, 493.
 Whist, origin of the word, 44—the same as Ruff-and-Honours while in an imperfect form, 46—its new designation 'whisk,' *ib.*—the name an *interjectio silentium imperata*, 48—French account of the word, 49—whisk and swabbers, *ib.*—Hoyle moulds the game into a scientific form, 51—short whist, 55—anecdotes of Talleyrand, Charles X, and Louis Philippe, 56—characteristics of the works of Dr. Pole, Mr. Clay, and Cavendish, 57—combination of the hands the basis from which the play springs, 58—Dr. Pole's fundamental theory of the modern scientific game, *ib.*—language of the game for communication between partners, 61—Spanish proverb on whist, *ib.*—the art of signalling, 62—the call for trumps, 63—Paley's justification of advantages gained by skilful play, 64—accidents of the game, 65—four cases of bad play, 66—the three great points of modern whist, 69—memoranda of important points of the modern game, *ib.*

Will case (the Matlock) determined by comparison of handwritings, 350.
 Wilson's (Rt. Hon. James) Indian finance, 105.

Wolsey's (Cardinal) death-bed, 389.

X.

Xavier (Francis), the Jesuit missionary, sails for the Indies, 535—triumphant success of his mission, 536—the Apostle of the Indies, 537—his striking character, appearance, and manner of life, *ib.*—death and canonisation, 542—his wonderful labours, courage, energy, self-denial, and concern for the souls of his fellow-creatures, 542.

Y.

Young Men's Christian Associations, 249.

Z.

Zumpt's (Dr.) theory of the dates of the Nativity and the Passion, 500—his success in solving a difficulty gloated over by Dr. Strauss as insoluble, 512.

END OF THE HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH VOLUME.

By Rev.
 [Signature]

